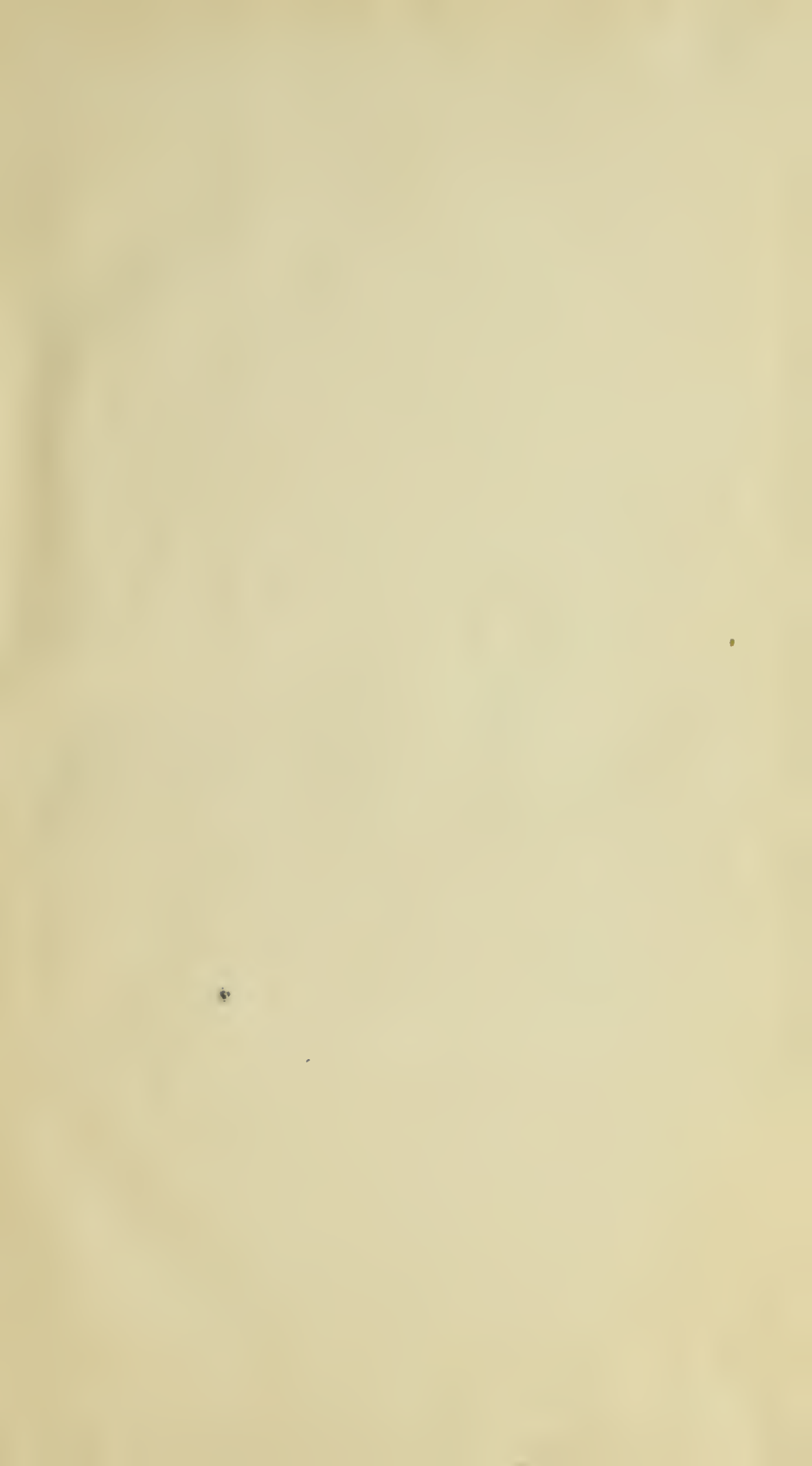



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PLAN
OF THE
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LIVERPOOL
WITH THE
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ABOUT 1670



HISTORY
OF THE
COMMERCE AND TOWN
OF
LIVERPOOL,
AND OF
THE RISE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
IN THE
ADJOINING COUNTIES.
BY
THOMAS BAINES.

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LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

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PREFACE.

THE object of this work is twofold: first, to trace the History of Liverpool from the time when it was raised to the rank of “a free borough on the sea”, by the Charter of King John, to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; and, second, to trace the growth of the Commerce of the Port, from its feeble commencement, to the present time, when it includes nearly one-half of the export trade of the country, one-third of its import trade, and causes a movement of six million tons of shipping yearly.

In writing the first part of this work—that which is chiefly local—the author has had access to a number of sources of information which have not before been thrown open to any one engaged in a similar undertaking.

The first of these sources is the extensive collection of ancient documents made by the late Mr. Chas. Okill. These include the results of the labours of twenty years, spent in search of documents illustrative of the ancient history of Liverpool, in the various Record Offices of the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster, of which duchy Liverpool is the principal borough. The information collected by Mr. Okill commences with the first mention of the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, in the year 1004, in the will of Wulfric, Earl of Mercia, and extends to the time when the ancient rights of the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster, within the borough of Liverpool, passed by sale, first to the citizens of London,

and then, by lease, confirmed by a subsequent sale, to the Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool. These documents extend over a period of eight hundred years, beginning before the Norman Conquest, and stretching almost to the present time. The whole of these documents have been thrown open to him by the kindness of the Corporation, acting through the gentlemen who have held the office of Mayor during the last five years, namely, Mr. Thomas Berry Horsfall, Mr. John Bramley-Moore, Mr. John Holmes, Sir John Bent, Knt., and the present Mayor, Mr. Thomas Littledale; and the Town-clerk, Mr. William Shuttleworth.

The second is the muniments of the noble families of Stanley and Molyneux, both of which have long been connected with Liverpool and the neighbourhood.

These have been kindly thrown open to the author of the work, both by the late and the present Earl of Derby, and by the Earl of Sefton.

The direct connexion of the Stanley family with Liverpool commences in the year 1405, the seventh of Henry the Fourth, when that king authorized Sir John Stanley, Knt., the ancestor of the Earl of Derby, to erect and fortify a house of "stone and lime" within the borough of Liverpool. This house was long known as the Tower. The indirect connexion of the Stanley family with Liverpool goes back two centuries further, they having become possessors, by marriage, of the estates of the Lathoms, within the borough of Liverpool, as well as elsewhere; and possessors, by purchase, of the estates of the ancient family of the Moores, who were the principal owners of property in Liverpool in the reign of King John. The papers at Knowsley go back to the

reign of that king. Many of them are of great interest; and amongst them is the oldest document connected with Liverpool, written in the English language, which is of the reign of Henry the Sixth, about the year 1422. All the previous documents, both at Knowsley and elsewhere, are written either in Latin or Norman French.

The connexion of the Molyneux family with Liverpool and the neighbourhood is even more ancient. They hold their estate at Sefton, under the grant of Roger de Montgomery, the Roger Pictavensis of Domesday Book; and hold another estate from King John, in exchange for the manor of Toxteth, which was made into a royal park by that king. Hugh de Molyneux is one of the witnesses to the return of the members for Liverpool, to the Parliament of Edward the First, in which the inhabitants of the boroughs of the kingdom were first represented. The Molyneuxes, of Sefton, held the governorship of the Castle of Liverpool from the reign of Henry the Sixth to the time when the castle was destroyed, by order of Charles the Second. Many of the most interesting papers in the following work are from the muniments of the Molyneux family.

The middle portion of this work, including the account of Liverpool under the Tudors and Stuarts, is chiefly compiled from the manuscript records of the Corporation of Liverpool. These records commence in the reign of Henry the Eighth, about the year 1525, and extend almost to the present time. The earlier volumes are full of curious information, of which a careful summary will be found in the chapter which contains the account of Liverpool under the House of Tudor; and the earlier part of that of Liverpool under the House of

Stuart. The publications of the Cheetham Society have also been found of great value in this part of the history, especially the volumes containing the account of the travels of Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary General; Dr. Ormerod's Collection of Papers on the great Civil War; the very minute and curious account of Liverpool in the reign of Charles the Second, contained in the Moore Rental; and the particulars respecting Liverpool in the reigns of William and Mary, and Queen Anne, contained in the Norris Papers.

The account of the History of Liverpool under the House of Hanover is derived from a variety of sources. Amongst them are the numerous local Acts of Parliament relating to the town, the corporate property, and the dock trust, all of which have been carefully examined, and when of permanent interest, analyzed; the Corporation Records for the reigns of George the First and Second; and the various works published respecting Liverpool, from the essay of Enfield, in 1770, to the present time. But the principal source of information on which the latter part of the history of the port is founded, is the files of Liverpool newspapers, commencing in June, 1756, and extending to the present time. Each newspaper is a local history of the week. Every copy of those files has been examined during the whole ninety-six years, and from this immense mass of local information all has been selected that appeared worthy of preservation.

The account of the formation of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway is founded on information obtained from the parties who planned and executed that great undertaking.

The chief interest of the History of Liverpool arises from the vast commerce which the port now possesses ; and this work, from the beginning to the end, has been written with the view of throwing light on the causes from which that commerce has sprung, and on the extraordinary development to which it has attained.

The first chapter of the work will be found to contain a sketch of the commerce of England, and of its distribution in the various districts of the kingdom, previous to the discovery of America, when wool and grain were the chief exports of the kingdom.

The eighth chapter contains an account of commerce and industry in the reigns of the Tudor Princes, when the woollen manufacture was becoming the chief means of furnishing payment for articles of foreign produce imported into the kingdom.

The ninth contains an account of the discovery of America, and of the ocean route to India and China ; two discoveries which have given to the commerce of England its present direction and extent, and which may be said to have created the modern commerce of Liverpool.

The twelfth chapter contains a sketch of the planting or colonizing of North America ; of the growth of manufactures in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, the counties from which Liverpool draws its supplies of goods for export ; and of the commencement of the sugar trade with the West Indies, and the tobacco trade with the North American plantations.

The three concluding chapters of the work trace the commercial history of the port from the accession of the House of Hanover, when a single dock, of four acres,

was sufficient to contain all the shipping and commerce of the port, to the present time, when 30 docks, covering 200 acres, are insufficient to contain it; when vessels with an aggregate burden of six millions of tons enter or leave the port yearly; when the export trade, to foreign countries, and the colonies, is of the value of thirty-six millions a-year; the import of the value of thirty-three millions, exclusive of duties paid to the Government; and the whole value of the exports, imports, and coasting trade is from seventy to eighty millions a-year,—a greater amount of commerce than is now, or ever was, possessed by any other port in the world.

In writing this part of the history, (as well as the more ancient portion of it,) the author has received most valuable assistance from the large collection of manuscripts belonging to Mr. Thomas Moore, who has been a diligent collector of everything of interest relating to Liverpool for the last fifty years; from Mr. Jaques Myers, who has placed at his disposal the commercial papers of the eminent house of Ewart, Rutson, and Co., and Ewart, Myers, and Co., which contain the materials of a complete history of the commerce of Liverpool, from the year 1786 to the close of the general war; and from Mr. Jesse Hartley, the surveyor of the Liverpool Docks, from whom he has obtained much interesting and authentic information respecting that great estate, a summary of which will be found in the text or appendix of the work. He also begs to acknowledge much valuable information received from gentlemen engaged in every considerable branch of the commerce of Liverpool.

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HISTORY OF LIVERPOOL.

CHAPTER FIRST.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY AROUND LIVERPOOL.

ENGLAND produces a greater number of articles, suited to the purposes of Commerce, than any other country of equal extent. It is alike rich in animal, vegetable, and mineral products; in articles useful for the support of life, and in materials applicable to the purposes of industry. As early as the time of the Anglo-Saxons, when the agriculture of England was rude, and when its manufactures were still ruder, the merchants of Cologne, and other large cities of Germany, visited the southern parts of the island to purchase the wool of the numerous flocks of sheep, which roamed over its downs and pastures;* and after the Norman Conquest, the Venetians and Florentines encountered the perils of an ocean voyage, to supply the looms of Italy, from the same abundant store.† The insular position of England saves it alike from the extremes of heat and cold; and gives it, if not the perpetual spring, which poets dream of, the mildness of climate which is most favourable to the growth of every description of herbage, and to the development of animal life. Its pastures are not burnt up in summer by those long droughts, which destroy millions of sheep, and multitudes of cattle, on the dry plains of Africa and Australia; neither are they laid bare, in the winter months, by the intense cold, which withers every blade of grass, on the boundless plains of Poland and the Ukraine, and renders it needful to house-feed and shelter all domestic animals for five or six months of every year. Hence England has ever been celebrated as a pastoral country. The quantity of wool, at present yielded by its numerous flocks, is more than a hundred millions of pounds weight per year;‡ and it must also have been very great, both in weight and value, in those remote times, when five-sixths of the

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i., 288.

+ Daru's Venice, iii., 154.

‡ 463,168 packs of 240 lbs.=111,160,320.—*J. R. McCulloch's Account of the British Empire*, i., 505.

country lay open, and was grazed by flocks and herds. We may judge of the rapid rate at which the resources of pastoral countries are developed, from the facts, that the few thousand sheep, which have been turned loose on the plains of Australia during the last half century, have increased to between six and seven millions; that they already furnish upwards of twenty million pounds weight of wool, for export, every year;* and that under the influence of this rapid increase of pastoral wealth, large towns are already springing up, on the coasts of Australia, at points which had never been visited by civilized man at the commencement of the present century. The great English ports of ancient times—London, Bristol, Lynn, and Hull—owed nearly as much of their commercial prosperity to the wool trade of England, as Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide owe to that of Australia. They were the outlets of the richest valleys, and the finest sheepwalks, in England: of the valleys of the Thames, the Severn, the Nene and Ouse, and the Trent; and of the fertile hills which encircle them. Upwards of sixty royal orders still remain, issued by the English Kings, from the reign of King John, the founder of Liverpool, to that of Edward the Fourth, regulating the trade in wool, which, if not all models of sound policy, may at least be regarded as proofs of the importance attached to the trade.† In those times parliaments often voted the supplies for the year, in the form of fleeces, lambs, and packs of wool; and the Kings of England negotiated loans on that security. Such was the loan negotiated by that warlike monarch, Edward the Third, with the merchants of the flourishing city of Ipres, in Flanders, which he engaged to repay in the form of a thousand packs of wool, and for the better securing of which, he deposited his cousin, Henry, Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, who was at that time Lord of Liverpool, in the hands of the merchants of that city, who kept him in safe custody, until the people and sheep of England had been sufficiently fleeced, to furnish his ransom.‡ In the 1st of Henry the Fifth, when the national revenue amounted to £55,743, no less than £30,011 was raised by taxes on wool.§

* Southey on Colonial Wools, p. 36.

† For a list of these see the word *Lana*, in the *Index Rerum*, in *Astle's Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, p. 333.

‡ “The King, to the Sheriffs, and Collectors of Wool, &c. greeting:—Since our beloved Matthew Conaceon and his Associates, the merchants of the Society of the Leopards, have undertaken to liberate our beloved relative, and faithful subject, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, who for certain debts of ours is detained in prison, in foreign parts, we, as a reward of their goodwill, graciously concede to them, that they may export a thousand sacks of Wool, out of our Kingdom to the parts of Flanders.”—*Cotton M.S., Claudius, E.8.*

§ Rymer's *Fœdera*, s. 113.

In the reigns of the early Plantagenet Kings, when Liverpool commenced its career as a port, the northern counties of England were still covered with extensive forests—the resorts of outlaws and wild beasts. They then presented few advantages, even for pasturage, still fewer for agriculture, and scarcely any for commerce. The only manufactures, which existed at that time, were rude fabrics of woollen and flax, which every family prepared for its own use. The natural aspect of the country, north of the river Trent, differs greatly from that of the country to the south of that river. To the south of the Trent, the country undulates gently; and consists of rich valleys, fertile plains, and rounded grassy hills. North of the Trent, a range of barren heights extends, from the banks of that river, to the borders of Scotland, sending out numerous ridges of hills, both to the east and west. The summits of these hills still defy cultivation; and present a long succession of moors, covered with heath and moss. The natural herbage of this great range is too poor for the support of any but the hardiest animals, except in a few districts, such as Craven, in which the mountain limestone reaches the surface, and forms a soil, rich in grass, and well suited for pastoral purposes. Some remains of a military road, formed by the Romans, to keep open the communication between the cities of York and Ribchester, are still to be found on the hills of Craven, and in the valleys of the Ribble and the Wharfe. This road served to maintain an occasional intercourse, from the eastern to the western side of the island, in the Saxon and Norman times. It was near the point where it enters Lancashire, that Roger of Poitou, the first Norman Lord of Lancashire, built the Castle of Clitheroe, to command the pass through the hills.* All the rest of this range is barren, and was formerly almost impassable. Ancient historians inform us, that the hearts of the daring soldiers of William the Conqueror sank within them, as they stood on the summits of these hills, and looked down on the scene of desolation presented by the forests, heaths, and swamps of Lancashire. At that time an immense forest covered the lower part of the hills, on both sides of the chain, and extended far over the broad plains at their base. This forest stretched, under various names, from the Trent and the Dee, to the Cheviot hills. The celebrated forest of Sherwood, the resort of so many daring outlaws, which extended from Nottingham to the centre of Yorkshire, was a portion of it. So were, also, the forests, afterwards known as those of Macclesfield, Delamere, Rossendale, Bowland, Wirral,

* Whittaker's History of Whalley, 1841.

and West Derbyshire; the two latter of which encircled the estuary of the Mersey, and extended to the Irish sea. The forest of West Derbyshire included the ground on which the town of Liverpool now stands, and all the surrounding townships, as far as the Sankey Brook, in one direction, and the manor of Formby, in another.* All who resided in this district were subject to the forest laws, which imposed numerous restrictions on agriculture, and forbade the keeping of any sort of stock, which might interfere with the grazing of the King's deer.† At the time when the Domesday survey was made, numerous woods and hawking grounds existed, in the ancient hundred of West Derby; and woods and forests of much greater extent, existed about Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and in the hundred of Leyland. The country between the Mersey and the Ribble was then a wilderness of woods, moors, and mosses, relieved here and there by small manor-houses, and plots of cultivated land, varying in extent from 20 to 100 acres. The whole belonged to Edward the Confessor, at the time of his death; and may perhaps have been visited occasionally by that eager lover of the chase.‡ All the Thanes who occupied the different manors, did so on condition of joining in those great hunting parties, called *Stabilitiones*, in which a large tract of country was surrounded by a multitude of persons, who drove the game of the district into a narrow circle, called a *Haia*, where it was slaughtered by the chief hunters, at their pleasure.§ Such a wilderness as I have described was altogether unsuited to the rearing of sheep, although the glades of the forest must have yielded an abundant pasture for cattle. We learn from the account in the Domesday survey, that six herdsman kept the cattle of Roger of Poitou, in the woods and clearings of West Derby. Cattle, not sheep, have always formed the favourite stock, both in Lancashire and Cheshire. They do so

* From a Report of the Pleas of the Forest, held before William Bassett and Robert de Hungerford, in the 11 Edw. 3, it appears that the following townships were within the forest, and that they were then at the mercy of the King, for various offences against the forest laws:—"Sankey, Kuerdeleigh, Bolde, Apulton, Dutton, Crounton, Parr, Sutton, Raynhull, Eccleston, Knowselegh, Kyrkeby, Wylston, Huyton, Torbok, Hale, Garston, Spek, Allerton, Parva Wolveton, Magna Wolveton, Childwall, Ayntree, Walton, Derby, Kirkedale, Lytherpol, Wavertree, Eveton, Bothull, Lytherlond, Parva Crosseby, Magna Crosseby, Thornton, Ins, Sefton, Aghton, Maghul, Mellyng, Lydiate, Down Holland, and Fomeby." The ancient spelling is curious, and in some cases throws light on the origin of the name.

† White's Natural History of Selborne, 16.

‡ EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—The chief delights of this king were the coursing of swift hounds, whose clamour, during the sports, he was eager to cheer; and the flight of birds, whose nature it is to pursue their kindred prey. Every day, after his morning devotions, he indulged in these exercises.—*Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons*, iv., 107.

§ *Stabilitio* meant stalking the deer. To drive the deer, and other game, from all quarters to the centre of a gradually contracted circle, where they were compelled to stand, was *stabilitio*.—*Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday*, 35.

at the present time, when the chief wealth of the Cheshire farmers consists in their 100,000 milch cows;* and that of the farmers of Lancashire in nearly as many more. When Camden visited Lancashire, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he remarked, that the goodness of the soil and climate was proved, by the beauty of the inhabitants, and the fineness of their cattle, the latter of which, he says, were noted for their long horns, their well-formed bodies, and for all the good points which Columella, and Mago the Carthaginian—those ancient judges of horned cattle—consider that an ox should possess.† From the nature of the surrounding country, Liverpool never possessed any share of the trade in wool, when it was the principal export of England, and the great creator of commercial wealth. The fame of the Cheshire and Lancashire dairies is of long standing. About the beginning of the last century, this port was much frequented by the London cheese ships, and had to fight a hard battle with the cheese-mongers, who resisted the making of the first dock, and insisted on their ancient right to stick their ships in the mud, as their fathers had done before them.‡

England is scarcely less fortunate as an agricultural than it is as a pastoral country. It is better suited than any other country in Europe for the alternate system of husbandry, in which a change of crops answers all the purposes of rest to the soil. It also abounds in soils which are easily worked, and yet yield an abundant return of grain. During the dominion of the Romans in Britain, the corn fields of England furnished large supplies of grain, for the use of the garrisons which defended the frontier fortresses of the empire, on the banks of the Rhine.§ Agriculture and pasturage formed the chief occupations of the people, during the Anglo-Saxon period. It was probably during this age that the practice of enclosing fields with hedge-rows, which gives so great a charm to the rural scenery of England, when compared with the bare and open plains of the Continent, was introduced.|| We find frequent mention of woods and groves of hedge-row plants in the Domesday survey. During the last two hundred years of the Anglo-Saxon period, the pursuits of the husbandman were continually interrupted by the irruptions of the Northmen, or Danes; who too frequently reaped the harvests which he had sown. As soon, however, as the confusion caused by the Norman Conquest had subsided, and as the Norman Kings had organised effectual

* See M'Culloch's Account of the British Empire, i., 501.

+ Camden's Britannia, 612.

‡ See Case against making a Dock at Liverpool in a later part of this work.

§ Camden's Britannia, 3.

|| Laing's Notes of a Traveller, 34.

means of national defence, agriculture began to improve, and fresh land was taken from the waste.* The course of improvement then commenced, has continued to the present time, when the yearly value of the produce of the soil of the three kingdoms has risen to upwards of two hundred millions.† Unfortunately for the early prosperity of Liverpool, all the great corn fields of England, as well as its finest sheep-walks, are situated in the east, the central, or the southern districts of the kingdom. Six hundred years ago, William of Malmesbury described the neighbouring county of Cheshire, as a region, poor in corn, especially wheat, but rich in cattle and fish. The first part of this description is equally applicable to the soil of South Lancashire. These counties never yielded a larger quantity of grain than was required for the support of their own population. For the last hundred years they have not done that, but have been dependent, in a constantly increasing degree, on the southern and eastern counties of England, on Ireland, and on the continents of Europe and America. At the time when the Domesday survey was made, there was a smaller quantity of arable land, in the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, than in any other district of equal extent. Of the whole 700,000 acres included in the hundreds of West Derby, Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland, only seventy-nine hides, equal to from eight to ten thousand acres, were in cultivation. The value of the whole district between the Ribble and the Mersey was only one hundred and forty-five pounds, at the death of Edward the Confessor. Allowing the pound of that day to have been fifteen times as valuable as the modern sovereign, this will make it equal to little more than two thousand a year.‡ At that time the small county of Rutland paid the crown a yearly rent of one hundred and fifty pounds, equal to upwards of £2000 of

* See List of Permissions to Inclose Land, in *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*.

† £217,551,977.—*J. R. McCulloch's Account of the British Empire*, i., 573.

‡ There were no coins named pounds, or even shillings, in those days. The pound was 12 ounces of silver; the shilling was the twentieth part of the pound; the penny (which was a coin made of silver) was the twelfth part of the shilling. It contained nearly as much silver as a threepenny piece of the present day. In turning the money of the Norman and early Plantagenet Kings into money of the present day, I have followed the computation made in that interesting work, "A Description of the Close Rolls, in the Tower of London: by THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, F.S.A.," prefixed to that valuable contribution to the national records. Speaking of the money of the reign of Henry the Third, the son of King John, he says:—"We must not forget that money bore a value, according to the best calculations, about fifteen times greater than it does at present. The shillings of that day were three times the weight they are now; and yet a modern shilling would at that time have bought about five times as much as it will at present: consequently, one shilling of the coin of Henry the Third, would produce fifteen times as much as one of William the Fourth."—*General Introduction to the Close Rolls*, 178. In the same way, a penny of that time was worth fifteen pence of the present day, and a pound was worth fifteen pounds. The mark of silver was two-thirds of a pound, and was worth about ten pounds of the present day.

our money; and after the Domesday survey, a land tax, of six shillings per hide, produced four hundred and fifteen pounds in the county of Dorset, and five hundred and nine pounds in the county of Somerset,*—equal respectively to £6,225, and £7,535. These facts show that the country between the Ribble and the Mersey was at that time in a lower position, as relates to industry, and the value of property, than other parts of the kingdom. Its progress for many ages afterwards was very slow, when compared with that of more favoured districts; nor was it until the forests of which I have spoken had been cleared away, and many of the smaller mosses had been drained, that cultivation was carried on to any considerable extent. In the two hundred and eighty years which elapsed between the Domesday survey and the reign of Edward the Third, the yearly value of landed property, between the Ribble and the Mersey, had increased from £145 to £5,170, in the money of those times; or from £2,175, of our present money, to £77,550.†

The yearly value of the manors about Liverpool was as follows, at the time when the Domesday Survey was made:—West Derby, with its six berewicks, or subordinate manors, which are supposed to have been Liverpool, Everton, part of Wavertree, Garston, Great Crosby, and Thingwall, £16 12s., equal to about £249 of our present money; Toxteth, in two manors, worth 4s. each—8s., equal to £6 of our present money; Wavertree, 8s., equal to £6; Kirkdale, 10s., equal to £7 10s.; Walton, 8s., equal to £6; Smethom, or Esmedune, 2s. 8d., equal to £2; Woolton, 5s. 4d., equal to £4; Allerton, 8s., equal to £6; Speke, 5s. 4d., equal to £4; Childwall, 8s., equal to £6; and Bootle, 5s. 4d., equal to £4.

The fisheries of England were of greater comparative importance in ancient times, when the whole of the people made a point of conscience of consuming fish on certain days and at certain seasons of the year, than they are now. The early surveys of the kingdom, and the most ancient deeds still in existence, show the value which was then attached both to the sea and the river fisheries. It is mentioned in Domesday Book, that all the King's tenants between the Ribble and the Mersey were bound to attend at the royal fisheries, as well as the hunting parties. The fishery of the River Mersey is one of the articles enumerated in all the ancient leases of the town of Liverpool. Salmon and other fish abounded in the stream, and as many as forty-four varieties were formerly caught either

* C. P. Cooper on the Public Records. The Exon Domesday, i., 212-13.

† Nonarum Inquisitiones.

in the river or on the neighbouring coast.* In the reign of William Rufus, Roger of Poietou granted the fishery of Thelwall, above Warrington, to the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, which his father had founded, at Shrewsbury ;† and it remained in the hands of that community till the reign of Henry the Third, when it employed the terrors of the Church, to rescue it from the hands of Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, who had seized it, under a general grant made to him by the King of lands in Lancashire. In the reign of Edward the Fourth a Royal Order was issued, commanding that the fish weirs on the Mersey should be reduced in width, so as to render it possible for an eight-oared boat to pass up the river, and for the salmon to reach the higher parts of the stream. We learn from the Norris Papers that salmon were caught in the River Mersey, at the end of the seventeenth century, in so great abundance, that they could not be consumed by the population of the towns and villages on its banks.‡ There can be no doubt that these fisheries gave much employment, and produced a considerable revenue, in ancient times. The sea fisheries on the southern part of the Lancashire coast have never been so valuable as those on the eastern side of England, where the herring and the cod fisheries have been carried on to a great extent, from ancient times. The port of Yarmouth owed its early importance, to the skill and spirit with which the Yarmouth men carried on the herring fishery ; and Camden attributes the rapid rise of the port of Hull, to the trade in stock fish, or dried cod, which the merchants of Hull obtained from the coasts of Iceland,§ as it has since been obtained on the banks of Newfoundland.

England is richer than any other country in Europe, except Poland, in brine springs, and mines of salt. The brine springs of Cheshire have been worked from the time of the Romans ;|| but the rock salt, which

* Enfield's Essay towards a History of Liverpool, 7.

+ Dugdale's Monasticon, iii., 521.

‡ Norris Papers.—Mr. Thomas Patten, of Warrington, writing to Mr. Richard Norris, on the 8th January, 1697, says :—" I am informed that there is a design to bring a Bill into the House of Commons against fish weares that hinder navigation, in navigable rivers, and that take and destroy fish, and the fry of fish. You may well know the mischief that is done in the River Mercy (Mersey), or at least have frequently heard, what vast numbers of salmon trout are taken, so as to supply all the country and market towns, twenty miles round, until the country is cloyed, and when they cannot get sale for them, they give them to their swine. Your brother did formerly take three or four salmon a-week, at a fishing, in or near Speke, but of late hath taken very few, or none, of which he hath complained to me, and he imputes this loss to the destruction of the fry, and hath often threatened to prosecute your fisheries."—*From vol. 9 of Remains, Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, published by the Chetham Society. The Norris Papers, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.A.S., 37-8-9.*

§ Camden's Britannia, 579.

|| Camden's Britannia, 486.

is found in abundance, in the neighbourhood of Northwich, was not discovered until the year 1670.* The salt supplied from the brine springs of Cheshire furnished the port of Chester with a valuable article of export, in former times, as it does that of Liverpool at present. As early as the time of the conquest, the manufacture of salt was carried on in Cheshire, and yielded a revenue to the Crown, and to the Earls of Chester; but the difficulty of conveying so bulky an article to distant parts of the kingdom, rendered it cheaper to manufacture a coarse salt from sea water, than to buy the produce of the mines of Cheshire or Worcestershire. Salt pits were, in consequence, formed all round the coast; to the extent of some hundreds, in some of the southern counties.† Even at Liverpool salt was worth £12 per ton, in the reign of King John.‡ In consequence of the dearness of the article, the manufacture of salt from sea water was continued, on the coast of Lancashire, as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth.§ It was not until the river Weaver, which flows through the centre of the Cheshire salt district, had been rendered navigable, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, that Liverpool obtained any considerable share of the salt trade; which has since become one principal means of drawing vessels to this port from all parts of Europe and America.

Long before Cæsar had shown the Romans the way to Britain, the Carthagenians, their rivals in arms, and superiors in arts, had faced the perils of an unknown ocean, and a cloudy sky, without chart or compass, to purchase the tin and copper of Cornwall.|| The mines which they explored have been worked, with some periods of cessation caused by the wars between the Cornish Britons and the Saxons, for upwards of 2000 years; and are amongst the oldest, if they are not the oldest mines now worked, in any part of Europe. The lead mines of Derbyshire have also been worked, for many ages; but they, as well as the tin mines of Cornwall, are too distant to have had any influence in developing the commerce of Liverpool. Iron mines or manufactories existed, at the time when Domesday Book was composed, in the counties of Somerset, Hereford, Gloucester, Chester, Lincoln, and Northampton.¶ There is no mention of the working of the iron mines of Furness, in North Lancashire, in that survey; but they were worked, in

* Philosophical Transactions, 2015.

+ Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

‡ See Sheriff's Account, or Pipe Roll for 17th John.

§ Camden's Britannia, 618.

|| Heeren's Historical Researches, i., 169.

¶ Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday, 41.

the reign of Edward the Second, when Robert Bruce overran the whole of North Lancashire with his victorious army, laid waste the country as far as the river Ribble, and carried off every morsel of iron which could be found in Furness.* The monks of Furness Abbey continued to work the mines, down to the time of the Reformation;† and the works were afterwards carried on, by private proprietors, to the end of the last century. So long as charcoal was the only material used in manufacturing iron, the wild and woody districts of the kingdom were the principal seats of the iron manufacture. Such were the hills of Furness, the forest of Deane, and the great forests which formerly covered the hills of Kent and East Sussex,‡ as well as those of Worcestershire and South Staffordshire. Great and grievous complaints began to be made, as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of the destruction of the woods of Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and other districts; and this decay of the woods was one reason for inducing Lord Dudley to attempt to manufacture iron with coal, as early as the reign of James the First. The attempt succeeded, so far as to show the practicability of the plan; but was not carried to any considerable extent, until the middle of the succeeding century. At that time the quantity of iron produced had sunk to 17,350 tons a year;§ and it appeared as if this great and ancient manufacture was about to be lost to England, and to be transferred to the inexhaustible forests of Sweden and Russia. Fortunately, however, the art of smelting ironstone with coal was greatly improved about the middle of the eighteenth century. The manufacture has advanced with giant strides since then; and now furnishes a yearly supply of upwards of two million tons of iron.|| The opening of the Mersey and Trent Canal established a connexion between the iron districts of Staffordshire and Liverpool, early in the present century; and, since that time, Liverpool has become the central port, for receiving the iron of Staffordshire, Yorkshire, South Wales, and Scotland; and for forwarding it to foreign countries. This great trade has grown up within the last sixty years. Until that time Bristol was the principal shipping port for iron. It drew its supplies from the forest of Deane, and South Wales. Liverpool had nothing of the trade at that time, except a few cargoes, shipped at the Pile of Foudrey, from the mines of Furness.

* H. Scrivenor's History of the Iron Trade, 32.

† West's Antiquities of Furness, Appendix No. 8.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 32.

§ Scrivenor's History of the Iron Trade, 57.

|| "The make of iron has increased in a most remarkable degree. In 1840 it amounted to 1,396,400 tons; in 1843 it was 1,215,350 tons; in 1847 it was 1,999,668 tons; and in 1848 it was 2,093,736 tons."—*Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir C. Wood), July 2, 1849.*

Around the borders of that great chain of hills, already spoken of, as stretching through the northern counties of England, from Trent to Tweed, the coal formation approaches the surface of the earth, at numerous places, and over extensive districts. This wonderful accumulation of the remains of primæval forests furnishes inexhaustible supplies of fuel, for the comfort of man, and the purposes of the arts. Several large beds of coal are found south of the River Trent, and south of the point where the primitive rocks rise to the surface of the earth, at Mount Sorrell and Charnwood Forest. Amongst these are the valuable bed of coal, near Ashby de la Zouche, which is chiefly worked to supply fuel to the town of Leicester, and other places south of the coal formation; the bed of coal, on which the town of Atherstone stands; and the beds of South Staffordshire, in which the coal is of extraordinary thickness, and alternates with equally rich beds of ironstone.* The most extensive, however, of the coal formations of England, are those which lie to the north of the River Trent, and which are found around the edges, and on the slopes, of that great chain which has been called the Pennine Range. One large series of the carboniferous strata commences in the neighbourhood of Nottingham and Derby, and extends in a northerly direction, as far as the River Aire, and the manufacturing towns, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The coal there disappears; but again shows itself on the banks of the Tees. From that point it extends northward, across the counties of Durham and Northumberland, almost to the borders of Scotland, approaching close to the sea at the mouth of the River Tyne, and creating the commerce of Newcastle. On the western side of the hills, the coal appears in the valley of the Ellen, southwest of Carlisle; and winds round the mountain limestone of Cumberland, until it reaches the sea at Whitehaven. Further south, it is again found in the valley of the Lune; but there the beds are thin, and of little value. The great coal-field of Lancashire—the foundation of its present manufacturing and commercial greatness—commences to the south of the River Ribble, and extends over the greater part of the district between that river and the Mersey, sending out a large branch southward into Cheshire, in the direction of Macclesfield.† Another range of coal-fields there approaches it, and continues the supply of fuel into the Potteries of North Staffordshire. A valuable coal formation also exists in the county of Flint, on the southern bank of the River Dee;

* Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*, i., 529.

† See *Accounts of the Lancashire Coal Field*, in the *Transactions of the Manchester Philosophical Society*, by E. W. Binney, Esq., and James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.

and furnishes the means of smelting the rich ores with which that district abounds. The coal-fields of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Flintshire, and the salt district of Cheshire, encircle the valleys of the Mersey, the Weaver, and the lower valley of the Dee, with mineral formations. The Lancashire coal-field extends from Todmorden, at the foot of the Yorkshire hills, to Torbock, about six miles east of Liverpool; and from Colne, on the edge of Ribblesdale, to Macclesfield, in Cheshire. It is more perfectly developed than any of the neighbouring coal-fields, the strata having been ascertained to be six thousand six hundred feet in thickness, and to contain one hundred and twenty seams of coal. This immense store-house of fuel has been the principal means of creating the cotton manufacture of Lancashire; as the coal-fields of Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, have been the chief means of creating the manufactures of woollens, cutlery, salt, earthenware, and iron. Liverpool is the western outlet of all these rich coal-fields, on which stand the great workshops in which those manufactures are prepared which English commerce exchanges for the products of the world.

The first coal-field of England, which was rendered available for the purposes of commerce, was that of Northumberland. This coal-field is intersected by the river Tyne, which affords a natural means of shipping its produce to London, and to all the cities and towns on the eastern coast. Coal is not found, on the eastern side of England, south of the river Tees; nor anywhere, on the southern coast, from Kent to Cornwall. In ancient times, all the great cities of England, with the exception of Bristol and Chester, were situated either on the east or southern coasts of the Island, or within a moderate distance of them. Firewood was also less abundant on the eastern coast, from the comparative dryness of the climate; the chalky and sandy nature of the soil; the abundance of population; and the greater spread of cultivation. From these causes, the coal trade of Newcastle came into existence very soon after the Castle had been built by William Rufus, and rendered Newcastle a flourishing port before Liverpool existed as a place of commerce.* This trade has increased with the increase of the population of London and the total destruction of the forests. A similar trade has sprung up, in modern times, at Whitehaven, on the western side of the Island, whose coal mines now supply the people of Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, and all the eastern coast of Ireland, with fuel.

The existence of the great coal-field of Lancashire must have been

* Brande's History of Newcastle, ii., 253.

known from a very early period, although it has been only during the last hundred years that coal has been extensively applied to manufacturing and commercial purposes. In early times, the ground was covered with forests and mosses; and the immense supplies of wood and turf rendered coal of little value as a fuel. Turf was the fuel consumed in Liverpool in early times, when the Turbaries around the town were considered of great value. Amongst the earliest documents, relating to the town of Liverpool, is a Deed of Gift, written in the barbarous law French of the time, by which Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who was then the proprietor of the town, presented his good Burgesses of Liverpool with twelve acres of mosses, or peat land, in consideration of a yearly payment of one denarius, or a penny. This land still belongs to the Corporation of Liverpool. It was afterwards called the Great Heath; and is part of the ground on which the Infirmary formerly stood, and on which the handsomest building in Liverpool, the new St. George's Hall, now stands. Great quantities of turf were also obtained in the fields between Abercromby Square and Edge Hill. In a survey of the boundaries of Toxteth Park, made in the reign of Henry the Third, it is stated that a portion of the northern boundary was at the ancient Turbaries, between two meres, or lakes; of which the Moss Lake, in that hollow, was one. Turf continued to be much in use so late as the reign of Charles the Second, when Sir Edward Moore complained bitterly, that the Molyneux family had ruined his turf grounds, by damming up the waters of the Lake, in order to make them flow to their mills in Toxteth-park, instead of following their ancient course to the head of the pool. It appears from other documents, that the same abundance of turf existed in Everton and West Derby; from which places successive governors of the Castle of Liverpool, and other favourites of the Crown, obtained their fuel. The supplies of turf and firewood were even more abundant about Manchester, and in the eastern parts of the county; and, though the town of Wigan became a royal borough earlier than any other place in the interior of Lancashire, it was owing to the favour of the vicar of the parish with one of our early kings, and not to the rich mines of coal which existed in the neighbourhood.* When Leland visited Lancashire, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, he found that the Bradshaighs, of Haigh, near Wigan, the ancestors of the Earl of Balcarres, on the female side, had opened mines of cannel, "like se coal," in that neighbourhood.† From

* Baines's History of Lancashire, iii., 530.

+ Leland's Itinerary, viii., 47.

that time coal has been gradually used as fuel, and applied to a great variety of useful purposes. But it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Liverpool was connected with the coal-field of Lancashire by anything better than a common road. In the year 1760, the Sankey Canal, the first navigable canal formed in England, in modern times, was completed, and served to connect one portion of the coal-field of Lancashire with the River Mersey and Liverpool; and some years later, the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was formed, which cut through the heart of the coal-field of Lancashire. In the year 1759, Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, obtained an Act, authorising him to form a canal, from his coal mines at Worsley, to the town of Manchester. This was the commencement of those noble and original undertakings, which entitle him to rank amongst the greatest benefactors of his country.* Manchester also possessed coal mines at no great distance, in other directions. On the discovery of the steam-engine, the manufacturers of Manchester were able, at once, to substitute the certain and regular power of steam, for the uncertain and varying power of water. By thus combining the great discovery of Watt with the mechanical discoveries of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton; and by availing themselves of the large supplies of cotton which the commerce of the West Indies brought into Liverpool, they placed Manchester at the head of the manufacturing cities of the empire. It has since become the manufacturing capital of the world; a position which it has well won, and is likely long to retain. Innumerable other applications have since been made of coal, as a fuel, and as a means of creating motive power.† The glass trade, after having languished in the South of England, has been carried to the highest perfection in Lancashire. The manufacture of earthenware, at one time appeared likely to take root in this county; and though the finer branches of the trade were removed to North Staffordshire, by the taste and ingenuity of Wedgwood, this has not deprived Liverpool of the commerce in the beautiful and useful products of the Potteries. The manufacture of machinery has been carried to an immense extent in Lancashire; and forms one of the most valuable sources of wealth possessed by the county. The improved chemistry of modern times has discovered the means of extracting a valuable alkali from muriate of soda. Many other applications of fuel have been made, in the adjoining counties, which fur-

* See Article on Aqueducts and Canals in the Quarterly Review, No. cxlvi.

† “It rows, it pumps, it excavates, it carries, it draws, it hammers, it spins, it weaves, “it prints.”—*Bridgewater Treatise*, i., 535.

nish additional products to the markets of Liverpool. In our own times steam has been applied to new purposes. The great invention of steam navigation, due to the genius and perseverance of the American, Fulton, has received its noblest application in the opening of a steam communication between Europe and America, by which those two continents have been brought within nine or ten days' distance of each other. At a still more recent period, the power of steam in propelling carriages upon railways, which was improved, perfected, and all but discovered by George Stephenson, working with the capital, and cheered by the encouragement of a few merchants of Liverpool, has already been the means of covering England with a network of railways, and of enabling us to move between distant places with the swiftness of the wind.

The western side of the island is subject to continual rains, caused by the bursting of the clouds formed by the exhalations of the Atlantic Ocean, and borne inland by the westerly winds, which prevail for nearly three-fourths of the year on the Lancashire coast. The average rainfall on the west side of the island is thirty-five inches in the year, while that on the eastern side is only about twenty-five inches. It has been ascertained that it rains on two hundred and eight days in the year on the western side of the island, and only on one hundred and fifty-two on the eastern.* The range of hills which extends from Kendal, in Westmorland, to Macclesfield, in Cheshire, stops the progress of a large portion of the clouds as they are flying eastward, and causes them to discharge their contents along the edges of the hills, and on the adjoining valleys and plains of Westmorland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, in such profusion, that the rainfall on some points on the hills is found to be from fifty to sixty, and sometimes seventy inches per annum. Thus, it has been ascertained that the rainfall on the banks of Grasmere is sometimes upwards of sixty-five inches in the year; that at Ambleside it is more than fifty-eight inches; at Kendal it is nearly fifty-eight inches; on Kinder Scout it is upwards of seventy inches; and that at some points on the tops of the Lancashire hills it is from sixty-seven to seventy-seven inches.† From these causes, the water power of the districts which lie on the sides of these hills is greater than that of any other part of the kingdom. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Kendal, Manchester, and Halifax, all of which lie around them, were the three great manufacturing towns of the North of England; and it is in the neighbourhood of this chain of hills,

* See Map of Meteorology, No. 4, in Johnstone's Atlas of Physical Science.

† See two Papers, in the Eighth Volume of Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, by JOHN FREDERIC BATEMAN, M. Inst. C.E.

that other great manufacturing towns have since arisen, at Preston, Blackburn, Bury, Ashton, Stockport, Oldham, Macclesfield, Congleton, and Leek, on the western side of them ; and at Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, Huddersfield, and Sheffield on the east ; as well as at Belper and Derby, which stand on the streams flowing southward from the Peak of Derbyshire. The water power of Lancashire is also greatly increased by the rapidity of the western descent from the hills. The slope along which the rivers of Derbyshire reach the sea is nearly two hundred miles in length, following all the windings of the River Trent ; that by which the Yorkshire rivers reach it, is nearly one hundred miles ; that by which the Lancashire rivers reach it, is little more than fifty. Thus, from the combined effect of the extraordinary weight of rain which falls on the hills of Lancashire, and the rapidity of the descent, the momentum applicable to the propelling of water mills is greater in this county than in any other part of the kingdom ; whilst, from the frequency of the rainfall, it is also more constant. Manchester is situated at the point at which the River Irwell brings down the waters from the rivers and brooks of Central Lancashire ; and at which that stream receives the Medlock and the Irk, which descend more directly from the east. It is thus the point of meeting of most of the rivers and streams of South Lancashire ; and the different valleys, which converge at that point, possess a greater abundance of water, and a larger supply of water power, than is to be found within an equal space in any other part of England. According to Dr. Kuerdon's manuscripts, there was a fulling mill at Manchester in the reign of Edward the Second.* It was only of the value of eight shillings and fourpence, and yet it was more than the place could sustain, if we are to believe the declaration made in the following reign, that there were then no people engaged in trade at Manchester. Manufactures seem to have taken root in Lancashire during the dreadful conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster, which wasted most other districts of the kingdom, but never touched the country between the Ribble and the Mersey. When Leland visited Manchester, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was a flourishing place ; and from that time to the present it has advanced more steadily, more rapidly, and to a higher position, than any other manufacturing town in the kingdom. Long before the modern improvements in the steam-engine had established the manufacturing ascendancy of those districts which possess an abundant supply of coal, manufactures had been firmly established in the valleys of Lancashire,

* Dr. Kuerdon's MSS., 274.

Yorkshire, and Cheshire, by the numerous streams flowing through them ; and had abandoned their original seats in the southern and eastern parts of the island, where the streams are less numerous, and where their course to the sea is so gentle as to be scarcely perceptible, and to be nearly useless for the purposes of industry.

The streams about Liverpool are too small to be of much use for manufacturing purposes. The brook which feeds Otterspool formerly turned a corn mill, which was called the Mill of Atters.* The spring at the Bootle Water Works also turned a mill, at Bootle ;† and the stream which formerly ran from the Mosslake, at the foot of Edge Hill, turned two or three mills, before it fell into the Pool. The Moores and Molyneuxes had a great contest for the possession of this stream, in the reign of Charles the Second. The former contended that it ought to flow into Liverpool Pool ; the Molyneuxes (who had mills in Toxteth Park) dammed up the waters, until the stream ran through the present Prince's Park, and Parkfield, to the river. The following passage from the Moore Rental, respecting this quarrel, contains so much information as to the water power, the turbaries, and the pool which formed the original harbour of Liverpool, as to render it well worth quoting :—"Remember one thing of great "concernment" (says Sir Edward Moore, writing to his son) "within the "memory of man, the Lord Mullinex hath erected two water mills in "Toxteth Park, and raised dams for them within his said park ; and since "these late wars" (the great civil war) "hath laid the water over and "upon the moss or turf room belonging to me and my ancestors, for many "hundred of years, which moss lies within the liberties of Liverpool ; but "the times growing peaceable, and I intending to get a dig for turfs, as "all my ancestors have done, I could not get the said turf, by reason "the Lord Mullinex caused his millers to lay their dams upon my moss, "in a great height ; whereupon I caused one *** to scour an old ditch, "over which there is a great stone plate, that hath for many hundreds of "years been the usual water course, to take the waters off my firing ; and "when they had opened the old water course, the Lord Mullinex sent me "a threatening letter, how Liverpool heath was all his, and the ditch was "made upon the heath, and he would command his tenants in Toxteth "Park to come and put it all in again ; whereupon, considering that it "was just at the King's" (Charles the Second's) "restoration, so that all "those red-letter men were so high, and that the Chancellor of the Duchy

* See Inquisition of the Forests of West Derbyshire—16 and 17, Edward Third.

† See Plan in Enfield's Essay towards a History of Liverpool.

“ was the Lord Seymour; and likewise, by the same lady, the Lord
 “ Treasurer of England was his brother-in-law; all which considered,
 “ made me sit down with this great wrong, yet not the first by many
 “ that family hath done us, and to be contented with less fires, till it shall
 “ please God to raise me a greater interest and him a weaker; and then,
 “ if an opportunity serve, to endeavour, by all just and honest means, to
 “ get your own right, which may be done as follows. If ever you be
 “ Mayor of Liverpool, when the grand jury is chosen, I mean that jury
 “ which go round the town, for viewing all common nuisances and water
 “ courses, then you may inform them that you held ten acres of moss under
 “ the broad seal of England, out of which your ancestors have gotten all
 “ or most of their yearly fire, but by reason of a common water course,
 “ over which there is an ancient plate of stone, lying in the highway to
 “ the town of Liverpool, is stopped, so that your moss is drowned;
 “ therefore you desire the jury may view it, and find whether the town (it
 “ being in the highway) ought to open it, or that they will make an order
 “ for you to do it. * * * * Besides, there is two great reasons
 “ wherefore the town ought to keep that water course the right and usual
 “ course, which, if otherwise, it may prejudice the town very much: the
 “ first is, there is no water course convenient or about the town for skinn-
 “ dyers, and other such trades, as this is which makes the continual water
 “ stream which runs down the gout to the Pool bridge, so that if this stream
 “ should be turned, such tradesmen will have no encouragement; the
 “ second is, if ever the Pool be cut navigable, of necessity all such cut
 “ wherein ships are to ride, must either have a considerable fresh stream
 “ to run continually through it, or it will quickly wreck up, or else there
 “ must be convenient places for raising great dams of water to let out
 “ with flood gates when necessity requires, for cleansing of the channel;
 “ and truly God and Nature hath made all the places between the Pool
 “ and stone plate so convenient for raising excessive great dams, and
 “ that so convenient out of the way, so great a fresh from off the Moss-
 “ lake, that though my eyes may never see it, yet I am confident that
 “ God Almighty, which makes nothing in vain, hath ordained this to be
 “ the greatest good for this town. Therefore I hope the town will never
 “ lose the advantage of the water coming that way; for if they do, all
 “ they are worth cannot procure a stream to cleanse the Pool as above
 “ said. If once you are of the Council, your oath obliges you to care for
 “ the good of the town; and if you are not, your interest is so involved
 “ with theirs, that take this as a warning from me, that if they prosper

“ you must thrive, and if the town sink you must drown ; so as where a
 “ finger be cut, the whole body feels it ; so you, or your interest, being a
 “ member of that body, it can receive not the least sere either in loss or
 “ repute, but your estate or person will be damnified thereby. Therefore,
 “ in the name of God, let them love you and you them, and twenty of
 “ the greatest men in the county cannot wrong you ; but if you quarrel,
 “ you are easily broken. God bless you both. Amen. Remember that
 “ when you get this watercourse opened, it will not only be so advantageous
 “ to the town, but will make the turf room so dry, that I dare assure you,
 “ you may sell fifty pounds’ worth at least of turf to the town in a year ;
 “ for of my knowledge you have good black turf at least for four yards
 “ deep ; if so, it may be worth two hundred pounds an acre, and you have
 “ ten acres of it ; in a word, you know not what it may be worth, lying
 “ so near a great town ; and if you leave half a yard of the bottom
 “ ungotten, once in forty years, it will swell and grow again. Besides this
 “ interest of your turf, if the water be taken off the Mosslake, it will be
 “ better for your wind mill by £10 per annum, for that it will make the
 “ Park Mills want water, the greatest supply being from that lake.”*

It will be seen from the above brief account of the natural resources of South Lancashire and the adjoining districts, that they afforded little which could create commerce, at the port of Liverpool, during the period when pasturage and agriculture formed the chief occupations of the people, and when wool and grain were the principal exports of the kingdom. The commerce of Liverpool began to show itself only when the mechanical arts had made some progress, and when the power of falling streams began to be extensively used, to aid the feeble strength of man in propelling machinery. It has attained its present greatness only since the discovery of the wonderful power of steam and machinery combined has given to the manufacturing districts of England the command of a power equal to the united strength of four to five hundred millions of men, and means of production sufficient to supply the wants of the whole world.† During the pastoral and agricultural ages, Liverpool suffered from the combined disadvantages of being situated in one of the smallest and least fruitful valleys in England, and of not possessing any convenient communication, either with the interior of that valley or with foreign countries.

* The Moore Rental, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A. No. 12 of the publications, Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, published by the Chetham Society, 69.

† Bridgewater Treatise, i., 535.

The valley of the Mersey is the smallest of the numerous districts whose products have given rise to a large port and an extensive commerce. The main valley of the Mersey, with those of its tributaries, the Irwell and the Weaver, does not contain more than one thousand square miles of land, whilst the valleys of the Thames and the Severn each contain about six thousand square miles, and that of the Trent, and of the other streams which discharge their waters into the Humber, contain about nine thousand. The largest of these valleys is small compared with the valleys of the Continent of Europe. In France, the fine valley of the Seine contains upwards of twenty-two thousand square miles of land; that of the Garonne upwards of twenty-four thousand; that of the Rhone upwards of twenty-eight thousand; and that of the Loire upwards of thirty-three thousand. The valleys of Germany are on a still larger scale. That of the Oder contains upwards of thirty-nine thousand square miles of land; that of the Elbe upwards of forty-one thousand; and that of the "wide and winding" Rhine upwards of sixty-five thousand. The valleys of Southern Europe are also of considerable magnitude. The valley of the Tagus contains upwards of twenty-one thousand square miles; that of the Douro upwards of twenty-nine thousand, and that of the Po, with its tributaries, nearly thirty thousand. The commercial rivers of Africa and Asia, and the valleys which they water, are on a much greater scale. The valley of the Nile contains upwards of five hundred thousand square miles; that of the Ganges upwards of four hundred and thirty thousand; and that of each of the great rivers of China upwards of five hundred thousand. Even these vast ranges of territory yield to that contained in the valley of the Parana, which covers eight hundred and eighty-six thousand square miles of the earth's surface, and to that of the still mightier Mississippi, which covers upwards of a million. The valley of the Mersey, with its thousand square miles of land, and its twenty miles of natural navigation, stands at one end of the scale; the Mississippi, with its million square miles, and its twenty thousand miles of inland navigation, stands at the other.*

Commercial cities owe their origin, and the rate of their progress in population and wealth, chiefly to the advantages which nature gives them for exchanging the products of one country, or region, for those of another. The ocean, with its gulfs and bays, and the rivers which flow into it from the interior of continents and islands, are the great

* All the calculations of the sizes of valleys, in the above paragraph, are from *Johnstone's Physical Atlas*, plate Hydrology, 5 and 6, and are founded on the calculations of Professor Berghaus, of Berlin, except those which relate to the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent, which are from the *Penny Cyclopædia*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and that of the Mersey, which is from calculation.

natural means of conducting commercial exchanges. Few cities have risen to eminence, as places of commerce, and none rapidly, which did not possess either some special advantage for communicating with seas or countries not otherwise accessible to each other, or an easy communication with the interior by a large navigable river. Some commercial cities are situated on isthmuses, whose opposite shores are washed by the waters of oceans or seas, which do not approach each other at any other point available for commerce, and hence become the natural points for the exchange of the products of the countries which are washed by their waters. Such was the great city of Tyre, the commercial capital of the ancient world, which owed its greatness to the convenience of its position, for conducting the overland trade between the Mediterranean and India, caused by its position on the coast of Syria, and its proximity to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.* Such were Panama and Acapulco, cities of considerable importance, created by the intercourse across the isthmus of Darien, even in the time of the Spaniards. Such is Chagres, which promises to attain a greater amount of importance since the introduction of steam navigation on the Atlantic, and along the whole coast of North and South America, has rendered it the great point of passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The two greatest commercial cities of the Hanseatic League, Hamburg and Lubeck, owed their early importance to the convenience which their positions afforded for exchanging the products of the German Ocean for those of the Baltic, at a time when the coasts of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were peopled by pirates; and when the passage through the Sound was doubly dangerous, from the difficulties of the navigation and the habits of the people who lived upon its shores. Other cities have sprung up, at points where two seas not merely approach each other but mingle their waters. Such was the cause of the greatness of the ancient Byzantium; and of its modern successor, Constantinople. At the time when the commerce of the Athenians flourished, Byzantium was the point from which the merchants of Greece sailed to purchase the grain and wool of the Ukraine, and the more costly products of Asia Minor and Persia. The commerce created by the Greeks at this point never ceased until Constantinople was taken by the Turks.† Now that the Turkish Government has become friendly to commerce, Constantinople has again become a great emporium for the trade of all the countries on the Black

* "They (the Tyrians) must be regarded as the most active intermediaries and agents in the connection of nations, from the Indian Ocean to the West and North of Europe."—*Humboldt's Cosmos: Mrs. Sabine's Translation*, ii., 125.

† See a fine description of the wealth and greatness of Byzantium, chap. 53 of Gibbon.

Sea and the Mediterranean, and also a depôt for the trade in English goods, carried on with Turkey, Persia, and the southern provinces of Russia. Various other cities might be mentioned, which owe their greatness to the advantage of a double water carriage with distant seas. Such is Cadiz, built nearly three thousand years ago by the Phœnicians, to carry on the trade between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean;* Copenhagen, at the entrance of the Baltic; Aden, the gate of the Red Sea; and Singapore, whose admirable position was selected by Sir Stamford Raffles, one of the ablest statesmen of modern times, at the point where the Indian Ocean joins the Chinese and the Australian Seas, a point at which lines of steam navigation already converge,—on one side from India and Europe, on the other from China and Australia.

For three hundred years after Liverpool had been raised to the rank of a seaport, the commerce of England, and the intercourse with foreign countries, were chiefly directed to the continent of Europe; and hence those ports which were situated on the coasts adjoining to it, possessed great advantages over those which were more remote. The Cinque Ports, on or near the Straits of Dover, were at that time the chief places of communication with the Continent in time of peace; and Southampton (or Portsmouth) was the place at which the great naval and military expeditions, which were directed against the Continent, were assembled in time of war. It was at Portsmouth, and whilst preparing to sail for Guyenne, that Henry the Third gave his estates, between the Mersey and the Ribble, including the borough of Liverpool, to Ranulf, Earl of Chester. The Cinque Ports of Dover, Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and Romney, possessed a greater number of ships than any other ports, with the exception of London.† They had a monopoly of conducting passengers across the channel to the Continent, and held it on condition of furnishing fifty-two vessels in time of war, for the defence of the channel and the coasts. This monopoly became vested in the port of Dover, as the harbours of Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and Romney were gradually destroyed by the drifting of sand, and other causes. An order is still in existence, addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Liverpool, in the reign of Edward the Third, informing them, that travellers proceeding to the Continent must take their course through Dover or Southampton; but that parties proceeding to Ireland may sail from Bristol, Chester, Liverpool, or any other port. At that time the merchants of London, and the other cities along the

* Heeren's Historical Researches, i., 317.

† See Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

eastern side of the island, had a considerable commercial intercourse with Germany and Flanders; and occasionally the vessels of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, entered the southern ports of England, from London to Bristol. There is no trace of their ever having sailed up the Irish Channel. Political causes produced a frequent intercourse between England and the English provinces on the Continent; and religious affairs occasioned a constant intercourse with Rome, the capital of the Christian world.

When Liverpool was raised to the rank of a free borough on the sea, the commerce of the world was in the hands of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence; and of the free cities of Germany, forming the Hanseatic League. An eloquent native historian, whose works are admired wherever taste and learning are appreciated, and whose memory will ever be honored in the town of which he was the brightest ornament—William Roscoe—speaking of Venice, says, “The superiority which it had acquired, was “in a great degree derived from the extensive commerce then carried on “by the Venetians, to different parts of the East, the valuable productions “of which were conveyed, by way of Egypt, into the Mediterranean, and “from thence distributed by the Venetians, throughout the rest of Europe. “In this branch of commerce the Genoese and Florentines had success- “sively attempted to rival them; but, though each of these people, and “particularly the latter, had obtained a considerable portion of this “lucrative trade, the Venetians maintained a decided superiority, until the “discovery of a new and more expeditious communication with India, by “the Cape of Good Hope, turned the course of Eastern traffic into a new “channel.”* In addition to the great trade which the Venetians carried on with Egypt, they also traded extensively with Constantinople, and with other parts of the Greek Empire. Constantinople still retained much of its original greatness.† The extent of its wealth may be judged from the fact, that when it was stormed and taken by the Venetians and the Crusaders, in the year 1204, the plunder of the city amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver, equal in weight to £800,000 of our present money, and in exchangeable value to four or five times that sum. In addition to Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, and all the cities of Northern Italy flourished in wealth and population at that age; whilst the rich soil of Lombardy, refreshed and renewed by the streams swelled by the melting of the snows of the Alps, and by a skilful system of artificial irrigation,

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo di Medici*, i., 121.

† See Account of the Storming of Constantinople, by the Venetians and Crusaders, chapter 60 of Gibbon.

yielded the corn, wine, and oil required for the support of a large population, and silk for the finest products of the loom. When Venice was in her glory, which was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the value of the goods exported by sea is said to have been ten millions of ducats, and the profits on the foreign trade four million ducats per annum. Venice had at that time 3000 vessels, of from 100 to 200 tons burthen, manned by 17,000 sailors; 300 large ships, manned by 8000; and a navy for the defence of the republic, the government of her colonies, and the protection of foreign trade, consisting of 45 war galleys, manned by 11,000 seamen.* At that time the vessels of Venice visited every port of the Mediterranean and every coast of Europe, and her commerce was probably nearly equal to that of all other countries united.

At an early period, the merchants of Venice, Milan, and other great cities of Italy, had established a commercial intercourse across the Alps, with the south of Germany, and the rich valley of the Rhine. Zurich and Inspruck were the resting places of the merchants, who conducted the silver, the embroidery, the glass, the arms and armour, the spices and other articles with which the Italians traded to the north of Europe across those awful solitudes. The venerable City of Augsburg, situated on one of the tributaries of the Danube, was the point at which the merchandise of Venice was shipped to all the countries lying on the banks of that mighty river. Basle was the place of shipment for the rich valley of the Rhine and Northern Europe. The great league of the German Cities, called the Hanseatic League, grew out of this commerce, which was the means of diffusing wealth and municipal freedom through the cities on the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube; and of creating a new centre of civilization north of the Alps, from which wealth and intelligence radiated, westward to Bristol and Waterford, and eastward to Novogorod, in Russia. Lubec was the head of the first section of the league; Cologne of the second; Brunswick of the third; and Dantzic of the fourth. When this great confederation was in its highest glory, it included from seventy to eighty cities. It was the Cologne branch of the league, which carried on the most active intercourse with London, where the merchants of Cologne had a Guild Hall. As the seas became safe from the ravages of pirates, and the mouths of rivers ceased to be infested by their fleets, cities began to spring up in the rich and level districts near the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. About the time when

* Daru's History of Venice, ii., 189.

Liverpool was struggling into existence, the people of the Netherlands began to display those talents for the useful arts, which placed Flanders, and afterwards Holland, in the first rank among the nations of Northern Europe. A hundred years later Liege, Ipres, Ghent, and Antwerp were crowded with an industrious, enterprising, high-spirited population, who paid a nominal obedience to the house of Burgundy, but managed all their own internal affairs. The manufactures and agriculture of Flanders soon rivalled those of Lombardy; and at a later period the commerce of Holland surpassed that of Venice. The weavers of Flanders introduced one of the greatest branches of industry into England, in the reign of Henry the Second; and at a later period the rude agriculture of England adopted from the same country, the rotation of crops, the cultivation of artificial grasses and roots, and most of those improvements which we see in the best cultivated districts of England and Scotland. These form as great an improvement on the rude culture of our ancestors, as the machinery of the present day does on the ancient spindle and loom. Norwich, Lincoln, Colechester, and other towns in the eastern counties, were the first to imitate and rival the manufactures of Flanders; as Norfolk and Lincolnshire have since imitated, and in some respects excelled its agriculture.

At the time of which I speak, Liverpool stood nearly at the extremity of the known world. Little was known of the great ocean which stretched to the west, except that it washed the shores of Ireland, and of Iceland; the former a country wasted by continual wars, the latter an island, encircled with ice, and buried in snow and darkness. A feeble settlement had indeed been formed by the Danes, in the still more dreary regions of Greenland; and evidence exists, that the same enterprising people visited various points of the coast of North America, to which they gave the names of Winland and Markland; and even pushed as far south as the territory which forms the present states of Virginia and North Carolina. Evidence has also been discovered, that the Island of Iceland was in part colonized by natives of Scotland and Ireland.*

* "Amongst other things we know, with regard to Iceland in particular, that many natives of Scotland and Ireland were among its earliest inhabitants. This information we have from an old history of the whole settlement of that island, called the *Landnamabok*, compiled about the year 1100, and continued in the 13th century. It is in this way that many Icelanders, and, among others, the celebrated sculptor Thorvaldsen, are still able to deduce their descent, in uninterrupted succession, from natives of Britain or Ireland, some of them of princely lineage, who had settled in Iceland as far back as the times of Paganism."—*Guide to Northern Archaeology, edited for the use of English readers, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere*, 7.—See account of the Discoveries of the Northmen, on the coast of America, in the same interesting work; and in the second volume of Humboldt's *Cosmos*.

These early discoveries, however, and this feeble attempt at colonization, produced no lasting or notable effect on the trade of England. For many ages the intercourse from the north-western parts of the island, especially from Liverpool, was confined to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; and even with those countries it arose, not from commerce, but from the sending out of naval and military expeditions, for the purposes of conquest or defence. We find very few traces of commerce at Liverpool previous to the reign of Henry the Eighth, but before that time the Kings of England occasionally assembled large bodies of troops at the Castle of Liverpool for attacks on Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; the great family of the De Lacys, of Halton Castle, brought together in this port the knights and followers whom they collected on their large estates in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, for new, but most barren, conquests in Meath and Ulster; the Molyneuxes assembled at Liverpool the billmen and bowmen, with whom they kept garrison at Beaumaris Castle; and the Stanleys maintained a more regular intercourse between their tower in Liverpool and their castles in the kingdom of Man. Beyond the occasional bustle produced by these movements; by the passing of a Viceroy of Ireland; or the sudden assembling of a fleet in the port of Liverpool, to watch the movements and defeat the plans of Robert Bruce and his daring Lieutenants, or to aid new invasions of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Liverpool was little frequented in ancient times. Its position at that time was nearly the worst in the empire for communicating with foreign countries, even if it had possessed any means of bringing the materials of commerce from the interior. This it did not: its water communication with the interior extended no further than Runcorn, about twenty miles up the Mersey, and there was no paved road on either bank of the river. In addition to these disadvantages, Liverpool and the other ports on the western side of the island were exposed to the depredations of the Northern pirates, long after they had been driven from the German Ocean. Before and after the Conquest, chiefs of that race governed in Dublin, Waterford, and some other cities, who occasionally paid an unwilling homage to the more powerful of the Irish chiefs, but who much more frequently defied them, by the aid of the Northern pirates, who then infested the Western Seas with powerful fleets. The Isle of Man was at that time the head quarters of these daring sea kings; but there was scarcely an island, on the western coast of Britain, from Shetland to the Isles of Scilly, which was not either permanently occupied, or frequently visited, by them. It appears, from the Chronicles

of the Kings of Man, that these piratical chiefs maintained a frequent intercourse with Norway and Denmark, from which countries they drew constant supplies of men and ships.* These they supported by plundering the coasts of the three kingdoms, and selling the captives, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, as slaves, to the Irish Chieftains. The first great blow given to their power was struck by King John, who assembled a large fleet in the western seas, three years after he had founded the port of Liverpool, and laid waste to the Isle of Man for fifteen days, taking hostages for the better behaviour of these adventurers. A few years afterwards they were defeated, with great loss, at Largs, on the Clyde, in a daring attempt to conquer Scotland. But it was not until Robert Bruce had besieged and taken their stronghold, at Castle Rushin, in 1313, that the western seas were freed from their incursions, and became safe for the purposes of commerce. With such a position, and in the midst of such dangers, there was nothing to create commerce between Liverpool and foreign countries. There was just as little to promote it at home.

The most common of all the facilities of communication which have created commerce in particular cities, is that formed by the existence of large navigable rivers, flowing through rich and extensive valleys. In ancient times, the Nile, which flows for upwards of two thousand seven hundred miles, through the great valley of Egypt and Nubia, which it irrigates and enriches with its waters, and causes to pour forth all the products both of temperate and tropical climates, was one of the principal causes of the greatness of Alexandria.† The rapid Rhone, which brings down to the Mediterranean the products of the southern provinces of France, and which was, in the time of the Greeks, the means of carrying on an extensive river trade with Britain and the North of Europe, created the commercial greatness of Marseilles, more than two thousand years ago, and has sustained it through the revolutions of twenty centuries.‡ The beautiful River Rhine, which flows through a valley more extensive than the whole of England, was not only the great means of spreading commerce and civilization through the North of Europe, by conveying the manufactures of Venice, and the luxuries of the East, to Northern Europe, but was also the chief creator of the commercial greatness of Holland and of the Netherlands. Venice owed much of its commercial importance to the easy

* See Chronicles of Man, in Camden's Britannia.

† Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography, i., 281.

‡ Humboldt's Cosmos.

communication afforded by the River Po and its numerous tributaries with the rich plains, and beautiful cities, of Lombardy and the Milanese.* The Scheldt and the Meuse were amongst the principal causes of the greatness of Antwerp. The Elbe has sustained Hamburg in the rank of the first commercial city of Germany, although Lubec, which formerly surpassed it in population and wealth, has lost its commercial importance, since the trade with the Baltic changed its course. The Vistula, winding through the immense plains of Poland, has produced the commercial greatness of Dantzic; the Seine, that of Havre; the Garonne, that of Bordeaux; the Douro, that of Oporto; and the Tagus, that of Lisbon. In the East, Calcutta has been created by the Ganges and the Hoogley; and Shanghae, and the other great cities of China, by the stupendous rivers of which they are the outlets. In the New World, Buenos Ayres has become a port of the first importance, from the facilities afforded by the Parana, which is navigable upwards of fifteen hundred miles above its mouth; and each of the large rivers of South America, with the exception perhaps of the Orinoko, has given rise to a commercial city of some importance, notwithstanding the anti-commercial policy of Spain and Portugal, and the frequent revolutions which have occurred since the colonies of those countries established their independence. These, however, must yield the precedence, to the great and wealthy cities, which the energy and intelligence of the Anglo-Americans are creating at the mouths of the splendid rivers of North America. Montreal has tripled its population within the last forty years, from the facilities afforded by the St. Lawrence, for bringing down the products of a magnificent valley, containing upwards of five hundred and thirty million square miles, either of land or of fresh water lakes.† New York, which had already been made a great city, by its admirable position on the Hudson, has been secured in its rank, as the capital of North America, by the foresight and public spirit of its distinguished citizen, De Witt Clinton, who united the Hudson with the St. Lawrence and the American Lakes, by means of the Western Canal; and thus made that city the outlet, not only of its own beautiful valley of the Hudson, but of the much greater valley of the St. Lawrence. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile, all owe much of their importance, and of the rapidity of their rise, to the ease with which they communicate with large and fertile districts of the interior, by means of considerable streams. All these, however, if not New York itself, will have ultimately to yield to New Orleans,

* Daru's Venice, xix.

† Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography, ii., 1.

which promises to become the first commercial city in America if not in the world, from the unparalleled advantages of its position, at the mouth of the Mississippi—a mighty stream—which, joined with the still mightier Missouri, the beautiful Ohio, the Arkansas, and other immense tributaries, gives to New Orleans an inland navigation of twenty thousand miles, communicating with every part of a valley, containing a million and a quarter of square miles of the richest land yielding all the products of the temperate, and most of those of the torrid zone.*

The rise of the more ancient seaports of England, like that of the cities which I have enumerated above, may be clearly traced to the convenience of their positions on the principal navigable rivers of the kingdom.

London, which is the outlet of the valley of the Thames, was a great commercial city, during the dominion of the Romans, in Britain. The sagacious historian who informs us of this fact, states, that London was renowned, as early as the reign of the Emperor Nero, for the number of merchants who frequented its port, and the abundance of the supplies which it furnished, although it did not possess the advantage of being a Roman colony.† The River Thames was the true creator of London. It furnished the means, by which the products of the most fruitful valley in England, containing upwards of six thousand six hundred square miles, were brought together at its port.‡ This valley includes the greater portion of the counties of Kent and Essex, Surrey and Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, and Oxfordshire—counties which contain the finest corn-fields, and the richest pastures, in England. The tides of the German Ocean flow up the Thames not less than seventy miles; and the stream is navigable, for vessels of fifty tons, one hundred and thirty-eight miles above London.§ It also approaches within a few miles of one of the streams which flow into the Severn; and thus furnishes a natural water communication, extending through the broadest and richest part of the island, from the Eastern to the Western Seas. The Thames adds to these great advantages, the further advantage of possessing a harbour, which gives a perfect shelter from every storm, and a depth of water sufficient for the largest vessels. It is also within a couple of days' sail of the mouth of the Rhine, and of those portions of the Continent of Europe, in which arts and civilization first revived, after the downfall of the Roman Empire. These causes raised it to commercial importance, upwards of sixteen hundred years ago; kept it in existence during the

* Mrs. Somerville's *Physical Geography*, ii., 4. + *Annals of Tacitus*, Book xiv.

‡ *Penny Cyclopædia*—Thames.

§ *Maitland's History of London*, i., 57.

storms of the Saxon and the Danish periods ; gave a fresh impulse to its prosperity, on the establishment of the Norman Government ; and have promoted and extended its prosperity, until it has surpassed every other city of the world, in population and wealth, and has become the main-spring and regulator, of the commerce of the world.

Looking at the commercial and political events which have occurred on the banks of the River Thames, if not to the size of the river, we may almost agree in the eulogium pronounced upon it by our partial historian of London :—" The River Thames," says Maitland, " if considered in its rise, course, extent, navigation, produce, and the innumerable number of people it wholly maintains, is not to be equalled by any other river in the whole world."

The following facts regarding the early history of London throw light on the progress of English commerce. London (as I have already mentioned) was a great eommercial city, during the dominion of the Romans in Britain ; and we learn, from the most ancient British historians, Gildas and Nennius, that the Thames was one of the two great commercial rivers of the Britons, after the retirement of the Romans from this island. The venerable Bede informs us that London was the chief city of the Britons, when the Saxons arrived in Britain. London was more than once taken by the Danes during their struggles with the Saxons, but was re-taken by Alfred the Great and other Saxon Kings. The lithesmen, or seamen of London, as well as the citizens of London, were distinguished for their courage in those early times. It was during these wars that Southwark, or the southern fortress, was built to protect the eity on that side. London is said to have paid no less a sum than ten thousand pounds to the Danish conqueror Canute, a sum equal to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money : but this is scarcely eredible. The eity had many commercial privileges previous to the Norman Conquest, which were respected and confirmed by William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings. Henry the First, the youngest son of the Conqueror, granted a eommercial charter to London, which has served as a model for the Charters granted to the other cities and boroughs of the Kingdom. In the reign of Henry the Second, the citizens of London (who were liable to pay the deseription of taxes called tallages, which the Kings and nobles imposed on their immediate dependents) gave a donum, or gift of one thousand and forty-three pounds, equal to sixteen thousand pounds of our money, to escape being tallaged ; and during the same reign they repeatedly paid a thousand marks, equal to ten thousand

pounds, for a similar exemption. In the year 1197, Richard the First, on his return from Palestine, granted a new Charter to the city, together with the conservancy of the River Thames, on payment of one thousand five hundred marks, equal to about fifteen thousand pounds of our money. King John, the enfranchiser of Liverpool, and the most liberal granter of commercial charters of all our early kings, granted three charters to the Londoners, but made them pay somewhat heavily for them. For one of these charters the citizens agreed to pay three thousand marks, equal to thirty thousand pounds of our money; for another they consented to pay the king a fee farm rent of three hundred pounds a year, equal to four thousand five hundred pounds, as compensation for the petty taxes or dues paid by foreigners, or non-freemen, trading to the port of London, and in place of the other branches of the *Jura Regalia*, or rights of the Crown. The city of London joined the Barons in the struggle with King John, which led to the granting of the great Charter. The rights of the city of London are specially provided for by one of the articles of that charter. In the succeeding reign of Henry the Third, the citizens of London again joined the Barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, in the struggle for a representative Government, and when that struggle failed (for the time), they were deprived of all their charters, and were fined twenty thousand marks, or two hundred thousand pounds, for the part which they had taken in it. It was in this reign that the King declared that the citizens of London were rich enough to buy the treasures of Cæsar Augustus. In the succeeding reign of Edward the First, the citizens of London recovered their charters, and again took a decided part in the struggle between the Barons and the King which led to the establishment of the leading principles of that excellent form of government which has existed ever since, and under which England has attained its present position amongst the nations of the world.*

Flourishing cities existed on the banks of the River Severn, as early as the time of the Romans; and we are informed by the two most ancient of British writers, that the Britons employed the Severn, as well as the Thames, to carry on their commerce with foreign nations.† The valley of the Severn, with those of the numerous beautiful rivers which discharge their waters into the main stream, extends over a surface of nearly six thousand square miles; and includes the most fertile districts of Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire—a beautiful and romantic region—several portions of which

* See Maitland's History of London, l.

† Gildas and Nennius.

claim to be the Garden of England. The Severn is naturally navigable for about two hundred miles;* it communicates with the valley of the Thames, by Stroudwater, and with the valley of the Kennett by the lower Avon, which was navigable so early as the reign of Richard the First.† Bristol probably owes the lead which it has taken, over all the other ports in the valley of the Severn, to the extraordinary security of its natural harbour, formed at the point of junction of the Avon and the Frome. From a very early period it derived abundant supplies of commodities, for purposes of commerce, from the corn-fields, and rich pastures, in the valley of the Severn; from the Downs of Cotswold and Herefordshire, which were famous for producing the finest wool in England;‡ from the salt mines of Worcestershire, which were worked before the Conquest; from the iron mines of the Forest of Deane, which were also worked at the same time;§ and from the tin and copper mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, whose produce was floated up the estuary of the Severn. From a very early period, Bristol was the chief port of communication with Ireland. The city of Dublin was governed on the model of the city of Bristol, and was, in a great measure, created by and subordinate to it.||

Previous to the Norman Conquest, all the commercial towns of England carried on a trade in slaves; and Bristol and Chester, which were situated near the frontiers of Wales, where war was continually raging, were noted for their share in this traffic. At that time slavery existed in every country in Europe; and in England the price of slaves was regulated by the Saxon Kings in the same tariffs of prices in which they regulated (or pretended to regulate) the prices of cattle, sheep, and swine. It was the sight of a number of beautiful children, natives of the province of Deira, in the north of England, on sale in the slave market at Rome, which first inspired Gregory the Great with the noble desire to introduce Christianity amongst our Pagan ancestors; and one of the greatest triumphs of the preaching of St. Wolfstan, who was Bishop of Worcester at the time of the Norman Conquest, was that he had influence enough to persuade the citizens of Bristol, and, through their example, many others, to abandon the traffic in slaves. It ought to be mentioned, in justice to a monarch whose character for humanity cannot afford to lose the credit of a single good action—I mean William the Conqueror—

* Penny Cyclopædia—Severn.

+ Barrett's History of Bristol, 678.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 472.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis.

|| Leland's History of Ireland, i., 81.

that he passed a law which put an end to the slave trade with foreign countries, which had existed during the whole of the Saxon dynasty. The following law of his on this subject reads more like a law of William Wilberforce than of William the Conqueror:—"We forbid any one to sell a Christian out of the land, but more especially into a Paganish country: let us take care that the soul which God redeemed with his own life be not lost"*

The Romans had a station near Bristol, but it was not one of any great celebrity. Their principal station on the Lower Avon was at Bath. Bristol was a place of consequence before the Norman Conquest. At the time of the Conquest, it was part of the royal demesne. In the reign of Henry the Second, Bristol paid a thousand marks towards the expenses of the first expedition against Ireland; and in the second year of King John, it again paid a thousand marks for the same purpose. The men of Redcliffe, near Bristol (probably the Knights Templars), also paid a thousand marks for the same object; and the citizens of Gloucester paid five hundred.† The fee farm rent of Bristol amounted to two hundred and forty-five pounds a year, in the year 1225, about which time the fee farm rent of Liverpool amounted to ten pounds!

Another extensive system of internal water communications, is that formed by the rivers Ouse and Nene, two streams, which after flowing parallel to each other for more than a hundred miles, discharge their waters into the gulf or bay called the Wash, within a few miles of the same point. At a very early period, the port of Lynn, at the mouth of the river Nene, became a place of great trade, and served as a point of communication with both the valleys which I have mentioned. So long as the foreign commerce of England depended on the export of the products of its pastures and corn-fields, Lynn, in Norfolk, ranked with the first commercial cities in the empire. The district around Lynn was celebrated in ancient times for its extraordinary fertility, which was caused by the periodical overflowing of the Nene and the Ouse. Lynn was also the port of the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton, Bedford, and of West Suffolk and West Norfolk, districts which still rank amongst the richest and best cultivated in England. Unfortunately for the modern prosperity of Lynn, the valleys of the Nene and Ouse are entirely destitute of minerals, and of other means of manufacturing industry; hence that port has declined in importance since the agricultural

* *Kelham's Laws of William the Conqueror* (attached to his *Norman Dictionary*), Law xli., 63.

† *Barrett's History of Bristol—Annals.*

wealth of the country has ceased to afford a surplus of grain and other produce, to be exported to foreign nations. It still carries on a very extensive coasting trade, and is one of the granaries of London.

The tax of Quinzeme, or Fifteenths, produced £651 11s. 11d. at Lynn, in the sixth year of the reign of King John, when it was the fourth outport of the kingdom. The great customs paid at Lynn, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amounted to £1661 15s. 10d., at which time it was the first of the outports.

Soon after the Norman conquest, several small ports contended for the commerce created by the numerous rivers, which discharge their waters into the great estuary of the Humber. This is the largest of all the systems of rivers in England, and drains a country extending over a surface of nine thousand square miles.* Grimsby, the most ancient port on the Humber, was built by the Danes, at the time when they possessed the kingdom of East Anglia;† and it was for a considerable time the principal port of the Humber. Unfortunately for its prosperity, it lies in too exposed a situation, and it is only in the present times that artificial docks have been constructed there for the protection of shipping. In the reign of King John, Hedon, a port situated a few miles below Hull, was a place of some note; as was also Selby, the birthplace of Henry the First, the first English born King of the Norman race, and Barton, at the mouth of the river Trent. The growth of the commerce of the Humber was greatly impeded, in early times, by the ravages of the Danish and Norwegian pirates, who infested its waters, plundered its coasts, and drove the greater part of its commerce to more secure points, higher up the streams of the Ouse and the Trent, as to York and Lincoln, both of which cities ranked as ports of the sea, in the reign of King John.‡ Soon after the Conquest, however, a port began to rise on the banks of the river Hull, which soon outstripped all the other ports of the Humber, and which received the name of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the reign of Edward the First. The chief cause of the rise of Hull was the excellence of its port, which is situated a little above the point where the river Hull falls into the Humber. As early as the reign of King John, Hull had taken the lead of Grimsby, and of all the smaller ports of the Humber; and in the reign of Edward the First, it had become one of the most flourishing seaports in the Kingdom. It has continued to be so ever since.

* Penny Cyclopædia—Humber.

+ Snorre's Heimskringla, i., 129.

‡ See List of Ports of the Sea, in a succeeding page.

Hull paid £344 14s. 7½d. to the tax of Quinzeme or the Fifteenths, in the sixth year of the reign of King John, when it was the fifth outport in the kingdom. It paid £1,515 18s. 3d. to the great customs, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it was the second outport. The first charter which is known to exist is that of the 29th Edward the First, 1299, but I can scarcely believe that there were not earlier charters than this, though nothing is known of them.

The River Trent was the principal means of communication between the richer and more thickly-peopled south and the ruder north in ancient times. The burgesses of Nottingham were bound to keep open the navigation of the Trent from Nottingham to Torksey, opposite to Lincoln, and to conduct the King's messengers from their borough to that place. The burgesses of Torksey were then bound to conduct them to York. This they could do easily, by dropping down the Trent to the point where it falls into the Humber, and by then ascending the Ouse with the tide. By this route they had the advantage of a good and safe navigation, and the aid of the propelling power either of the stream of the Trent, or of the tides of the Humber, nearly all the way. By taking this route, they not only travelled much faster than by land, but they avoided Sherwood Forest, with Robin Hood and his merry men—people whom it is very pleasant to read about in *Ivanhoe*, but must have been disagreeable to meet in the dusk on the King's highway. From the advantage of this intercourse, and the ease with which it communicated with Derby, Burton, and Stafford, up the valley of the Trent, and Newark and Lincoln down the stream, Nottingham became a place of the greatest importance in early times. In the year 1342, the ninth part of the moveables of the men of Nottingham was of the value of £465 10s. 4d. of the money of that day, or equal to £6,517 4s. 4d. of the present, at a time when the ninth part of the goods of the men of Liverpool was only worth £6 17s. 6d., or about £96 5s. of our money.* This gives Nottingham a capital of £58,654 19s., and Liverpool one of £866 5s.

Until the reign of Henry the Third, a considerable portion of the trade, created by the river Trent, left that river at Torksey, which is about seven miles from Lincoln, and passed down to Botolfston, or Boston, by the River Witham. In order to promote this trade, the Fossdyke was turned into a navigable canal, in the reign of Henry the Third.† At that time Lincoln was one of the most populous cities in England; and had a

* *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, 292

+ *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*.

market, to which men flocked both by land and water. The Witham was then navigable from Boston to Lincoln; but, owing to the slowness of its current, it has been impossible to keep it deep enough for the purposes of navigation, without continual clearing.* From this cause it has gradually gone to decay as a navigable stream. The port of Boston has also been ruined by the collecting of sand banks. At the time when Liverpool was founded, the whole of the country about Boston was cultivated like a garden, and was every year enriched by the overflowing of the Witham.† Soon after that time a great irruption of the sea took place, by which the district of Holland, in Lincolnshire, was laid waste. It was only by slow and laborious efforts that the fertility of the soil was restored. The commerce of Boston has never revived.‡

Boston paid £780 15s. 3d. to the tax of Quinzeme or the Fifteenths, in the reign of John, but only £168 2s. 11½d. to the Great Customs, in the reign of Elizabeth. The beautiful City of Boston, in New England, was founded by a body of emigrants, who sailed from Boston, in Lincolnshire. It was originally called Trimountain, from three hills round the Bay, one of which was the famous Bunker's Hill. The name was afterwards changed to Boston; it is said out of respect for the Rev. Mr. Cotton, who had been minister of Boston in England, but more likely from some yearnings after the 'old country.'§

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, though not situated upon a river possessing any great extent of internal navigation, possesses an excellent water communication, from the coal-field of Northumberland, to the best markets for the consumption of fuel.|| It owes every thing to the abundant supplies of coal, furnished by the country intersected by the River Tyne. That river flows for many miles through one of the richest coal-fields in England, and gives every facility for shipping coal to the London market, and to the eastern and southern districts of the Kingdom.

Newcastle-on-Tyne was founded by William Rufus during the life of the Conqueror. Henry the First granted a charter to Newcastle; Henry

* Dugdale on Embankment, 176-7.

+ William of Malmesbury gives the following account of the Fen Country:—"The fens were a very paradise, and seemed a heaven for the delight and beauty thereof: in the very marshes bearing goodly trees, which for tallness, as also without knots, strived to reach up to the stars. It is a plain country, and as level as the sea, which with green grass allureth the eye. There is not the least portion of ground that lies waste and void there; here you shall find the earth rising somewhat for apple trees; there you shall have a field set with vines, which either crop upon the ground, or mount on high poles to support them."

† Winterbotham's History of America, ii., 141.

§ Pishey Thompson's History of Boston, 233. || Brande's History of Newcastle, ii., 30.

the Second granted another. In the year 1214, the fee-farm rent, or petty taxes paid to King John produced £50, equal to about £750 of our money; in 1275, the fee-farm rent of Newcastle was declared to be worth £100. Newcastle paid £158 5s. 11d. to the tax of Fifteenths in the sixth year of the reign of King John; and £229 8s. 3d. to the great customs in the reign of Elizabeth.

The six ports which I have enumerated—London, Bristol, Lynn, Hull, Boston, and Newcastle—were the great commercial ports of ancient times. Southampton, which was also a place of some importance, was rather a naval than a commercial station, although it carried on a considerable commerce with the Continent, at the time when the neighbouring city of Winchester was the most flourishing place in the kingdom, the residence of Alfred the Great and of the other Kings of the West Saxon dynasty. The importance of Southampton greatly decreased when the seat of government was removed from Winchester to London. Still it retained a considerable naval importance, from the fact that there the Norman and Plantagenet Kings collected the ships for the numerous expeditions which they led into France, either to defend their own dominions in Normandy, Anjou, and Guyenne, or to assail those of France. At that time few places possessed ships, except those lying between London and Southampton, including the cinque ports of Sandwich, Dover, Winchelsea, Hythe, and Romney, all of which have gone to ruin, except Dover.* On occasions of military expeditions, all the shipping of the neighbouring ports was collected at Southampton, or Portsmouth, which names are indifferently applied in ancient histories. The earliest docks of which we have any account were the docks, or exclusa, which the Sheriff of Hampshire was ordered to construct, and enclose, at Southampton, for the protection of the war galleys of King John.†

The fee-farm rent, or the Jura Regalia of Southampton, produced £200 a-year. Southampton paid to the tax of Fifteenths, in the reign of John, £712 3s. 7d. It was then the first of the outports.

The importance of the port of Chester, like that of Southampton, was chiefly political. Chester was a fortress of the first order, under the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, and was constantly garrisoned with troops, appointed to watch the daring mountaineers of North Wales, who were alike prompt in attacking their enemies, and resolute in resisting

* Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

† T. D. Hardy's Introduction to the Close Rolls.

their attacks. It was also the residence of an Earl, who possessed all the authority of an independent Prince; and of the Bishops of Lichfield, who were known by the title of Bishops of Chester, long before the modern bishopric of Chester was created by Henry the Eighth. It was also the seat of a wealthy clergy, of many flourishing monasteries, and of a numerous gentry. Its commerce depended on the rich salt mines in the valley of the Weaver, with which it was connected by a military road formed by the Romans; and on the cheese, hides, skins, and fish yielded by the neighbouring pastures, woods, and streams.* Chester possessed many elements of prosperity, and might have become a flourishing commercial port, if its harbour had not been ruined by enormous masses of sand drifted into it by the storms of the Atlantic. This evil began to be felt very soon after the Conquest; and continued to increase, until the commercial importance of Chester was entirely lost, and that of Liverpool had risen on its ruins.

The river Mersey, at whose mouth the port of Liverpool is situated, is an insignificant stream, both as relates to the length of its course, and the volume of water which it carries to the sea. The length of the central stream, which divides Lancashire from Cheshire, is not more than forty miles, from the point where it leaves the Derbyshire hills, to that at which it enters the estuary at Runcorn. Including the estuary, its length is not more than sixty miles. Its principal tributary is the Irwell, which brings down the waters of numerous smaller streams from the hills of central Lancashire. The united stream is not more than forty yards in width, at the point where the tides begin to be felt, opposite to Warrington. The river Weaver, which enters the estuary of the Mersey below Runcorn, is a still smaller stream. None of these rivers were navigable until the end of the Seventeenth Century, so that Liverpool, in the early period of its existence, possessed none of those advantages of water communication, with the interior, from which London, Bristol, Lynn, and Hull derived so much of their early wealth. The numerous and extensive water communications with the interior, which Liverpool now possesses, are entirely the result of art and labour, and have all been formed in modern times.

The first improvement made in the River Mersey, was that of rendering it navigable from Runcorn to Warrington. The course of the river between those two places is extremely tortuous; so much so, that it has since been found more convenient to abandon the natural bed of the

* See Mortimer's History of Wirral, 118.

stream, and to form a canal. Mr. Thomas Patten, of Warrington, a member of the family of the Pattens of the Bank, was the author of this great step towards opening a communication with the interior. Writing to Mr. Richard Norris, of Speke, the member for Liverpool, in the year 1690, Mr. Patten, speaking of the evil produced by fish weirs in rivers, said:—"Then again, weares are as mischievous, another way, by their hindering the passage of ships, boats, and barges; as for example, in the same River Mersey, what a vast advantage would it be to Liverpool, if the river were made navigable to Manchester and Stockport. Since I made it navigable to Warrington, there have been sent to Liverpool, and from Liverpool, 2000 tons of goods in a year, and I believe as much by land, which, if the river were cleared of weares, would all go by water; for the river to Manchester is very capable of being made navigable at a very small charge. And this would encourage all tradesmen (in Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, some parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire,) to come to Liverpool to buy their goods, instead of going to Chester, Bristol, or London; the carriage would be so easy and cheap: I think it would nearly double the trade of Liverpool."*

This suggestion did not bear fruit at once. Liverpool was at that time intent upon another great object, almost equally essential to the prosperity of the port, that was on the forming of the first great artificial dock ever constructed for commercial purposes in England. Still, the idea found favour in other quarters, and in the year 1712, Mr. Thomas Steers, the engineer of the Liverpool dock, was consulted by a number of Manchester gentlemen on the subject, and made a survey of the river, a plan of which lies before me. It is entitled "A Map of the Rivers Mersey and Irwell from Bank-key to Manchester, with an Account of the rising of the water, and how many locks it will require to make it navigable; surveyed by order of the gentlemen at Manchester, by Thos. Steers, 1712." In order to recommend the undertaking to public favour, the following statement of advantages is engraved on the plan:—"The inland parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire being favoured with great variety of valuable manufactures in woollen, linen, cotton, &c., and that in very great quantities, has made that neighbourhood as populous, if not more so (London and Middlesex excepted), as the same extent of any part of Great Britain. The trades of these counties extend consider-

* Norris Papers, 38.

ably through the whole island, as well as abroad; and the consumption of groceries, Irish wool, dying stuffs, and other imported goods, consequently is very great, but as yet not favoured with the conveniency of water carriage, though Providence, from the port of Liverpool up to the most considerable inland town of trade in Lancashire, Manchester, has afforded the best not yet employed rivers of Mersey and Irwell, for that purpose. Those rivers are here described from Bank-key (whither from Liverpool the navigation at present is used). The conveniences of the navigation carried thence to Manchester, might one time or other be of the greatest importance in time of war, in joynng a communication of the East and West Seas of Great Britain, with only 28 miles of land carriage. The trade made more easy, by an expensive land carriage (cause in a deep and flat country) being turned into an easy and cheap water carriage, and Cheshire served with coals, flaggs and slate, far cheaper than at present.”*

A bill for carrying out this useful object was obtained in 1720, and soon after Liverpool had at length a water communication with Manchester.

In the same year (1720), permission was obtained to improve the navigation of the Weaver, and thus to connect the salt district of Cheshire with the port of Liverpool.

In the year 1755, a number of spirited persons, of whom Mr. John Ashton, an eminent merchant of Liverpool, was the head, formed a plan for connecting the western part of the great coal field of Lancashire with Liverpool, and with the salt district of Cheshire, by improving the navigation of the Sankey Brook. This plan was afterwards changed to the much bolder one of digging a navigable canal down the Sankey Valley, from the coal field of St. Helens to the Mersey, at Sankey Bridges, near Warrington. This canal was the precursor of the system of navigable canals. Although, from the small extent and easy nature of the works, it cannot be compared with the great works which the Duke of Bridgewater had then determined to attempt, and which that self-taught genius, James Brindley, was executing, still the Sankey Canal was a work of great merit, and of inestimable value to Liverpool, St. Helens, and the salt district of Cheshire.

A disappointment in an affair of the heart drove Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, from the Court, where his fortune, family, and youth gave him all the means of shining, and turned his attention to objects of the

* Map belonging to Mr. John Samuel Smith, of Liverpool, obligingly lent to the author.

highest importanee, which he pursued with a zeal, eonstaney, and self-denial which have justly earned for him the title of the great Duke of Bridgewater. He was the first Englishman who seriously attempted, and risked a fine fortune in the attempt, to earry navigable canals aecross wide valleys, over deep rivers, and along purely artifieial beds. The aqueduct aecross the Irwell at Barton was incomparably the first speeimen of eivil engineering in the kingdom at the time when it was exeecuted, and it was long before it was surpassed. An eloquent writer has justly observed: "When the first barge passed over the Barton aqueduct, Bridgewater and Brindley might have still better reason for pride than Agrippa and his architeet, when from the last stone of the Pont du Gard they looked down on the savage ravine, on which a freak of Roman vanity had ehosen to exert its art pontifical."* This was the eommeneement of a series of works, which hold the same rank in the history of canals as the Liverpool and Manehester Railway holds in that of railways. "Descriptions," says the writer whom I have quoted, "more or less detailed, of the Duke's works, are to be found in many publications. It may be suffieient here to state, that the line of *open* navigation, eonstrueted under his acts, beginning at Manchester, and branching in one direction to Runeorn and in another to Leigh, amounted in distanee to some thirty-eight miles, all on one level, and admitting the large boats which navigate the estuary of the Mersey. Of this, the six miles from Worsley to Leigh were eonstrueted after Brindley's decease. We use the expression open, because to this we have to add the extent of the subterranean navigable eanals, by which the main produce of the Worsley eoal-field is brought out in boats to be eonveyed in the open canal to its various destinations. This singular work was eommenced in 1759, and has been gradually pushed on as new eoal-workings were opened and old ones became exhausted. Frisi speaks of them with much admiration, at a period when they extended about a mile and a half: at the time we write, the total length of tunnel amounts to forty-two miles and one furlong, of which somewhat less than two-thirds are in disuse and rendered inaecessible. There are in all four eanals. The main line which eommenees at Worsley, is nine feet wide and nine feet high, ineluding four feet depth of water. The others are the same height, but only eight feet wide. Two are respeetively at fifty-six and eighty-three yards

* Quarterly Review, No. 146. Article on Aqueducts and Canals, bearing strong internal evidence of having been written by the present noble and aeomplished possessor of the Bridgewater estates.

below the main line: the fourth is thirty-seven yards above it. The communication with the latter was formerly conducted by means of an inclined plane, which has however been disused since 1822, the coal being now brought by shafts to the surface. Distinguished persons have visited this curious nether world. The collective science of England was shut up in it for some hours, rather to the discomfiture of some of its members, when the British Association held its meeting at Manchester in 1843. Heads, if not crowned, destined to become so, have bowed themselves beneath its arched tunnels: amongst others that of the present Emperor of Russia. The Duc de Bordeaux is the last on the list."

After the great achievements of Bridgewater and Brindley, nothing was considered impossible in the construction of canals. Within a few years after the opening of the Bridgewater Canal, the daring idea was formed of connecting Liverpool with the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire—the Mersey with the Humber—and the Irish Sea with the German Ocean, by means of a canal carried across the central chain of hills which separates Yorkshire from Lancashire. A few years later Liverpool was connected with the Potteries and the iron districts of Staffordshire, and the Mersey with the Trent, by means of the Grand Junction Canal. Innumerable other schemes for constructing navigable canals were formed about the same time; nor did the impulse given by the Duke of Bridgewater and his great engineer to the public mind cease to be felt until upwards of one hundred and ten canals had been constructed, supplying two thousand four hundred miles of artificial navigation, and uniting with each other all the ancient navigable rivers of the kingdom.* The constructing of canals took the same strong hold on the minds of men in the latter half of the eighteenth century which the constructing of railways has taken in our own times; and though many follies and extravagancies were committed, and many unprofitable schemes were carried into execution, yet the general result was to add incalculably to the wealth of the country, and to pour an extraordinary portion of that wealth into this part of the kingdom, which took the same decided lead in the construction of canals which it has since taken in the construction of railways.

In the early periods of the history of Liverpool, this neighbourhood was as deficient in the communications supplied by good roads as in those supplied by inland navigations. Not the slightest trace can be discovered

* See Quarterly Review, No. 146.

in the western part of Lancashire of any of those great military roads which were formed by the Romans in nearly all parts of Britain, and which continued to be the high roads of the kingdom for upwards of a thousand years after the Roman legions had retired from the island. This is the more remarkable, as the eastern parts of the county and the whole of Cheshire are intersected by Roman roads. The road which the Romans formed from Chester to Warrington, and from Warrington, through the centre of South Lancashire, to the banks of the river Ribble, is still so distinctly marked that the greater part of it has been laid down within the last half-dozen years in the maps formed from the Ordnance survey. The Roman road from Chester to Manchester is also laid down in the same maps. It formed part of the line of communication between Chester, the head-quarters of the twentieth Roman Legion, and York, the head-quarters of the sixth Legion. The road from Manchester to Ribchester can also be distinctly traced. It is part of that stupendous line of road, nearly 4000 miles in length, which extended from the frontiers of the ancient Caledonia to the deserts of Syria, from Carlisle to Jerusalem.* These roads formed the most valuable legacy ever bequeathed by a civilized to a barbarous people. They were erected in the unwavering belief, that while the world stood imperial Rome would stand to rule it. With this faith, they were formed of the most durable materials, (brought from a distance when they did not exist upon the spot,) and were constructed on the plans of the ablest military engineers of Greece and Rome. Hence they have proved nearly indestructible; and from the judgment with which they were planned, they long continued to be used as the highways of the kingdom, by generations which scarcely knew the Roman name.† The great road from the Straits of Dover to Chester, Manchester, and the Caledonian Wall, to which the Saxons gave the name of Watling-street, was so perfect in the time of Alfred the Great, that it was made the boundary between the Saxon and the Danish territories, from the neighbourhood of Bedford to the river Mersey, in the treaty which that great king concluded with Guthrum, the Danish chief.‡ In the laws of William the Conqueror, the same Watling-street, together with the Roman roads called Fosse and Ermin-street, are spoken of as the

* Gibbon, chapter 2.

† Essay on the Roman Roads in Lancashire, by Mr. Just, Master of the Bury Grammar School, read before the Liverpool Historical Society.

‡ Palgrave's Rise of the English Commonwealth, 50.

three highways of the kingdom.* Six hundred years later, Watling-street is still spoken of as a boundary, in deeds executed in South Lancashire.† These roads, called the King's highways, were especially under the protection of the Crown, and travellers passing along them had always the satisfaction of knowing that if they were robbed on the King's highways, they could recover the value of the property stolen from them, from the hundred in which the robbery was committed. Hence the inhabitants of the hundreds through which they passed maintained a regular patrol upon them to prevent robberies,‡ and to clear themselves from responsibility.§ As I have already stated, not a vestige of any road of this description exists in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, or anywhere nearer to it than the line of road which entered the county at Warrington, and ran northward by Newton and Wigan to the river Ribble.

The oldest road of which we have any account near Liverpool is Smethom-lane, so named from the ancient manor and township of Smethom, or Esmedune, mentioned in Domesday Book. The manor of Smethom was laid waste by King John about the year 1204, to enlarge the deer park which he was then forming at Toxteth; but the road was spared. It ran along the east side of the park wall, from Wavertree to the Moss-lake, and skirted the Edge hill side of the lake, to the present Pembroke-place. At that point it crossed the stream, which then ran from the Moss-lake, and which fell into the Pool at the head of Byrom-street. It crossed Liverpool Heath by the line of the London-road, and descended by Shaw's-brow to the Townsend-bridge, at the end of Dale-street. From that point it was continued along Dale-street, which was long a rural lane, with the mansion of the Crosses on one side, and that of the Banistres on the other, and with gardens and green fields sloping down to the Pool, until it reached the High Cross, in front of the present Town-hall, from which point it was continued down Water-street, then called Banke-street, to the river. This Smethom-lane never seems to have been anything better than a lane; but it was much the oldest road from Liverpool into the country; and is the only one of which we find any distinct trace in ancient times. It has preserved the name of the township of Smethom for six hundred years after it was wasted by King John.

Travellers proceeding from Liverpool to the south, in those early

* Kelham's Laws of William the Conqueror, 30.

+ Whitaker's History of Whalley, 12.

‡ Palgrave's Rise of the English Constitution, 200.

§ Maddox's Firma Burgi. Notes 158.

times, crossed the Mersey to the Priory at Birkenhead, from which point they made their way along the tracks over the forest of Wirral to Chester, where they got on one of the noble roads formed by the Romans. They were then on the King's highway; and continued upon it all the way to London. As early as the reign of Edward the Second the prior and monks of Birkenhead possessed a right of ferry across the Mersey; and, in that reign they obtained permission to build a hospice or inn for the entertainment of travellers, and to take certain fees for entertaining them, and conveying them across the river. This ancient right of ferry still exists, and is called the Monks' Ferry.

From the isolated position of Liverpool, and that of the towns in the interior of Lancashire, as well as from the want of materials of trade and commerce in early times, it will naturally be concluded that the progress of Liverpool and of South Lancashire in arts and industry was very slow. There is abundant evidence that it was so.

Liverpool received its first charter from King John on the 28th August, in the year 1207; and obtained a second charter from Henry the Third, the son of King John, in the year 1229. These charters gave to the burgesses of Liverpool every commercial privilege which was possessed by the merchants of London, Bristol, Lynn, and the other great ports of the kingdom; but they were long unavailing for the purpose of creating trade and commerce at Liverpool. In the reign of Edward the Third, in the year 1343, an inquiry was made into the value of property in all the boroughs in the kingdom, and amongst others in Liverpool. It shows how slight was the progress made in commerce during the one hundred and thirty years which elapsed between the granting of the first charter by King John, and the date of this inquiry. The following is a copy of the return:—

“BOROUGH OF LIVERPOOL.—The true value of the ninth part of the moveables of the men dwelling in the Borough of Liverpool is £6 16s. 7d., (equal to £103 3s. 9d.) And these are the names of those who have declared the said value—Adam, the son of William, Richard de Walton, Roger de la More, Robert de la More, William Fitz Richard, John Fitz Mariot.”

By means of these returns, we are able to form an estimate of the precise position of the trading interest of Lancashire at that time.

Manchester had then no manufactures, nor any inhabitants engaged in trade whose transactions were large enough to render them liable to pay the tax imposed upon merchandize and moveable property.* Viewed as

* Nonarum Inquisitiones—Lancashire.

an agricultural parish, Manchester was one of the first in the county, the produce of the soil being worth 80 marks, or about £800 a-year of our money; but not even a germ existed at that time of the manufacturing industry which rendered it the most prosperous manufacturing town in Lancashire in the reigns of the Tudors, and which has since placed it at the head of the manufacturing cities of England and the world. The same observation applies to all the other towns in the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn. They are mentioned by name, and a particular account is given of the value of the corn, the wool, and the lambs produced in each township; but it is declared, with regard to all parts of Salford and Blackburn, that they contain no merchants, nor any persons liable to pay the duty on moveable goods.

At this time there were four royal boroughs in Lancashire,—Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan. I have already spoken of Liverpool. The following are the particulars supplied by the same authority—the Nonæ Rolls—with regard to the other three :—

Lancaster, although it gave title to one of the most powerful earls in England, possessed a strong castle, and was the county town, was but an insignificant place in point of population and wealth. The following is the return made with regard to it :—

“BOROUGH OF LANCASTER.—The ninth part of the goods of the burgesses of Lancaster is £6 13s. 6d., (equal to £100 2s. 6d.)—John de Laurence, Thomas de Holland, William Banes, and others.”

Preston, which was also a royal borough, was somewhat a-head of the other royal boroughs in Lancashire, and maintained that position until the time of the Stuarts; still the return of the property of Preston is very humble. It is as follows:—

“BOROUGH OF PRESTON.—The undersigned made inquiry, as to the true value, of the ninth part of the goods of the men, dwelling in the Borough of Preston, and found that the true value was £6 17s. 4d., (equal to £103.)—Albert Fitz Robert, John de Wiche, Galfred de Hakeneshou, Nicholas de Preston, William Smyth, and Roger de Bluwath.”

Wigan was, at that time, the only royal borough in the interior. The return with regard to it was as follows:—

“BOROUGH OF WIGAN.—The true value of the ninth part of the moveable goods, of the men dwelling in the Borough of Wigan, is £5 9s. 4d., (equal to £82,) which value the undersigned have presented.—Henry de Fulsehagh, Simon Payn, Almeric de Walker, Robert de Mareschall, William le Lyester, and William Fitz Walter.”

It will be seen, from the foregoing returns, that the aggregate amount of trading property in the only four boroughs of Lancashire which acknowledged that they possessed any property of that kind, was about £232 19s. 9d. of the money of that time, or £3,494 16s. 3d. of our present money. At that time the capital of Nottingham, according to the same calculation, was equal to £50,000 of our money; that of Bristol to £30,000. Lancashire was thus immeasurably below the southern and central districts of the kingdom in capital and industry, and so continued to be for many succeeding ages.

Of about forty ports on the sea, which existed in the reigns of the Plantagenet Kings, not above a dozen are now available for the purposes of foreign commerce.* Some have been washed away by the waves. This was the case with Dunwich, which was a great port at the time of the Conquest, though it had even then lost a carucate of land by the encroachments of the sea. It has since been utterly destroyed by the same cause. Ravenspurn, in Yorkshire, and a number of other places situated on chalky cliffs, have been ruined in like manner.

Others have been destroyed by the collecting of the sands. This is the case with Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and all the Cinque Ports, except Dover; and with many other ports, Chester especially.

Others have sustained no physical change, but have ceased to be used as ports from the increased size of vessels employed in modern navigation: York, Lincoln, and Exeter, are of the number.

It was the misfortune of Chester, as well as of most of the ports founded by the Romans, to be built at too great a distance from the sea. That great people never overcame their fear of the ocean. Nothing struck them with

* The following is a list of the ports of the sea at the time when Liverpool was raised to the rank of a free borough, with an account of the sum paid by each to the tax of fifteenths, in the sixth of King John:—

PORT.	AMOUNT. £ s. d.	EQUAL TO £ s. d.	PORT.	AMOUNT. £ s. d.	EQUAL TO £ s. d.
LONDON	836 12 10	12,549 12 6	SEAFORD	12 12 2	189 2 6
BOSTON	788 15 3	11,831 8 9	SHOREHAM ..	20 4 9	303 11 3
SOUTHAMPTON.	712 3 7	10,682 13 9	CHICHESTER ..	23 6 0	349 10 0
LINCOLN	656 12 2	9,848 2 6	EXMOUTH	14 6 6	214 17 6
LYNN	651 11 11	9,773 18 9	DARTMOUTH ..	3 0 6	45 7 6
HULL	344 14 7	5,170 18 9	ESSE	7 4 8	108 10 0
YORK	175 8 10	2,631 12 6	FOWEY	48 15 11	731 18 9
DUNWICH	104 9 0	1,566 15 0	PEVENSEY....	16 17 10	253 7 6
GRIMSBY	91 15 1½	1,376 6 10½	COTON	0 11 11	8 18 9
IPSWORTH....	54 16 6	822 7 6	WHITBY	0 4 0	3 0 0
YARMOUTH....	60 8 4	906 5 0	SCARBORO'....	22 14 0½	340 10 7½
COLCHESTER ..	16 8 0	246 0 0	SELBY	17 11 8	263 15 0
SANDWICH	16 0 0	240 0 0	BARTON	33 11 2	503 7 6
DOVER	32 6 1	484 11 3	HEDUN	18 15 9½	281 16 10½
RYE	10 13 5½	160 1 10½	NORWICH	6 19 10	104 17 6
WINCHELSEA..	62 2 4½	931 15 7½	ORFORD	11 7 0	170 5 0

greater awe than the rushing of the tides into the estuaries of Britain. "Nowhere," says Tacitus, "is the wonderful power of the sea to be seen in greater extent than here; driving back the waters of many rivers, or forcibly carrying them away with its own. Neither are its flowings and ebbings confined to the usual limits of the bank and shore, but it works and winds itself far into the land, and even forms bays in rocks and mountains, as if the same were its natural bed." With these feelings of awe it was natural that the Romans should form their ports as high up the rivers as they could do, without losing the advantage of the double power supplied by the advancing and receding tide; and in some instances even higher. This they did at Chester, Gloucester, York, Lincoln, Colchester, Huntingdon, Ribchester, and many other places. Some of these ports never possessed sufficient depth of water for the purposes of modern commerce: others which once possessed it have lost it from the collecting of sand banks.

The port of Chester, which was originally the principal port on the north-west side of the island, has been thus ruined by the collecting of sand at the mouth of the River Dee. At the time when Domesday Book was drawn up, the port of Chester was worth £70 (£1050) a year to the Crown, but soon after that time its value began to decline, owing to the drifting of the sands which were driven into it by the storms of the Atlantic. In the first year of Richard the Second, the rent of the port of Chester, which had previously risen considerably, was reduced from £100 to £73 10s. 8d., "owing to the shallowing of the river Dee." In the fourth of Henry the Sixth, the rent of the same port was again reduced "by reason of the decay of merchandize, and because the port was destroyed by the sand of the sea." In the fourth of Edward the Fourth, the King forgave £80 of the rent of Chester, "because of the charge of the walls, and that the river had become sandy, and merchandize was in decay." In the year 1560, a collection for the new haven at Chester was made in all churches throughout the kingdom. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, 1566, the decline of the port still continued, as appears from the following extract of a state paper of that date:—"And forasmuch as we be credibly informed that the said merchants, citizens, and inhabitants of our said city of Chester have, within the space of ten years last past, lost divers notable ships and vessels of the said city, and great quantities of their goods and merchandizes upon the seas, as well by pirates as by divers other misfortunes, and namely at their entries in and going out at the mouth of the haven of the said port, being lately grown and become more dangerous for the coming in and issuing

out of ships than in times past it hath been, by reason whereof the said merchants and their trade in merchandizes there be lately fallen into great decay, and very unable to recover their said losses, or to maintain their said trade, if they should stand charged to the said new imposts, therefore they are exempt," &c. The above are specimens of numerous orders on the same subject, all of which trace the decay of the port of Chester. This decay of the port continued during successive ages, and still continues.

Another cause of the abandonment of Chester and other ancient ports, has been the great increase in the size of the vessels used for the purposes of commerce. We know from history that Cæsar was able to draw on shore, in a few days, the vessels with which he invaded Britain. The vessels with which the Danes and Northmen overran all the coasts of Europe, and in which they crossed the Atlantic, cannot have been of more than twenty or thirty tons each. We have particular accounts of some of the largest of them, and are told that they could convey from 20 to 40 men and a couple of horses.* The five hundred vessels which King John collected in the Irish Sea, in the year 1210, were mere boats. We know that even the herring boats of Yarmouth were considered large enough for warlike purposes, although they were excused on account of the importance of the fishery. When the great Columbus sailed on his ever memorable voyage of discovery, one of the vessels which accompanied him was a carvel of 15 tons burthen. The vessels fitted out at Bristol, and in which Frobisher crossed the Atlantic, were of 15 or 20 tons burthen each; and Sir Hugh Gilbert made his first voyage from Europe to Newfoundland in a vessel of 10 tons, which however was lost on its return.† While vessels of this size were in use a very small depth of water was sufficient to form a port; but in modern times, when we have seen vessels of 1,000, 2,000, and even 3,000 tons employed for the purposes of commerce, and when it is habitually carried on in vessels of 500 or 600 tons, the foreign trade of the country is confined to the ports which possess a much greater depth of water, as London, Bristol, Hull, and Liverpool. Even a greater depth than they supply is required for the vessels of the Royal Navy, and hence Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Milford have become the receptacles for the stupendous ships which compose it.

While the port of Chester was thus going to decay from the ruin of

* Snorre's *Heimskringla*, i., 317.

† Sir Charles Lyell's *Second Visit to the United States*, c. 1.

the harbour, Liverpool, which possesses an abundant depth of water for all the purposes of commerce, continued to rise. Liverpool being within two or three miles of the sea, had not to contend with the same difficulties as ports like Chester, situated twenty miles from it. In addition to its proximity to the sea, Liverpool is favoured by the form of the entrance to the river, which is narrow when compared with the higher part of the estuary, and is therefore constantly scoured out by the rushing of the receding tides. The width of the Mersey at its entrance is only one-fourth of the width of the Dee; it is turned northward, and so protected from the direct influx of the Atlantic; and it is further sheltered by the peninsula of Wirral, which rises like a great bulwark between the estuary and the ocean. A similar form of river and land has kept open the port of the Wyre, whilst the Ribble and the Dee, which are open to the full action of the tides and winds, have long since been ruined as ports.

The following extract from "The Coasting Pilot of Great Britain," drawn up by Captain Greenville Collins, in the reign of William and Mary, shows what was the state of the entrance to the river Mersey before any efforts had been made to improve it; and also what was the nature and extent of the accommodation which this port afforded for large ships, previous to the construction of the magnificent line of docks which now form the safest, the most commodious, and the most extensive artificial harbour in the world:—"Being at the back of Hyle sand," says Captain Collins, "bring the mill (Bootle) and wood, one on the other, and run in, keeping close along Hyle sand, and so into Hyle Lake and anchor. Here the great ships that belong to Liverpool put out part of their lading, till they are light enough to sail over the flats into Liverpool. There is a channel near Formby to go into Liverpool, where there is three fathoms at low water on the bar, but this place is not buoyed or beacons, and so not known. The ships lie aground before the town of Liverpool. It is bad riding afloat before the town, by reason of the strong tides that run here, therefore ships that ride afloat ride up at the Slyne, where is less tide." Such was the natural entrance, and such the amount of accommodation, afforded by the port of Liverpool a hundred and fifty years ago. Since that time the passage near Formby has been buoyed, and a new and much better passage than either of those mentioned by Greenville Collins has been discovered, by means of which vessels three times as large as those which were used for commercial purposes in his time enter the harbour without discharging any portion of their cargo. A succession of brilliant

lights, some afloat, others placed on hills and head-lands, render the approach to the river as safe by night as by day. Once within the Mersey, numerous docks are open to receive vessels, in which they lie as safe as in the smoothest and most land-locked harbour in the world. The history of these docks, and of the rude harbours which preceded them, will be given in a succeeding part of this work.

The above sketch will show the principal causes of the commercial insignificance of Liverpool in ancient times, and will indicate some of the causes of its modern greatness. I now proceed to trace the history of the Lordship, Borough, Port, and Inhabitants of Liverpool from the earliest ages down to that in which we live.

CHAPTER SECOND.

NOTICES OF LIVERPOOL AND THE ADJOINING DISTRICT PREVIOUS TO THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.

A single writer on British Antiquities has claimed for Liverpool an origin as ancient as that of Chester, Manchester, and Lancaster, all of which places have existed from the time of the Roman dominion in Britain, and are mentioned as military stations in the Roman Itineraries. The writer who makes this claim is William Baxter, the author of a learned but fanciful work written in the Latin language, and published at the beginning of the last century, under the title of “*Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*.” In his preface, Baxter makes a boast of having discovered the sites of upwards of two hundred Roman stations, which were not known to Camden or any other English antiquary. Amongst a variety of discoveries, most of them apocryphal, one is that the river Mersey was called the Tyne, or Tinna, (the winding stream,) both by the Britons and Romans. Another is that Warrington was named Veratinum from the fact of its being situated on the said river Tyne, or Tinna. A third is that Liverpool is the true site of a mysterious port, named the Portus Segantiorum, which has been much sought by antiquaries, but never yet found.* All that is really known of that port is, that it is mentioned in the account of Britain given by Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria, as one of the ports lying between Morecambe Bay and the river Seteia, which river is supposed to be the Dee, although on very slight evidence. The learned Camden, who was as much at a loss as any of his predecessors or successors as to the position of the Segantian port, hazarded the bold conjecture that no port of that name had ever existed; and suggested that the belief in its existence had arisen from the error of an ignorant transcriber of Ptolemy’s work, who, by substituting the Greek name for a port for the Greek name for a lake, had set the learned world to seek at the mouths of the Lancashire

* SEGANTIORUM PORTUS.—In the works of Ptolemy, it is written incorrectly Setantion Limen for Segantion. It is Litherpool, at the mouth of the River Mersey, or Tinna. * * Camden wandered far from the way when he sought the Portus Segantiorum at Dictis, or Winwandermere.—*Baxter*, 217.

rivers for a position which was only to be found on the banks of the beautiful Windermere.* This theory Baxter denounces as a great error, and declares that the father of English topography had entirely lost his way on this subject. By way of setting him right, he asserts very positively that Liverpool, or as he calls it Litherpool, at the mouth of the Mersey, is the true site of the Segantian port. Unfortunately for the antiquarian claims of Liverpool, he forgets to supply the evidence on which his assertion rests; and certainly nothing has been discovered either before or since, in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, which would induce us to believe the assertion without evidence. If the Romans had formed or even occupied a position in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, some traces would have been discovered of the fact, in the course of the innumerable excavations which have been made in this neighbourhood. Chester and Ribchester have each of them proved inexhaustible mines of wealth to our antiquaries; and both Manchester and Warrington have yielded remarkable specimens of the works of the masters of the ancient world. Not even a single Roman coin has been discovered in Liverpool. This might have well occurred if the site had been even temporarily occupied by the Romans: still less have any remains of altars and temples been found, which are rarely absent from positions where they fixed themselves permanently. The most decisive proof, however, that they never established themselves in this neighbourhood, is that which I have mentioned in the previous chapter, I mean the absence of those military roads which are found in other parts of the country, and which never failed to exist in the neighbourhood of every town or station of any importance. As far as we have the means of judging, this part of Lancashire was a solitude in ancient times. It was probably covered with one of those great forests, in the recesses of which the ancient Druids celebrated the rites of a bloody superstition, under the shade of ancient oaks, and in circles of unhewn stones, such as the Calder stones, which still exist within a few miles of Liverpool.

The first people of whom we find any certain traces around the estuary of the Mersey are the Danes or Northmen. These daring adventurers subdued and colonised numerous points on the coasts and islands of the Irish Sea some centuries before the Norman conquest, and they retained possession of the principal island in that sea, the Isle of Man, for two hundred and fifty years after the Norman conquest. We learn from the

* Camden's *Britannia*, 621.

Saxon Chronicle that the river Mersey was the southern boundary of the Danish kingdom of Northumbria, on the western side of the island. Manchester is expressly spoken of as a place situated in the kingdom of Northumbria,* and Cheshire is known to have formed part of the kingdom of Mercia.† The power of the Danes was more firmly established along the coast than it was in the interior. This circumstance is easily accounted for by the rapid communication which the Danish settlers near the sea had with the Danish Chiefs established in the Isle of Man, at Dublin, at Waterford, in the Orkneys, in the Hebrides, as well as with the pirates who roamed along the coasts of Europe from Norway to Spain. Nearly all the names of places on the coast of Lancashire bear marks of a Scandinavian rather than of a Saxon origin. We are told by the most learned writers on Northern Antiquities, that the invaders introduced Danish or Norwegian, in the place of Saxon names, wherever they formed permanent settlements. The author of the History of the Rise of the English Commonwealth, (Sir Francis Palgrave,) speaking of the settlement of the Danes in the north of England, says, "The old Saxon names gave place to Danish appellations. Northworthig became Derby, or Deorby; Stonesalch is the present Whitby. The vessels of Grimsby, if they enter a Danish port, can even now claim the exemption derived from the Danish founder or restorer; and the topography as well as the language of the north and east of England will afford the most convincing proof of the preponderance of the Danish settlers." The names of nearly all the ancient villages around Liverpool, if not that of Liverpool itself, bear evidence to the truth of this observation. The name of the village of West Derby, situate about four miles from Liverpool, from which the hundred of West Derby is named, was no doubt derived from the same enterprising race. It was probably the chief place in the district during the Danish as well as the Saxon dominion. The manor house which stood at West Derby, in the reign of Henry the Third, was built on the site of a still more ancient castle, whose origin is entirely lost in antiquity. It was there before the Norman conquest; and most likely was there at the time when the Danes were driven out of Lancashire, by Athelstane and Edmund, the grandsons of Alfred the Great. The name of Derby is probably derived from the Danish words Dyr, a wild beast, and Byc, a town. The Saxons afterwards called the town of Derby, in Derbyshire,

* Saxon Chronicle, 138.

† Sir Peter Leicester's Antiquities of Cheshire, 92.

Deorby, which is evidently derived from their word Deor, the general name which they gave to all wild animals. The modern English word Deer is the same word slightly altered, and restricted to a single tribe of animals of chase, instead of being applied to all. Up to the time of the Norman conquest, the Laneashire Derby was still a hunting seat of the Saxon Kings. As I have already mentioned, all the Thaners in South Laneashire held their estates on condition of joining the royal hunting parties, with their dependents, for the purpose of driving the game of the district into the haies or enclosures in which it was killed by the royal hunters. Three series of hawks existed in the Manor of West Derby, at the time of the Norman conquest, and extensive woods stretched on all sides. All these are traces of the circumstance from which the manor and hundred of West Derby took their name. Another evidence of the settlement of the northern tribes on the banks of the Mersey, is found in the existence of villages on both sides of the Mersey bearing the name of Thingwall—the name which they gave to their courts of justice and places of public assembly. These courts were generally held on the summits of hills commanding extensive views of the surrounding country. “Natural hills, or artificial tumuli, (says Sir Francis Palgrave,) upon whose summit the judges might meet, visible to the surrounding multitude, yet separated from the throng, were also appropriated to popular assemblies. Such was the Mons-placiti or Moot-hill at Seone, the only portion of the Royal demesne retained by Malcolm, when he is said to have bestowed all his lands upon the Barons of his realm; and such still is the Tynwald Hill of Man.” We learn from the Chronicles of the Kings of Man, preserved in Camden’s Britannia, that Tingualla, or Thingwall, was the ancient name of the Manx Tynwald.* Thingwall was also the name of a temple or court of justice, built in the Island of Iceland by the Norwegian King Olaf; and it was there that the great assemblies of the people were held every year.† We find the same

* Camden, 738.

+ Snorre Sturlason, the Historian of the Northern Kings, gives the following account of Olaf named Helga or the Holy:—“In the spring Olaf had his fleet prepared, in which he was accustomed, in the summer, to make his voyages through the southern regions,”—(Man was the chief of the Soder-eyes, or Southern Islands)—“holding solemn assemblies, in which he settled questions in dispute and prescribed laws to the people. He also collected tribute”—(Childs, perhaps Childwall, is named from this)—“where it was due. He further pursued his voyage, in the autumn, towards the most distant regions, where he initiated the inhabitants in the mysteries of Christianity, in his extensive territories, and promulgated statutes and laws. Having sent out embassies, he made many friends in Iceland, Greenland, and the Feroe Islands. He also sent the timber needful for building a temple to Iceland, where a temple was afterwards built at a place called Thingwall, (Tingwalla,) where solemn Courts of Justice were held yearly.—*Heimskringla*, part 7.

name in the Shetland Islands, at Lerwick, in which islands the Northmen ruled for many hundred years. Two places, bearing the name, are also found within a few miles of Liverpool, one in Lancashire and the other in Cheshire. The Cheshire Thingwall is mentioned in Domesday Book; and very strong evidence exist that the Laneashire Thingwall was a dependency of West Derby at the time that book was drawn up. Its position is precisely that described by Sir Francis Palgrave,—a beautiful green hill, rising from an extensive plain, and commanding a view of all the surrounding district of South Laneashire. The position of the Cheshire Thingwall also very much corresponds with that assigned to these ancient courts and places of assembly. Numerous other traces of the Danish race are found along the Laneashire coast, and for some miles in the interior. All the small islands on the coast have still the Danish termination of “eye,” or island, as Walneye, Foudreye, and Hilbrie. The promontories are still known by the Danish or Norwegian name of “ness,” or “naze.” The sites of the most ancient churches still bear the Danish name of “Kirk,” as Kirkham, Kirby, Kirkdale, Ormskirk. Numbers of the oldest villages retain the Northern termination of “by;” as Roby, Derby, Crosby, Formby, Kirby, Frankby, Thirlby, and others. In some parts of the district we still recognise the names of the chiefs who figure in the wars of the ancient Sea Kings. Thus, in Amounderness, formerly written Agmunderness, we find the name of Agmund, the governor, who is mentioned in the Saxon chronicle;* in Ormskirk, that of Earl Orme, whose descendants remained in Laneashire after the Norman Conquest; and in Garston, that of Earl Gaer, another celebrated warrior. The old northern names of Syward, Arnold, Ulf, and others, remained in use in Laneashire long after the Norman Conquest; and the female name of Quinilda was so popular two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, that we find three females bearing it, in the account of South Laneashire given in Testa de Neville. As the old Northern language is now spoken no where except in the Island of Iceland, it is difficult to trace the origin of many words derived from it. I suspect that this is the cause of the difficulty which has been found in discovering the meaning of the first part of the name of Liverpool.

The latter part of the name of Liverpool is evidently derived from the pool which washed its shores. Some doubt, however, exists as to whether the pool from which the name was taken was the narrow creek which

* Saxon Chronicle, 129.

encircled the ancient town, or a part of the wider expanse of the Mersey, extending from Litherland or Crosby to above the present town. We find the term pool applied both to narrow creeks and to open expanses of water. In the latter sense, it is applied to that portion of the river Dee called Dawpool; to the reach of the river Thames, lying below London Bridge, which forms the harbour of London; to the large bay from which the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire, is named; to Wampool, on the coast of Cumberland; and to Hartlepool, on the coast of Durham. We also find the upper expanse of the Mersey, between Runcorn and Warrington, called the Fresh Pool in a deed of the reign of Edward the Fourth—a designation which seems to have been given to it to distinguish it from some pool lower down. Holinshead, who wrote in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, speaking of the river Mersey, says: “finally, our Mersie, going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirpool, or, as it was called of old, Liverpool Haven, when it is past Runcorn.” As early as the reign of Edward the First, the burgesses of Liverpool claimed and succeeded in establishing their claim to the river as far down as Crosby or Litherland.*

Most of the attempts hitherto made to explain the meaning of the first part of the word Liverpool have been very unsuccessful. I shall not add to the number of conjectures, but point out the one which appears to me to be most probable amongst those already made. A difficulty arises from the fact, that it is scarcely possible to tell whether the original name of the township was Liverpool, Litherpool, or Lithepool, or whether the name was spelt all those ways indifferently. When Camden visited Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he found the name written and pronounced Litherpoole; but he says that the original name, in the time of the Saxons, was Liferpole.† That would have been, as nearly as possible, the present name, for the Saxons used the letter *f* where we use the *v*. But there is not the slightest evidence as to the manner in which the name of Liverpool was written at that time. The most ancient deed now in existence in which the name occurs, is one of the reign of Richard the First, about the year 1190, and will be found quoted in a succeeding page. In that the word is written Liverpol, modernized into Liverpool, which confirms, in some degree, the spelling of Camden. The same mode of spelling (or contractions which are equivalent to it,) occur in King John’s charter to the town of Liverpool, granted in the year 1207; in the second charter granted by Henry the Third, in the year

* Pleas of the Crown, 20th Edward First.

† Camden’s Britannia, 615.

1229 ; and in most of the deeds of that age. There are exceptions, however. The most remarkable of these is found in that ancient and curious record of the royal rights, entitled *Testa de Neville*, in which the word is written *Litherpol*.* That part of *Testa de Neville* which relates to Lancashire must have been drawn up in the reign of King John, for we find mention made in it of "the Earl of Morton, who now is king," which description can apply to no other than King John. The name is written *Lithepole* in one of the Sheriff's accounts, in the reign of Edward I., the grandson of King John. These modes of spelling are, therefore, of nearly equal antiquity, so far as we have the means of judging from original documents. I am inclined to think that the *Lider* and *Liter* of *Domesday Book* ;† the *Liver* of the reign of Richard the First, the *Lither* of *Testa de Neville*, and the *Lithe* of the Sheriff's accounts, are all originally the same word, and that they are derived, as has been suggested, from the old Gothic word *Lide* or *Lithe*, the Sea, or from some of the words formed from it, as *Lid* and *Liter*, a ship ; *Lithe*, a fleet of ships ; *Lithesman*, a seaman. We find this word as a part of several names around the coast, as in *Lytham*, at the mouth of the *Ribble* ; *Litherland* and *Liverpool*, at the mouth of the *Mersey* ; *Lidford*, in *Devonshire* ; *Lithermore*, or *Livermore*, in *Suffolk*, and probably *Leith*, in the estuary of the *Forth*. The old Scandinavian name *Forth* has entirely superseded the classical name *Bodotria*, in the *Frith* of *Forth* ; and it has been clearly shown, by Dr. Jamieson, Sir Francis Palgrave, and other writers, that Scandinavian names, as well as Scandinavian words, abound in the north of England and in Scotland. It is at least a curious coincidence, that the *River Liffey*, which flows into the *Bay of Dublin*, is called the *River Lith*, in six or seven official documents published in the reign of King John.

The earliest mention of the *River Mersey* by its modern name is contained in a deed of the reign of the Saxon King *Ethelred*, executed in the year 1004, that is about sixty years before the *Norman Conquest*. The earlier history of that river is very obscure. *Baxter* is the only writer who professes to tell us its ancient name ; and his assertion that the name was the *Tinna*, or *Tyne*, which he says means the *Winding Stream*, is a mere assertion. *Stretford*, or "the ford of the street" or road, and *Warrington*, were the two points at which the *Mersey* was crossed by the *Roman Roads*. There is no doubt that the *Mersey* was the boundary

* *Testa de Neville*, 371.

† Used in what we call *Litherland*.

between the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, both in the Saxon and the Danish times. Some writers have even thought that the latter kingdom was named from that circumstance; but most persons will agree in the opinion of Sir Peter Leycester, the historian of Cheshire, that the river is more likely to have been named from the kingdom which it bounded, than the kingdom (which extended over seventeen counties) to have been named from so small a stream. "It was called Mercia (says Sir Peter Leycester) not from the river Mersey running from the corner of Wirhallia, in Cheshire, because that was the utmost limit thereof westward, but I rather believe that river took its denomination from the kingdom which it bounded on that side."* I am the more disposed to concur in this opinion from the fact that the river Mersey is not the main stream, in the upper part of its course. The Irwell, which flows into it from the north, is the larger river; but the smaller stream, which formed the boundary, still bears the name of Mersey from the point where it leaves the hills to the sea.

The first mention of the country between the Mersey and the Ribble—Inter Ripam et Mersam—is contained in the will of Wulfric Spott, Earl of Mercia, made in the year 1004. In that deed that powerful nobleman bequeathed the district between those two rivers to his heirs, Elfhelme and Wulfage, subject to a payment, by each of them, of three thousand sceattas, (a small coin then current in this part of the country,) to the monastery of Burton-on-Trent, of which he was the founder. This deed is the earliest document in which the rivers Ribble and Mersey are mentioned by their modern names, or from which we obtain any information, as to the ownership of property between them.†

Wulfric Spott, the testator in the above will, was killed in a great battle, fought with an invading army of the Danes, at Ipswich, in the year 1010. This was the commencement of a series of disastrous conflicts, which ended in the conquest of the kingdom by the Danes, under their brave and able kings, Sweyne, and his son, Canute. Amongst other results of that struggle was the ruin of the Earls of Mercia, who were the most powerful subjects of the crown. Although they recovered a large portion of their estates, when the Saxon line of kings was restored, they never regained the country between the Mersey and the Ribble. That passed

* Sir Peter Leycester's *Antiquities of Cheshire*, 92.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii., 2. See also note on Dugdale's Translation of Wulfric Spott's Will, in *Proofs and Illustrations of Sir Francis Palgrave's Rise of the English Commonwealth*, 292.

into the hands of Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king of the race of Alfred.

We are told that King Edward held the whole, in the introduction to the account of the six Hundreds of West Derby, Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland, given in the Domesday survey. It thus appears that all the country between the Ribble and the Mersey was Royal Demesne, previous to the Norman Conquest.

At the death of Edward the Confessor, the greater part of the manors about Liverpool were held by Thanes of the second or third class, who paid the king a nominal rent of two oras or ounces of silver, for each carucate of arable land, and a fine of 40s., (equal to about £30 of our money,) on the accession of each new tenant. These Thanes were also obliged to help in building the King's houses, and to send all their servants to assist in cutting the king's corn for one day in the month of August. The only man of much wealth in this part of the country at that time, was a Thane named Uctred, who held Knowsley and fifteen other manors, including Kirkdale, which now forms part of the town of Liverpool. This Uctred is believed to have been the son of the Uctred who is mentioned in the history of the wars of King Canute, given in the Saxon Chronicle. The other manors were in the possession of Thanes of a smaller class, each of whom had his rude mansion or manor house, where he resided in the midst of his dependents, whom he governed after the manor of his Saxon ancestors. The quantity of arable land—terra—attached to these manor houses was very small; in some instances not more than twenty acres, and in few more than from a hundred to a hundred and fifty acres. At that time, however, the population was rather pastoral than agricultural in its habits. The chief wealth of the landed proprietors consisted in the herds of cattle and swine which subsisted on the wastes and in the forests which surrounded the small clearings in which their mansions were built.

The only part of South Lancashire in which we have any information as to the numbers and occupations of a lower class of people than the Thanes, or gentlemen, at the close of the Saxon dynasty, is in the manor of West Derby, near Liverpool, and the berewicks or subordinate manors attached to it. This manor and these berewicks were then held by the Crown, and were cultivated and inhabited by fifty-three villeins, sixty-two bordarii, three ploughmen, six herdsman, a radman or horseman, two bondmen, and three bondwomen. If these hundred and thirty persons were heads of families, this would give a population of

between six and seven hundred inhabitants in West Derby, and the six berewicks attached to that manor. These are supposed to have been Liverpool, Everton, Garston, Thingwall, Great Crosby, and perhaps a portion of Wavertree. This is quite as large a population as is likely to have existed in those days in West Derby and its dependencies, when the whole kingdom is computed to have contained a population of not more than a million and a half of inhabitants. The smallness of the number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Liverpool proves that no town of any consequence existed there at that time. This is equally proved by the occupations of the people. The villeins were the farmers or cultivators of the district. The bordarii were the cottagers, that is, the day labourers employed in husbandry; and perhaps the fishermen and ferrymen of the Mersey. Such was the population of this district at the earliest period at which we obtain any insight into its condition.

In addition to the manors let to Saxon Thanes, it appears from Domesday Book that King Edward the Confessor held in his own hand, up to the time of his death, the royal manor of West Derby, and six berewicks, or subordinate manors, dependent upon it. The names of these six berewicks are not given; but we naturally look for them amongst those of the manors or townships adjoining West Derby, which are known to have existed, and to have been connected with it, from ancient times. The manors which best answer these conditions are Liverpool, Everton, and Thingwall, which adjoined West Derby; Garston and Great Crosby, which lie within a moderate distance of it; and a portion of the present township of Wavertree, lying between West Derby and Garston. No account is given in Domesday Book of the value of the lands in Everton, although the name is mentioned. The names of Liverpool, Garston, Thingwall, and one of the Crosbys are not even mentioned, though there is evidence that they all existed very soon after that survey was made. To have omitted these manors, or any others, would have been to defeat one principal object for which the survey was made, which was the raising of a land tax of six shillings (£4 10s.) a hide, on all the arable land of the kingdom, to resist an invasion of the kingdom, which was threatened by Canute King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, one of the successors of the Danish conqueror Canute. There can be no doubt that all the manors in this neighbourhood, without exception, are included in the Domesday Survey; and that those which are not mentioned by name, are comprised under the general head of the six berewicks of West Derby.

It will be seen in a subsequent chapter of this work, that the manors of Liverpool, Everton, Thingwall, and Crosby, as well as the greater part of the lands within those manors, belonged to the successive lords of the manor of West Derby for three or four hundred years, and that the connection of some of those manors with each other was not severed until they were sold by Charles the First to the merchants of London, in the year 1629. In 1617, the West Derby men, with Sir Richard Molyneux at their head, attempted to seize on part of the waste lands of Liverpool, in right of this ancient superiority; but as the Lordship of West Derby did not belong to them, but to the Crown, they clearly had no claim. As we shall see afterwards, the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Town Council of Liverpool met and repulsed them, either by moral or physical force—it does not very clearly appear which. Indeed it ought to be said in justice to the Corporation that they defended their claim to the wastes of the manor, when they produced only 7s. 5d. a year, as resolutely as if they had foreseen that the time would come when they would be worth £100,000 a year.

We find in Domesday Book descriptions of two different states of society. The former is that which existed at the death of Edward the Confessor, or, as it is expressed in the Exon Domesday, on the day in which that king was living and dead. The second is that which prevailed twenty years after the battle of Hastings, when the Saxon Thanes had been driven from their estates to make way for Norman knights and gentlemen, and when the feudal system, of which only imperfect traces existed amongst the Saxons, had been established in all its rigour. This system was military in its origin; it was directed to military purposes; and whatever were its disadvantages in other respects, it was effectual as a means of repelling attack from abroad. In the two hundred years which preceded its introduction, the kingdom was invaded and wasted fifty times. After its introduction, no invader entered the English territory for three centuries without being signally defeated; and no one ever since succeeded in gaining any permanent advantage. Military organization was the forte of the Normans; want of it the weakness of the Saxons. According to the feudal system, the king was looked upon as the head of the armed force of the nation, which force consisted of the whole population, drawn out by conscription, as required. All the land of the kingdom was considered to belong to the king, to be held for public purposes, and was granted to the great tenants of the Crown, who re-granted it to knights and gentlemen, on condition of military service.

The king, as I have said, was looked upon as the Commander-in-Chief; and the extraordinary military talents of the kings of the Norman and Plantagenet lines did much to establish the military reputation of the English race. Next to the king came the Earls and Barons, who held their great estates on condition of bringing a certain number of knights and retainers into the field. Their earldoms and baronies varied in extent, partly with the fertility and wealth of the districts in which they were situated, partly with the military necessities of those districts. In some of the southern counties where the land was rich, where cultivation was comparatively good, and where there was no danger of foreign attack, a single county was divided among forty or fifty tenants, holding directly from the Crown, including generally an earl, a baron, and numerous knights. In the northern districts of the kingdom, and along the frontiers of Wales and Scotland, where the land was comparatively uncultivated, and where the danger of attack was urgent, the earldoms and baronies comprised immense districts of land. Thus, the earldom of Shrewsbury included the greater part of Shropshire. That of Chester included the whole of Cheshire, with the exception of the lands belonging to the bishop. And that of Roger of Poitou included the whole of the present county of Lancaster, without any exception, and very extensive districts in other counties. These earldoms were sub-divided by the respective earls amongst the knights and gentlemen who had followed them to battle, and on whom they relied to defend them in their newly-acquired possessions.

At the time when the Domesday Survey was made, the lands in the manor of West Derby, and in the subordinate manors or berewicks of Liverpool, Everton, Garston, Crosby, Thingwall, and Wavertree, were in the hands of eight Norman knights, to whom they had been presented by Roger of Poitou. The names of these knights were Goisfred, Roger, William, Warin, a second Goisfred, Tetbald, Robert, and Gislebert. The only circumstance which has come down to us respecting any of these knights is, that one of the two Goisfreds was Vice Comes or Sheriff of the Honour of Lancaster, in the reign of William Rufus. He is so described in a grant to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, in which he settled the manor of Garston on that Abbey. It is impossible to trace the history of the other knights settled in this neighbourhood. This difficulty arises chiefly from the absence of surnames, which renders it impossible to distinguish them from innumerable Goisfreds, Roberts, Rogers, Williams, and Warins settled in Lancashire and in other parts

of the kingdom. Almost the only Norman families settled in the county who brought surnames with them, and retained them, were the Molyneuxes of Sefton; the Butlers of Warrington; the Gresleys, who were originally settled in Leyland, but afterwards became Barons of Manchester; the Boiseuils of Preston and Penwortham; the De Lacys of Halton and Clitheroe; the Banistres of Newton; the Gerards of Leyland; the Fitz Henrys, who afterwards took the name of Lathom, and who are now represented by the Stanley family; and the De la Meres, from whom the De la Mores of Liverpool were probably descended. The spelling of surnames, even when they did exist, was so arbitrary in that age, as to add to the difficulty of recognizing ancient families. Thus we have Molyneux written Molineus, and De Meulas, and latinized into Molendino. We have Butler translated into Pincerna, and De la Mere translated into Del Mor, De Mora, and De la More. Still further difficulty is produced by the practice which then existed of changing surnames with a change of property or occupation. Thus the following names all belong to different members of a single ancient family, some of whom possessed the manor of Liverpool in early times:—Ivo de Taillebois, Gilbert de Furnesis, Warine de Lancaster, Henry Fitz Warine, Henry Falconarius, and Henry de Lee. Amidst this chaos of names it is not possible to trace the descent of more than a few families. There is little doubt, however, that the Waltons of Walton, who were the original stewards of the Hundred of West Derby, and the first governors of the Castle of Liverpool, were descended from one of the knights who came over with Roger of Poitou; and there is no doubt that the Molyneuxes, who held those offices from the reign of Henry the Sixth, were of equally ancient origin.

When William the Conqueror divided the lands of England, amongst the chiefs of his army, after the battle of Hastings, he conferred especial marks of favour on the great family of Montgomery. Earl Roger de Montgomery, the head of it, he raised to the rank of Earl of Arundel, Chichester, and Shrewsbury; giving to him the strong castle of Arundel, with a large portion of the county of Sussex, together with the castle of Bridgenorth, and nearly the whole of the county of Shropshire. This powerful Earl afterwards built the castle of Montgomery, in Wales, which has since given name to the county of Montgomery. At his death, his eldest son, Robert, and his second son, Hugh, divided the immense possessions of the family between them. Hugh, the second son, obtained the English earldoms, whilst Robert, the eldest, obtained the Norman

estates, both of the family of Montgomery, and of the still wealthier house of Belesme, in right of his mother, Mabile, the heiress of that great Norman house. The Montgomerys are said to have possessed thirty castles in Normandy, France, England, and Wales. On the death of Hugh, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed in a skirmish with a body of Norwegian pirates, in the Island of Anglesea, in the year 1098, Robert, the eldest son, succeeded to the English earldoms, and thus united in himself all the possessions of the elder branch. These he held until the time of the ruin and banishment of the whole family, on the accession of Henry the First.

The younger sons were as liberally provided for by the Conqueror, as the head of the house.

Earl Arnulf, the fourth son, received all the lands which he could conquer, in that beautiful district of South Wales, now called Pembroke-shire, where he is said to have founded the castle of Pembroke.*

Earl Roger of Poitou, the third son, received even more extensive territories than the other members of the family. These included the whole of Lancashire, from the river Mersey to the hills of Westmorland, together with large estates in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. During the life of Roger of Poitou, and for many years after his death, these great possessions were known by the name of the Honour or Earldom of Roger Pietavensis. They afterwards formed the Honour and Earldom of Lancaster, and were part of the Duchy of Lancaster, a great historical dignity, which continues to the present day.

The wealth and power heaped on the family of Montgomery proved its ruin. In the interval between the battle of Hastings, which was fought in the year 1066, and the completing of the Domesday survey, which was finished in the year 1086, Roger of Poitou had forfeited his estates in England, by conspiring with other Norman chiefs to dethrone the Conqueror. He had been compelled to fly from the kingdom, to escape his terrible fury, and was an exile when the Domesday survey was made. At that time the whole of his Honour or Earldom was in the hands of the king. After the death of William the Conqueror, Roger of Poitou succeeded in regaining his English estates, by joining William Rufus, against his elder brother, Robert Duke of Normandy. The estates thus recovered he held during the whole of the reign of William Rufus. This is proved, not only by contemporary historians, but by

* Camden's Britannia, 523.

the deeds of the priory of Lancaster, and of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury. It appears from a deed, preserved in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,* that Roger of Poictou made extensive grants to the monastery of St. Martin-de-Sees, in Normandy, (of which the priory of Lancaster was a cell or dependency), in the year 1094. Amongst his gifts to that monastery were the tithes of Walton, which then included the present parish of Liverpool; the tithes of West Derby, Everton, Hale, and Salford; the church, tithes, and fishery of Preston, with the church and town of Hessam; and many other gifts. To administer this extensive property, the superiors of the monastery of St. Martin-de-Sees established a subordinate monastery at Lancaster, under the title of the Priory of St. Mary of Lancaster. This priory continued to manage the estates of the Norman establishment, until the property of the alien priories was seized by the crown.

The priory of St. Martin de Sees was not the only one to which Roger of Poictou was liberal, at the expense of the people of Lancashire. He also added to his father's endowment of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, the following gifts:—The fisheries of Thelwall on the river Mersey, and of Osciton and Poulton on the river Wyre. In return for these gifts, he stipulated that a mass should be said daily for himself, his wife, his son, his father, and his mother.† At the same time, Goisfridus, or Goisfred, his vice-comes, and one of the knights whom he had settled in the manor of West Derby, added the church of Walton and the town or township of Gerston, or Garston, to the endowment. He, it appears, had a son, named Achard, in the monastery. The presentation of the church of Walton remained in the gift of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, until the reign of Edward the Fourth, when it was sold to the Molyneuxes, of Sefton. I shall have to refer to the history of Walton Church, which is the most ancient place of religious worship in this part of the country, and which was long the parish church of Liverpool, at a later period of this history.

At the death of William Rufus, the family of Montgomery was in the height of its glory. The three sons of Roger de Montgomery held the estates belonging to five earldoms; and the Earl of Morton, who had married Matilda the youngest daughter of Roger, possessed upwards of seven hundred manors, including the greater part of Devonshire and Cornwall, and was the wealthiest and most powerful subject in the kingdom. This

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi., 997.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii., 521.

great accumulation of wealth and power caused their ruin. A civil war sprang up, on the accidental death of William Rufus, between Henry the First, his youngest brother, and Robert, Duke of Normandy. The Montgomerys thought themselves powerful enough to turn the scale in favour of the Duke of Normandy. They risked everything in the attempt, and failed. Henry, who was more popular with the English people, than either of his predecessors, on account of his English birth, and his marriage with a princess descended from the great Alfred, called on his English subjects to join him against his enemies and theirs. This call was eagerly responded to, by an army of 20,000 English infantry, and a considerable number of Norman peers and knights. The castle of Arundel was taken, after an obstinate siege. The king afterwards captured the still stronger castle of Bridgenorth. The final struggle between the king and these great Norman lords, took place on the banks of the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury. It ended in the total overthrow of the Montgomerys and of their allies. The castle of Shrewsbury, built by the first Earl, on the ruins of the houses of upwards of fifty of the burgesses of that town, was wrested from his sons. They fled to Normandy, leaving their estates in the hands of the king. From this time, their connection with England ceases. According to the testimony of contemporary writers, they were remarkable, even in that age of violence, for their pride, insolence, rapacity, and cruelty to the poor; and their fate was according to their merits. Mabile, the mother of the four earls, and heiress of the Belesmes, was murdered in her bed, by two Norman knights, whose estates she had seized. Hugh, the second son, was killed in an obscure skirmish in the Isle of Anglesey. Robert, the eldest son, was taken prisoner in Normandy, and died a prisoner; and his two brothers,—Arnulf and Roger Pictavensis,—lost their estates in Normandy, as well as those in England, and died in obscurity.*

According to Camden, the castle of Liverpool was built by Roger of Poitou. There is no evidence in support of this assertion. The probability is, that the castle occupied (but not built) by Roger of Poitou, was that of West Derby, situate about four miles to the east of Liverpool. As I have already mentioned, the castle of West Derby was of very great antiquity, and a manor house, also very ancient, was built on its ruins. So late as the year 1790 remains of this manor house

* History of Shrewsbury, i., 59. This account of the Montgomerys is condensed from the works of Ordericus, generally, but not correctly, called Ordericus Vitalis, who was born near Shrewsbury, and spent his life in the Norman Monastery of Sees. He was a contemporary of the Montgomerys.

still existed near Croxteth Hall, in a mound from twenty to thirty feet high, surrounded by traces of a moat.*

The public records of the reign of William Rufus are totally lost. We are, therefore, unable to add anything to the accounts derived from the deeds of the priory at Lancaster, those of the abbey at Shrewsbury, and the works of Ordericus.

After the ruin and the flight of the Montgomerys, the honour of Lancaster, and the great earldom of Mortaigne or Morton, passed by forfeiture into the hands of Henry the First. They were granted by him to his cousin, Stephen de Blois, who was the son of Eustace, Earl of Blois and Chartres, and of Adela, the youngest daughter of William the Conqueror. Earl Stephen of Bologne and Morton, was the founder of the beautiful abbey of Furness, in this county.† The only one of the national records of the reign of Henry the First which has been preserved is the sheriff's account, or Great Roll of the Pipe, of the year 1130, the thirty-first of Henry the First. In this roll, what we now call south Lancashire, is still spoken of as the country *Inter Ripam et Mersam*; and the landholders are spoken of, as the men of the Earl of Morton — *Homines Comitum Maritonie*.

On the death of Henry the First, Earl Stephen claimed the crown of England, in opposition to Matilda, the daughter and only surviving child of the King. Matilda, who is generally known as the Empress Matilda, married Henry the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, as her first husband, and afterwards Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. From this marriage sprang the royal race of Plantagenet, which governed England for so many ages. The claim of Stephen gave rise to a desperate civil

* In the manuscripts of my friend Mr. Thomas Moore, of Liverpool (to whom I am under the greatest obligations, for his kindness in placing his large and valuable collection at my disposal), I find the following observation on the site of this ancient castle:—"In the writer's time (1790), there was a mound in what is called the Castle Field, situate between the hall of Croxteth Park and Derby Castle, in what was called the Castle Field, perhaps twenty or thirty feet high, surrounded by a moat nearly filled up. The mound was sold for building. Sand, and no stone-work, remained, the latter having been carried off. A portion of the old timber was made into a cabinet or writing desk, as appears by the following extract from Robert Syers's History of Everton, page 71:—"The site of the ancient Castle at West Derby was named at the Inquisition held at Lancaster in the First of Edward the Third, A. D. 1327, and also in the Domesday Book. [It is rather referred to than named in Domesday.] Timber and hewn stone have recently been dug out of its crumbled ruins. Mr. M'George, of Everton, has a handsome writing desk constructed of a piece of oak which was dug out of these ruins. On a brass plate of that writing desk, the following sentence is inscribed:—"This desk was made from part of an oak beam that was dug out of the ruins of Edward the Confessor's Castle, at West Derby, Lancashire, supposed to have been built anno Domini 1050, executed under the direction of John M'George, 1827." I may add, that there is no evidence that the Castle of West Derby was built in the year 1050. The probability is that it existed long before that period.

† West's Antiquities of Furness, 21.

war, which raged for fifteen years. Although the idea of a female's succeeding to the crown in her own right was altogether new, both to the Normans and the English, yet the claim of the daughter of the last Norman king was at least as good as a claim derived from the daughter of a preceding king,—which was all that Stephen could advance. The nation and the great nobles divided into two parties, one favourable to the Empress Matilda, the other to King Stephen. In order to strengthen his own party, Stephen made extensive grants of estates to the chief noblemen of the kingdom. Amongst other grants, he presented the Earl of Chester, who was at that time one of the most powerful of those nobles, with all his estates between the Ribble and the Mersey* ; but neither this grant, nor other marks of the royal favour, had the effect of securing to King Stephen the support of the Earl of Chester for any length of time. On the contrary, he was soon found fighting in the ranks of the king's enemies, and assisted to defeat and capture Stephen, at Lincoln, in the year 1141. In the hope of fixing the allegiance to the other side, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, and son of the Empress Matilda, confirmed to him the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey.† This confirmation, however, was as unavailing as the previous grant by King Stephen to fix the faith of the Earl of Chester. In a short time he was in arms against the Plantagenets ; and forfeited all that had been confirmed to him by the Duke of Normandy. The final result of the struggle between Stephen and the Plantagenets was this. It was arranged that Stephen should retain the crown for his own life, but that at his death he should be succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda. This established the principle of the right of females and their descendants to inherit the throne of England. It was further stipulated that William de Blois, the son of King Stephen, should succeed to the private estates which had belonged to his father, before he seized upon the crown. Amongst these, as I have already stated, were the Earldom of Morton and the Honour of Lancaster.

There was formerly a belief that Henry the First had granted a charter to the borough of Liverpool ; but there is no such charter in existence, nor any evidence that it ever existed. The belief in its existence arose from an entry made in the corporation records in the year 1581. With reference to this entry, Mr. Henry Brown, who was formerly town-clerk of Liverpool, writing to Mr. Hargreaves, who was at that time recorder, says of this reputed charter, or rather charters, "I would observe that in

* Roll of Grants in the Duchy Office, made in the reign of Richard the Second.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, I, part i., 16.

our council or corporation books, in the year 1581, mention is made of two charters of Henry the First; but not a word is said of the purport of these charters." Pretended charters of this reign, and of the reign of Henry the Second, were produced a good many years ago, by a person who offered to sell them to the corporation; but they are, evidently, forgeries. They were not shown at the municipal inquiry in 1833, when all the real charters of the town were produced, nor are they deserving of any further notice.* The shorter charters of that age so much resemble each other, that any one who has studied one of them might write a dozen.

On the death of King Stephen, which took place in the year 1154, his son William de Blois became possessed of these estates, and held them for twelve years. This William de Blois, who was Earl of Bologne, Warrene, and Surrey, was a liberal benefactor of the abbey of Furness, which his father had founded during the reign of Henry the First. The only fact in his history, connected with the neighbourhood of Liverpool, of which we have any record, is that he presented or confirmed the ancient family of the Waltons, of Walton, in the stewardship of the hundreds of West Derby and Salford, which they held for many generations, and which the Molyneuxes of Sefton have held for as many more.†

In the twelfth year of the reign of Henry the Second, William de Blois died, childless, when the Earldom of Morton and the Honour of Lancaster passed into the hands of the king. About this time we begin to obtain accounts of Liverpool from the national records, and other authentic sources.

From the twelfth year of Henry the Second, the Sheriff or Vice Comes of Lancashire renders accounts of the royal estates in Lancashire, more or less detailed. The returns for the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth years of Henry the Second are made by William de Vesci, who was sheriff during those years; those of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, by Roger de Herberga; that of the twenty-second by Ranulf de Glanville, the celebrated justiciary of England; those from the twenty-second to the thirty-first by Ranulf Fitz-Bernard; and those for the remainder of the reign by Gilbert Pipard ‡ There is no mention of Liverpool in any of the Pipe Rolls of this reign; but that may arise from the fact, that the manor of Liverpool was given by the king to Warine de Lancaster, along with four other manors, a few years after he obtained possession of it. It is probable,

* Municipal Inquiry, Appendix, L.

† Charter Rolls, 1st John.

‡ Pipe Rolls of those years, in Roger Dodsworth's Collection in the Bodleian Library.

however, that the blank in the following return, of the sums paid by the king's manors, to a tallage or tax, levied in the year 1177,* ought to be filled up with the name of Liverpool :—

“ West Derby, 34s. 8d. ; Hale, 2 marks ; Formby, 36s. 8d. ; Crosby, 36s. 8d. ; Wavertree, 1 mark ; Walton, $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks ; Litherland, 1 mark ; * * * * [thus in the original], 3 marks.”

The principal reason for believing that the blank in the above return relates to Liverpool, is that Litherland and Liverpool were both given away by the king, at the same time, and to the same person. It is only a fair inference, therefore, that Liverpool as well as Litherland was in the hands of the king in the year 1177. If so, it would be equally liable to be tallaged with the surrounding townships and manors, and would, therefore, appear in the list.

During the time when the Honour of Lancaster was in the hands of Henry the Second the forest laws were executed with great severity. Amongst the delinquents who were fined for offences against those laws, we find a number of names which we should have scarcely expected in such a list. At the head of them is the archdeacon of Chester, who is fined 100s., equal to £75 of our money.† Then follows Humphrey the priest, the brother of Albert Boiseul, Lord of Penwortham, and owner of the manor of Bootle, in this neighbourhood. After him come Stephen, parson of Walton ; Ralf the parson, and Adam the priest, of Prescott ; Robert, priest of Childwall ; Adam, priest of Meols ; and Jordan, dean of Manchester. It does not follow, however, that these reverend gentlemen had really chased the king's deer—though it is likely enough that they had. It was very difficult for persons who lived in the royal forests to avoid offences against the forest laws. Thus, we find that John de Spellowe, who resided at Walton, in this neighbourhood, was fined for breaking down the young shrubs—the vert—which sheltered the deer ; and in the Forest Charter, agreed upon by the barons during the minority of Henry the Third, a variety of harmless acts are rendered legal, from which we may conclude that they had been previously illegal. Amongst them was the digging of a ditch, on a man's own land, within the limits of the forest ; the sinking of a marl pit ; the driving of swine through the forest ; and the gathering of wild honey, which was, at that time, an article of great value, being used for the purposes for which we now use sugar, and also for manufacturing mead and brewing ale. The lawing of dogs

* Pipe Roll, 22nd Henry Second.

† Pipe Roll, 21st Henry Second.

was still enforced,—that is, the cutting off the claws and the middle joint of the fore feet. The penalties still retained for these offenders were very severe, consisting of imprisonment, grievous fines, and banishment; but it was declared that henceforward no man should be punished in life or limb, for offenders against the forest laws. At this time, Liverpool was within the forest of West Derby. It afterwards had a forester, whose duty it was to account for all the deer killed, and all the timber taken from the forest. The oppression produced by these laws filled the great forest of Sherwood, and the wilder parts of the country, with bands of outlaws from amongst the lower classes of the people, and did much to drive the barons of the kingdom, and the clergy, into armed resistance against the crown, in the reign of King John.

The most ancient document now in existence in which Liverpool is mentioned by name, is a deed executed in the reign of Richard the First by John Earl of Morton, afterwards King John, who was then Lord of the Honour of Lancaster, in which he confirms Henry Fitz Warine in the possession of Liverpool, and of four other manors which had been granted to Warine de Laneaster, the father of Henry Fitz Warine, by Henry the Second. The following is a translation of the deed:—"Know that we have granted, and by this our deed confirmed, to Henry, the son of Warine de Laneaster, the lands which King Henry, our father, gave to Warine, his father, that is, Ravenmeols, Anmolesdale, (Ainsdale,) Up Liturland, LIVERPOOL, and French Le, (or Lea,) and eight denarii (or pence) in the borough of Preston."

There is no date to the above deed of confirmation, nor is any information to be obtained as to the year in which the original grant was made to Warine de Laneaster. The confirmation must, however, have taken place between the years 1189 and 1195; for in the former year, Prince John, who had been disinherited by his father, received the earldom of Morton and lordship of Laneaster, along with other large estates, from his brother King Richard, who was then about to embark for the Holy Land; and in the latter year he forfeited those estates, by attempting to seize upon the crown, and by conspiring to retain his too generous brother a prisoner for life in the dungeons of Austria. It is not possible to fix the date of the original grant to Warine de Lancaster, but it is probable that it was about the time of the great council held at Northampton in the year 1176, at which the kingdom was divided into circuits, for the better administration of justice, and at which judges itinerant were ordered to travel regularly through the kingdom, at stated

periods, for the trial of offences.* In that year Lancashire was visited by the learned and warlike Sir Ranulf Glanville, the captor of the King of Scotland, the companion in arms of Richard the Lion-hearted, and not less the author of one of the earliest treatises on the laws of England, who held the first general gaol delivery, for the county of Lancaster, along with Robert de Wals, and Robert Pikenet, two other judges of less celebrity. In order to give greater effect to the administration of the laws, Lancaster Castle was made a prison for criminals about this time, and Warine de Lancaster was appointed governor of it. In that age the kings of England were much richer in land than in money, and were in the habit of rewarding their servants with grants of manors and estates, instead of salaries. This was done in the case of the governor of the Castle of Lancaster, who received Liverpool and other manors previously belonging to the royal demesne, as the reward of his services. All the circumstances attending this grant are stated very clearly in the following extract from an old book in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster:—

“England, in King Stephen’s time,” says the writer, “was constantly in troubles, and no laws executed; but each man lived de ripto, (by plunder and violence). After his death, King Henry the Second, coming to the Crown peaceably, had the laws put in better execution, and arranged that Justices Itinerant should see the same performed in each county, which were before only to be had at the King’s Court. And whereas, Gilbert, the Baron of Kendal, in Westmorland, being his receiver for the county of Lancaster, was called Gilbert de Furnesis: William, the son of the said Gilbert, was constituted Senescalus (steward) hospitii regis, and a Baron in Lancashire; and thereupon, by consent of Parliament, called himself William de Lancaster; and Warine, his younger son, Lancaster Castle being a prison for malefactors, was made keeper of the Castle and Prison, and as a Magister serviens, had his maintenance therein, and for the reward of his services had given him by the King, the towns of Aynolsdale, Ravenmeals, (now totally destroyed by the sea), LIVERPOOL, Liturland, and French Lea, from which his son was called Henricus de Lee; to whom King John, afterwards, IN LIEU OF HIS SURRENDER OF LIVERPOOL, WHICH HE FORTHWITH MADE A BOROUGH, confirmed the rest of the aforesaid towns, and also added English Lea to the same.”

The deed of John, Earl of Morton, confirming the grant to Warine de Lancaster, is still in the possession of the family of Sir Henry Bold Hoghton, Bart., of Hoghton Tower and Walton-le-Dale, one of whose

* T. H. Duffus’s Description to the Close Rolls, 94.

ancestors, Richard de Hoghton, married Sybilla, heiress of the De Lee or Fitz-Warine family, in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second. She took part of the estates granted by Henry the Second to Warine de Lancaster, into the Hoghton family, in whose possession they still remain. The documentary history of Liverpool commences with the record of this grant made by Henry the Second to Warine de Lancaster. The changes which have taken place in the ownership of the Lordship and Manor of Liverpool can thus be traced from before the commencement of legal memory, a period of upwards of six hundred and fifty years.

Every reader of history or romance is well acquainted with the story of the generous confidence of Richard the Lion-hearted in his unworthy brother ; with the gallant exploits of that warlike king in the Holy Land ; with his captivity in the prisons of Austria ; and with the efforts of his brother to render that imprisonment perpetual. All the ingratitude which Richard had shown to his father, who died broken-hearted from the ingratitude and rebellion of all his sons, was visited on him by his brother. It is not, however, so well known that he succeeded in drawing several of the gentlemen on his Lancashire estates into his plots, and that when he was deprived of the earldom of Morton, and of the honour of Lancaster, his principal followers in Lancashire only saved their estates by paying heavy fines to the king. The following is a list of the fines paid by some of them to purchase the pardon of King Richard :—Henry Falconarius (Lord of Liverpool) 15 marks, equal to £150 ; Robert (Clergyman of Walton) 30 marks, equal to £300 ; Gilbert de Walton 10 marks, equal to £100 ; and Jordan de Manchester 20 marks, equal to £200.*

On the return of Richard from his captivity, all the lands and castles of his brother John were seized ; and, although that unworthy Prince afterwards regained the favour of his brother, they were never restored to him during Richard's life. Instead of his estates, he received an annuity of £5,000 a year, a most liberal income in those times, when the pound was fifteen times as valuable as it is at present.

One fact worthy of notice in the account of the suppression of Prince John's attempted insurrection against his brother is, that there is a list given of his castles, as well those which surrendered without resistance as of those which were defended. The Castle of Lancaster is mentioned in this list along with those of Tickill, Marlborough, and St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall ; but nothing is said of any castle at Liverpool, which creates a tolerably strong presumption that no such castle existed at that time.

* Pipe Roll, 6th Richard First.

CHAPTER THIRD.

LIVERPOOL FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING JOHN TO THE GRANTING OF THE SECOND CHARTER BY HENRY THE THIRD.

On the accession of King John to the throne of England, all the estates of the Crown passed into his hands, and, amongst them, those of the Honour of Lancaster, which he had held when he was Earl of Morton. Several deeds are still in existance, in which he confirms the principal tenants of the crown in Lancashire in their possessions; amongst others, the deed already referred to in favour of the Waltons of Walton. A similar deed was granted to Henry Fitz Warine, confirming him in the possession of the estates granted to his father, Warine de Lancaster, by Henry the Second. There was one exception, however, in this deed. The name of Liverpool was altogether omitted in it. This renders it probable that King John had already determined to take possession of Liverpool, and to form a port and borough there. Several circumstances confirm this opinion.

No member of the warlike house of Plantagenet was more eager to extend his dominions than King John, although his expeditions were badly planned, and rarely crowned with success. One of his favourite objects was to complete the Conquest of Ireland, which had been commenced in the time of his father. For this purpose it was desirable that he should possess a strong navy in the Irish Seas, and ports to shelter it on the western coast of England. Such ports would be doubly valuable if situated in the neighbourhood of the royal estates, from which the early kings drew a large portion of their supplies, for warlike purposes. Liverpool possessed both the advantages of a good port, and of a position in the midst of the royal estates. In the latter respect it was more conveniently situated than Chester, as the whole of the lands in Cheshire belonged to the Earls of Chester, and, therefore, yielded neither rents nor tallages to the crown. Liverpool was also favourably situated for shipping the forces of the De Laey family, who took a very active part in the early wars of Ireland, and who, in the time of King John, were lords of the manors and chief proprietors in Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, Torboeck, Little Crosby, Maghull, Kirkby, Great and Little Woolton, North Meols, Birkdale, and Kirkdale. They were, in short the great proprietors of Lancashire, after the Crown. The Butlers,

who were lords of Warrington, and who held the manors of Halsall, Ince Blundell, Thornton, Lydiate, and the half of Barton, also took an active part in those early wars; and the owner of Hale, bore the name of Mida or Meath, for his exploits in Ireland. King John was thus able to direct the whole force of South Lancashire into his Irish wars; and Liverpool was precisely the position to render it available. Immediately after obtaining the crown, he began to carry on those wars with increased activity, and to despatch large reinforcements from Lancashire. The drain on this county was so severe that several of the Thanes of Lancashire consented to pay a considerable sum of money, that they might not be compelled to serve beyond the sea.*

It also appears, from the sheriffs' accounts, preserved in the Pipe Rolls, that large sums of money were expended in the fourth year of King John, on his castles in West Derbyshire. A sum of twenty marks, equal to £200 of our money, and a second sum of £6 17s. 6d., equal to nearly £100 of the same money, were expended on those castles in the years named. These were sums large enough to construct considerable works at that time. We know that two of the arches of old London bridge were built, in this reign, for £25, equal to about £300 of our money, and they would probably cost as much as such a castle as that which existed at Liverpool.† It appears, from the account of offices under the Crown, given in Testa de Neville, that the master builder of the king's castles in Lancashire, as well as the joiners and the workers in iron, were paid by grants of land, and not in money. All the materials of the castle, with the exception of the iron, were furnished by the king's estates; and doubtless his bondsmen, in the surrounding manors, assisted in the work.

Another circumstance which confirms the belief that the Castle of Liverpool was built at this time, is the fact that the park of Toxteth, which was always attached to that castle, was certainly formed early in the reign of King John. This park was formed by enclosing the two manors of Toxteth, mentioned in Domesday Book, and a considerable portion of the manor of Smethom or Esmedune, also mentioned in that venerable record. We learn from Testa de Neville that King John bought the Toxteths from the Molyneux family, giving them in exchange another manor, which was probably that of Litherland.‡ In order to enlarge the park, he also bought the greater part of the manor of Smethom, from Robert de Smethom, giving him in exchange lands in Thingwall. The park, thus formed, contained upwards of two thousand acres, and was

* Pipe Roll, 3rd John.

+ Maddox's Firma Burgi, 165.

‡ Testa de Neville. 402.

about five miles in circuit. It extended from the present Parliament-street, in Liverpool, as far as Otterspool, and was bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by Smethom-lane. It was originally enclosed with a wooden paling; but was afterwards surrounded with a stone wall. In former times this must have formed one of the most beautiful parks in the North of England, from the graceful undulations of the ground, the beauty of the dells and dingles, the numerous wooded promontories which project into the river, and the extensive views of the river itself. The Mersey spread before the park like a great lake, twenty miles in length, and, in some places, from three or four in breadth, with the Abbey of Stanlaw, the Priory of Birkenhead, and the Castle of Liverpool on its banks, the hills of Wirral in the foreground, and the line of Welsh Mountains in the distance. One small portion of this park still remains, which has been preserved by the generosity and public spirit of a man whose name will always be honoured in Liverpool,* from which we may form some faint idea of the scenery of Toxteth Park in the days of its glory.

Another reason for believing that the Castle of Liverpool was built about this time is, that King John himself visited Lancashire and Cheshire in the seventh year of his reign. He was at Lancaster on the 26th February, 1206, and at Chester on the 28th February following;† and would, in all probability, visit the royal estates in this neighbourhood, whilst passing from one place to the other.

The position of the Castle of Liverpool had some advantages as a place of strength. It stood where St. George's Church now stands, and included all the ground extending from St. George's Crescent on one side, to Preeson's Row on the other. When it was built, the ground was open on all sides, and sloped rapidly down to the river and the pool. The water thus approached it on three sides of the four, within little more than a bow shot, so that the fire from the castle commanded three-fourths of the circuit, and rendered it untenable by a besieging force. The form of the castle was nearly square. Each corner of the building had a circular tower, and the side which faced up the present Castle-street was strengthened by a much stronger tower and gatehouse. The front of the castle facing in that direction was thirty-six yards in breadth. That facing down Lord-street, where the castle orchard and gardens were situated, was thirty-six yards in breadth. The front facing towards the pool, where the quay and landing-place were situated, was thirty-seven yards in breadth; and that facing towards the present

* Richard Vaughan Yates.

† Calendar of King John's Movements in Introduction to the Close Rolls.

James-street was thirty-five yards. A covered way ran down to the river on that side, through which supplies could be introduced into the castle. The castle was surrounded by a ditch from twenty to thirty feet deep. With these defences it was as strong as most castles were at that time; and always afforded a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the town in turbulent times. The foundations of the castle still exist; and the outline of the ditch can be traced. The foundation of one of the circular towers was laid bare a few years since, and the old ditch was opened whilst digging the foundations of the North and South Wales Bank. Its depth was about twenty feet below the present level of the ground, and must have been much more before the brow of the hill was cut away. The castle itself was destroyed as a fortress, by order of Charles the Second, who did not like the spirit which the inhabitants of Liverpool had shown during the great civil war; and the ruins of the castle were swept away in the reign of George the First.

Before proceeding with the history of the town which sprang up around the Castle of Liverpool, it may be well to give an account of the sums of money which were expended in early times on the Castle. The first reference which is supposed to exist to this Castle is contained in the Pipe Roll, or Sheriff's Account of the Fourth of King John, about the time when Toxteth Park was formed, and just three years previous to the date of the first Charter of Liverpool. The entry is as follows:—“And in the works, (in operatione) of the Castle of West Derby, £6 11s. 8d., under the inspection of Henry de Travers and of Henry de Waletone. And in the works of the Castles of Lancaster and West Derby 20 marks, according to the letter of the king, and under the inspection of Walter de Parles and Henry de Hirst; and again, in the same works 28s., according to the letter of the king.” There is little doubt that the castle mentioned in the above extract was the Castle of Liverpool, of which Henry de Walton and other members of the same family were governors. We find the castle mentioned as the castle of the West Derby Hundred, in the Seventeenth year of the reign of King John, when an account is given of the expenditure of a large sum of money for the cost of provisioning it, for an expected siege. The Castle of West Derby, strictly so called, was a mere manor-house, not a fortress, and the latter sum must, therefore, have been expended on the Castle of Liverpool, which was the only place of strength in the hundred of West Derby. The jurors who inquired into the nature and extent of the property of Edward Earl of Lancaster, in the reign of Edward the First, reported as follows, respecting the Castle at West Derby:—“The

jurors declare that in the manor of West Derby there is a certain site of an ancient castle, where a chief manor house (*capitale messuagium*) stood, surrounded by a ditch, the herbage of which is worth four shillings, &c." And a few years later another jury report:—"And there is at West Derby the site of a certain ruined castle."

It is deserving of notice, that the sums of money expended on the castle mentioned in the earlier extracts, are all spoken of as having been expended *in operatione*, which may mean, either in building or repairing the castle; whilst the sums spent at a later period are spoken of as having been expended *in emendatione*, which can mean nothing but in repairs and improvements. The earlier sums are also spoken of as having been expended under the authority of orders from the king. Coupling this fact with the further facts of the granting of the first charter to Liverpool, by the same king, about three years afterwards; of his forming the park at Toxteth; and of his removal of the hundred courts from West Derby to Liverpool, there can be little doubt that these entries relate to the Castle of Liverpool. From the form of expression, the probability is, that they relate to the building of it.

The following is a list of the sums expended on the castle of Liverpool, during the reigns of the Plantagenet Kings, according to the accounts rendered by the Sheriffs of Lancashire to the Crown and the Dukes of Lancaster:—4th John, Works of West Derby Castle, £6 11s. 7d.; 4th John, Works of Castles of West Derby and Lancaster, 20 marks; 4th John, ditto, £1 8s.; for Repairs of the Castle of Liverpool—2nd Henry III., £5; 13th Henry III., £16; 19th Richard II., £2 2s. 8½d.; 1st Henry IV., £25 4s. 5½d.; 9th Henry IV., £8 4s. 2d.; 6th Henry V., £51 17s. 11½d.; 12th Henry VI., £38 8s. 6d.; 14th Henry VI., £20 1s. 0½d.; 15th Henry VI., £6 16s. 8d.; 18th Henry VI., £6 13s. 4d.; 22nd Henry VI., £8 13s. 0½d.; 24th Henry VI., £26 8s. 11d.; 35th Henry VI., £13 0s. 11d.; 37th Henry VI., £22 8s. 9d.; 38th Henry VI., £20 13s. 11d.; 39th Henry VI., £3 4s.; 8th Edward IV., £10 15s. 4d.; and 8th Edward IV., £12 9s. 8d.*

* In order to reduce the above sums to money of the present time, they must be multiplied by five, to account for the change in the value of silver. Those previous to the reign of Richard the Second must also be multiplied by three, on account of the greater weight of the pound (£) of silver at that time; and those subsequent to that date by two, on account of the same circumstance. The number of grains of standard silver in twenty shillings, or £1, in the first period, was 5,400; the number in the 3rd of Henry the Fourth, was 4,320; the number in the 9th of Henry the Fifth, was 3,600; the number in the 4th of Edward the Fourth, was 2,800. The subsequent course of depreciation was even more rapid; but I need not follow this part of the subject, at present, further than to state that the number of grains of silver at present in £1, is 1,745 and about a half. At the first period, the Cologne pound of silver of 12 ounces was coined into, or rather was computed at, 20s.; it is now coined into 66s., of which 4s. are retained as seignorage.

The year after King John visited Lancashire, he formally possessed himself of Liverpool by the following deed, in which it is stated that he had given English Lea, to Henry Fitz Warine, in exchange for Liverpool :—

“ JOHN, by the grace of God, &c., Know ye that we have granted, and by our present Charter have confirmed, to Henry Fitz Warine of Lancaster, the lands which King Henry, my father, gave to Warine, his father, for his services, to wit: Ravenesmoles, Ammolnesdal, and the French Lea, and eight-pence rent in the Borough of Preston, and the English Lea, WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN TO HIM IN EXCHANGE FOR LIVERPUL, and Uplitherland, which the aforesaid Henry, my father, had given with the aforesaid lands, to the aforesaid Warine, his father, AND WHICH THE SAID HENRY HATH REMISED TO US AND OUR HEIRS, To be holden to him and his heirs (on payment of) 20s. yearly, at the feast of St. Michael, for all service and exaction, saving to us and our heirs the wardships and marriages of the heirs of the said Henry, in manner as our ancestors used to have the same, when Warine, the father of the said Henry, did the service of a falconer to our ancestors. Wherefore, the aforesaid Henry, and his heirs after him, may have and hold the aforesaid lands, with all their appurtenances, of us and our heirs, by the aforesaid service in wood and plain, in ways and paths, in meadows and feedings, in moors and marshes, in waters and mills, and in pools, well and in peace, freely and quietly, peaceably and honorably, fully and entirely, in all places and things, with all liberties and free customs, to the aforesaid lands pertaining, as is aforesaid.

“ Witness,

“ WILLIAM, Earl Warenne,

“ WILLIAM, Earl of Derby,

“ S. DE QUENCY, Earl of Winchester,

“ WILLIAM BRUHARE,

“ GILBERT FITZ REINFARE (Reinfred),

“ THOMAS BASSET,

“ ALLAN BASSET,

“ ROBERT DE GROSELEY (Grezley),

“ WILLIAM DE CANTILUPE.

“ Given by the hand of HENRY DE WELLS, Archdeacon of Wells,
“ at Winchester, on the 28th day of August, in 9th year, &c.”

The above deed once more placed the manor of Liverpool in the hands of the Plantagenets ; and King John having obtained possession of it, did not lose a single day in raising the newly-acquired manor to the position of a free borough on the sea. The following is the brief but comprehensive charter, by which he conferred on Liverpool all the

privileges possessed by London, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, Southampton, Newcastle, and the other free boroughs upon the sea, or seaports of the kingdom :—

“ CHARTER OF KING JOHN.—The King, to all who may be willing to have Burgages, at the town of Liverpool, &c.—Know ye, that we have granted to all who shall take Burgages at Liverpool, that they shall have all liberties and free customs, in the town of Liverpool, which any free borough on the sea hath in our land. And we therefore command you that securely, and in our peace, you come there, to receive and inhabit our burgages. And in testimony hereof we send you these our letters patent. Witness, Simon de Pateshill. At Winchester, the 28th day of August, in the Ninth Year of our Reign. By Simon de Pateshill.”

The above charter entirely changed the position of Liverpool. It at once delivered its inhabitants from the jurisdiction of the hundred courts; it gave them the privilege of choosing their own bailiffs; it created local courts of justice; and it freed the burgesses from the liability to pay the customs of the crown, either in the borough of Liverpool, or in any other royal borough throughout the kingdom. In fact, it granted every facility and advantage which it is possible to grant to the inhabitants of a commercial town. I shall describe the privileges conferred by this charter, and the subsequent charter of Henry the Third, more fully at the close of the present chapter, after having said a few words as to the site and position of the town thus brought into existence.

The original town of Liverpool was built under the protection of the castle, and extended along the brow of the hill on which Castle-street, the Town Hall, the Exchange Buildings, and Oldhall-street, are erected. A lofty cross, called the High Cross, stood near the present Town Hall, and at that point the main line of street was intersected by another line, extending from the river side to the Townsend Bridge, which crossed the pool, at the end of the present Dale-street. Banke-street was the ancient name of that part of this line which we now call Water-street; the other portion of the street bore the name of the Dale-street, from leading down, with a rapid descent, into the dale in which the pool was situate. For several ages the chief population was confined to the brow of the hill along Castle-street and Oldhall-street. Dale-street was a sort of outskirt of the town, in which the Crosses and other county families had their mansions. All the land in the neighbourhood of these streets was let by the crown on burgage tenures, and there were originally, or at least at an early period,

one hundred and sixty-eight burgesses holding by these tenures, and transmitting their burgages from father to son. At that time the only method of becoming a burgess was to hold burgage land, but as the town extended, various means were discovered of adding to the number of burgesses.

At the time when the feudal system existed in all its rigour, and when no such thing as freehold land was to be found anywhere, burgage tenure was the easiest and most agreeable tenure by which men of moderate means could hold property. The consequence of this was, that many persons, unconnected with trade, possessed themselves of burgage land in Liverpool, and the other royal boroughs, built themselves mansions, and resided there from father to son, for many generations. Thus the Moores, of Moore Hall, settled in Liverpool in the time of King John, and remained there until the reign of Queen Anne. The Crosses, of Crosshall, in Dale-street, came somewhat later, but remained till nearly the same time. The Banistres came somewhat later than the Crosses. Other families followed. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, upwards of a dozen of the county families held burgage lands in Liverpool, independent of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, who occasionally resided in their fortified tower on the banks of the river, and the Molyneuxes, who were hereditary governors of the castle. The two families, however, which most completely identified themselves with the town, were the Moores and the Crosses. There was scarcely a member of either family which did not hold the office of mayor; and we find the names of a great number of them as magistrates, farmers general of the royal rights, and in other offices of trust. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Moores had bought upwards of thirty burgages in Liverpool, besides being possessed of large estates in Bootle, Kirkdale, and other neighbouring townships. Sir Edward Moore, who lived in the reign of Charles the Second, in his introduction to the Moore Rental, says to his son:—"In this town was your ancient house, called Moore Hall, together with the street it stood in. Of this mansion I find your ancestors possessed time out of mind, most of all of your deeds for your land and houses there being without date. Only one I find of John de la More, son of John de Mora, dated Anno Domini, 1200." A large proportion of the deeds formerly belonging to the Moore family are at present at Knowsley, the Liverpool estates of the Moore family having been purchased by the Earls of Derby. The oldest deed, with a date, in that collection, is one of 1311, in which William de

Castro grants a ridge or butt of land in Liverpool to William Walseman and his heirs ; but there are eight deeds in the collection without dates, and which appear to be of much greater antiquity, in one of which the name of Quinilda de Kirkdale is introduced. If she is the heiress mentioned in Testa de Neville, the deed must have been executed either in the reign of King John, or of his son Henry the Third.

The position of Liverpool was well chosen, not merely for the purposes of military defence and of commerce, but also for the health and enjoyment of its inhabitants. This is the case as to the whole of the ground on which both the old and the new towns are situated, with the exception of that part of them which is built upon the bed of the ancient pool, where a splendid natural harbour was destroyed to create building land of the worst description. With the exception of this district, both the old and the new towns of Liverpool have every advantage of position. The brow of the hill on which the castle was erected, and along which Castle-street and the other ancient streets of the town were afterwards built, is about fifty feet above the level of the Old Dock sill—that is above the level of the river ; and the slope of the ground on both sides of it is sufficient, with very moderate assistance from art, to render it dry and healthy. Beyond the bed of the pool the ground rises rapidly to the east, until it reaches an elevation of 230 feet at Edge-hill church, and 240 at Everton church, and a general elevation of about 200 feet along the eastern boundary of the modern borough. The ascent to the north and the south is more gradual, but an elevation of 50 or 60 feet is soon reached in either direction. The general form of the land on which the town is built is that of an amphitheatre of hills, with two depressions in their rise, the upper one caused by the ancient bed of the Mosslake, the lower by the bed of the pool. The bed of the Mosslake being at an elevation of 150 feet above the level of the river, has been easily and effectually drained ; but the land on the ancient bed of the pool, being little above the level of ordinary tides, and below the level of spring tides, can never be rendered as dry as is desirable for the purposes of health. If this pool had not been filled up, the docks of Liverpool would have been in the form of a semicircle, a segment of which would have run through the heart of the town, whilst the other portion of it would have extended along the bank of the river. This arrangement would have been most convenient for commerce, and equally conducive to the health of the inhabitants. Yet we ought not to blame those who committed this error too severely. They formed both the first and the second dock on the bed

of the ancient pool, and it was impossible at that time to foresee that a position which had not brought together more than 6,000 inhabitants during the first five hundred years of its existence as a borough and a port, would bring together 70,000 before the end of the next century, and 400,000 in another half century.

There is a tradition that when King John laid waste the manors of Toxteth and Smethom, he removed the inhabitants of those manors to Liverpool; and it is said that they formed the original population of the borough, along with the fishermen and boatmen of the river. This is not so improbable as it might appear in our times. The original population of most of the smaller boroughs of the crown must have been composed of the tenants of the royal estates, very few of whom were freemen. It was part of the policy of our early kings to render their boroughs populous and wealthy, by alluring population to them from all quarters. Even the villeins, or *nativi*, were very readily received, without any very particular inquiry as to where they came from; indeed, it was one of the laws of William the Conqueror, that every bondman, who remained unchallenged for a year and a day, in any city, or walled town, or royal castle, should be free from the yoke of bondage ever afterwards. The cities and towns of the kingdom were thus the means of creating a free population. In the neighbouring borough of Preston there was a local law, expressed in nearly the same words as the law of William the Conqueror which I have just referred to. It is a fact that we never hear of villeins or bondmen in Liverpool, after the period of King John's charter, although they are continually mentioned, during the next two centuries, in the accounts of the population of Everton, Great Crosby, and Wavertree.

In the year succeeding that in which King John granted the first charter to Liverpool, he ordered the hundred courts to be removed to Liverpool from West Derby, where they had been held from before the Norman conquest. This appears from the following extract from the sheriff's account, or Pipe Roll of the year 1208:—"And, in default of West Derby, which is removed to Liverpool, £8." As the £8 of King John was equal to £120 of Queen Victoria, the amount shows that the administering of justice was at that time a profitable affair for the crown. This and similar charges explain the reason why the barons of the kingdom, when they extorted Magna Charta, about seven years later, introduced into it the memorable clause, that justice should not be sold, or refused, or delayed to any one.

It appears from one of the Patent Rolls of the year 1207, that King John was about to set out for Ireland at the time when he granted the first charter to Liverpool. The fleet with which he made the voyage and transported his army, is said to have consisted of five hundred vessels. The greater part of these were merchant ships, for although King John had a few war galleys, which he kept at Portsmouth, yet the usual course was to impress all the shipping belonging to the different ports on the sea, for naval expeditions. It was by this means that he collected the great fleet of seven hundred ships, with which his admirals fought and gained the battle of Damme—the first great sea fight won by the English. It was by the same means that he collected a large fleet in the Irish seas, amounting, according to the *Chronicles* of the Kings of Man, to five hundred ships. We have no certain information as to whether this fleet sailed from Liverpool, but on its return from Ireland it approached within a few hours' sail of the port, having landed an army in the Isle of Man. According to the account of this army, given in the *Chronicles* of that island, it was commanded by a certain earl called Fulco, probably Fuleo Fitz-Warin, the brother of Henry Fitz-Warin, of whom I have already spoken, and one of the ablest and most merciless of King John's generals. He is said to have laid waste the island for fifteen days. It appears from the sheriff's account for 1212, that considerable supplies were in that year sent out of Lancashire for Ireland, probably for the support of the army left there. They consisted of 117 quarters of wheat; 113 quarters of oats; 200 swine; 500 cheeses; 2 tuns of wine; and 1900 horse shoes, with nails. The cost of conveying these articles to Ireland was 70s., equal to about £50 of our money.

King John's enemies were at least as numerous as his neighbours. In the year following the expedition to Ireland, the sheriff charges the expense of a body of troops which passed through Liverpool on its way to Wales. This force consisted of 15 knights and 64 horsemen, with 466 foot soldiers and 96 pioneers, or, as they are called, carpenters, who accompanied the army to cut down the woods in the Welsh passes. This detachment was supplied with 400 swine and 100 cows for provisions, and with 200 axes and 250 spades for clearing the ground for the army. The Lancashire detachment only formed part of a very much larger army assembled at Chester, with which King John succeeded in fighting his way as far as the foot of Snowdon, though without gaining any permanent advantage.

The sheriffs' accounts for this reign throw great light on the state of prices at that time in this part of Lancashire.* The prices of grain do not differ much from those of the present day, except as relates to oats; the prices of cattle and sheep are very much lower, as was naturally to be expected in a thinly peopled pastoral country; and the price of salt was enormously dearer, being not less than £3 a quarter in modern money.

Mixed up with the warlike entries given above, there also appear in the sheriff's accounts various charges for the support of a large hunting establishment. Amongst them are the expenses of the master-huntsman and forty-nine men, with ten horses, two packs of dogs, fifty-two spaniels, two thousand hand-nets, and two hundred and sixty cocks—I suppose for cock-fighting. It appears from numerous entries in the Close Rolls that King John had his falcons and hounds in all parts of the kingdom. The above charges may probably have been for the hunting establishment, at his newly-formed park at Toxteth. The following orders from King John are specimens of the mandates which he sent to the sheriffs of different counties on the subject of his hawks and hounds:—"The King to John Fitz Hugh, &c. We send to you by William de Merc, and I de Erlham, three girefalcons, and Gibbun, the girefalcon, than which we do not possess a better, and one falcon gentle, commanding you to receive them and place them in the mewes, and provide for their food plump goats and sometimes good hens, and once every week let them have the flesh of hares, and procure good mastiffs to guard the mewes. And the cost which you incur in keeping those falcons, and the expenses of Spark, the man of W. de Merc, who will attend them with one man and one horse, shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer.—21st March, 16th John—Close Rolls, 192." The following is another specimen of these orders:—"The King to William de Pratell, and the bailiffs of Falk de Breaut of the Isle of Ely, greeting—We command you to find, out of the issues of the see of Ely, necessaries for Richard, the huntsman, who was with the Bishop of Ely, and for his two horses and four grooms; also, find for his fifteen grey-

* The following is a list of the prices at which various articles were supplied, both in the money of that time, and in that of the present day:—

	£	s.	d.			Present money.
SALT.....	60 qrs.	12	0	0 or 4s. 0d.	per quarter ..	equal to £3 0 0 per quarter.
WHEAT....	240 qrs.	40	0	0 or 3s. 4d.	" ..	" £2 16 0 "
BARLEY....	121 qrs.	15	2	6 or 2s. 6d.	" ..	" £1 5 0 "
OATS.....	300 qrs.	15	0	0 or 1s. 0d.	" ..	" £0 15 0 "
COWS.....	80	16	0	0 or 4s. 0d.	each ..	" £3 0 0 each.
SHEEP	130	6	10	0 or 1s. 0d.	each ..	" £0 15 0 each.
HERRINGS..	20,000	6	5	0 or 3s. 2½d.	per thousand. ..	" £1 10 0 per thousand.

hounds, and twenty-one hounds de mota, their allowance of bread or paste, as they may require it, and let them hunt sometimes in the bishop's chase for the flesh on which they are fed.—13th March, 17th John.—Close Rolls, 253.”

So much for King John's hunting establishments, of which the one in Lancashire seems to have been amongst the largest and best appointed.

Before leaving the subject of Toxteth Park, it may be well to give the following additional notice of its formation, from the Close Rolls of the succeeding reign of Henry the Third.

“The king to the sheriff of Lancashire, greeting.—We command that without delay you inquire diligently, by discreet and legal men of your county, what is the value of the vill of Smethedon, which our Lord King John, our father, laid waste for a Haia of Toxtathe.” The answer to this mandate is given in the following entry in the sheriff's account:—“And, in the waste of the vill of Smethedon, which King John laid waste for a Haia of Toxtathe, 13s. 4d.”

In the sixteenth year of King John, the Castle of Liverpool was provisioned for a long siege, in the course of that memorable war in which the barons of the kingdom, assisted by the citizens of London, wrested from King John the liberties recognized in the Great Charter. Amongst the most important of these were the following:—That no extraordinary aid or tax should be imposed, without the assent of the national council. That justice should not be sold, refused, or delayed; that assizes for the purpose of administering justice should be held at fixed times and places; that no freeman should be arrested or imprisoned, or be deprived of his land, or be outlawed, or exiled, or in anywise proceeded against, unless by the sentence of his peers and the law of the land; that no freeman, or MERCHANT, or villein should be unreasonably fined for a small offence; that the first should not be deprived of his tenement, THE SECOND OF HIS MERCHANDISE, or the third of his implements of husbandry; that all MERCHANTS should have safety and security in going out of and coming into England, and also in staying and travelling in the kingdom, whether by land or by water, without any grievous imposition, and ACCORDING TO THE OLD AND UPRIGHT CUSTOMS, except in time of war, when, if any merchants belonging to an enemy's country should be found in the land, they should, at the commencement of the war, be arrested, without injury to their persons and property, until it should be known how the English merchants who happened to be in their land were treated there; if they were uninjured, the foreign merchants should

be equally safe in England. It will be seen from the above brief summary that not only were control of the public purse, personal freedom, and the right administration of justice, promised by the Great Charter, but that foreign merchants were promised liberal treatment in peace, just treatment in war, and freedom from all taxes except the ancient and upright customs of the kingdom. The Great Charter was thus a charter of commercial freedom, as well of personal liberty and legislative control; and the treatment which it guaranteed to the mercantile classes was not only just but liberal.

These great principles were not established without a desperate struggle. King John gave his formal assent to the great charter at Runnymede, near Windsor, on the 15th June, in the year 1215; but he was not a man to be restrained by an oath. In the following year he renewed the war, and pressed the barons so hard that they were compelled to call in the King of France and the Dauphin, to resist the swarm of foreign mercenaries whom John had collected under his standard. Amongst other places fortified by the king was the Castle of Liverpool, which received provisions for a long siege. The following are the articles charged for by the sheriff of Lancashire, in the 16th and 17th King John:—240 quarters of wheat; 121 of barley; 300 of oats; 60 quarters of salt; 80 cows; 130 sheep, and 20,000 herrings. There is no record of an actual siege at Liverpool, and it is probable that none took place; for in the year in which the supplies were furnished, and in the midst of the struggle between the king and his barons, he was seized with sudden illness, and died at Newark Castle, from a fever, caused partly by excess in eating, partly by fury of mind, produced by the loss of the treasures and the baggage of his army, in crossing the Wash, on his march from Lynn into Lincolnshire. The death of King John gave the barons and citizens of London all the advantages of a complete victory, and secured the triumph of many of the most valuable principles of the English Constitution.

On the accession of Henry the Third, the son of King John, at the age of eleven years, the government of the kingdom passed into the hands of a council of Barons, of whom William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, a man of distinguished wisdom and patriotism, was appointed chief, with the title of Governor of the King and Kingdom—*Rector Regis et Regni*. The Honour of Lancaster, including the Borough of Liverpool, was managed during the minority of the young King, by Ranulf de Blundville, the most powerful of the Earls of Chester. Jordan, the son of Roger,

afterwards acted as Custos, until the tenth year of the young king's reign. We learn, from the Pipe Roll, or Sheriff's account of Henry the Third, that the income of the Honour of Lancaster at that time was £200 a year, equal to about £3,000 a year of our money. This may appear a small sum for so vast an estate, but it must be remembered that cultivation was extremely rude; that there were scarcely any towns in Lancashire, and that those which did exist were small and poor. The income of the great Earldom of Chester did not amount to more than £250 per year, or about £3,750 of our money. It was only in the south of England, where the towns and cities were large and prosperous, and where the land was comparatively well cultivated, that the incomes of even the highest of the nobility were larger. The income of the Earldom of Gloucester, which included the cities of Bristol and Gloucester, and many of the finest manors on the banks of the Severn, amounted to £723 1s. 2d., or about £10,845 per year of our money, in the thirty-first year of Henry the Second. This was probably the most valuable private estate in the kingdom at that time.

To return to the Honour of Lancaster. In the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Henry the Third, William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who had married Agnes, one of the sisters of the Earl of Chester, held the office of Custos. Adam de Yoland, afterwards held it during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth years of the same king's reign. All these successive representatives for the Crown were very active in raising tallages or taxes from the king's manors, in addition to the ordinary rents. They also succeeded in greatly extending the cultivation of the waste lands on the royal estates, and in otherwise increasing their value. One reason why they were able to effect this was, that many of the most oppressive clauses of the forest laws, which rendered cultivation nearly impossible in the neighbourhood of the royal forests, were repealed by the Earl of Pembroke, and that nearly the whole of the lands which had been turned into forest during the reigns of Henry the Second and his sons, Richard and John, were disforested. The charter of the forest, granted during the minority of Henry the Third, was a worthy supplement to the great charter which the Barons had won from King John at Runnymede. It was equally favourable to the owners and the cultivators of the soil.

In the sixth of Henry the Third, a tallage was levied on the borough of Liverpool, and on all the king's manors, which yielded the following sums:—

Liverpool, 5 marks, equal to £50; Crosby, 5 marks, equal to £50; West Derby, 1 mark, equal to £10; Everton, 1 mark, equal to £10.

In the eleventh year of the reign of Henry the Third, another general tallage was raised, when the payments of the three Lancashire Boroughs were as follows :—

Preston, 15 marks, equal to £150 ; Lancaster, 13 marks, equal to £130 ; Liverpool, 11½ marks, equal to £115.

Some of the payments from the rural manors of the county were as follows :—

West Derby, 7 marks, 4s. 6d., equal to £70 ; Everton, 5 marks, 2s., equal to £50 ; Great Crosby, 8 marks, 5s., equal to £80.

Such was the position of Liverpool and of the neighbourhood in the eleventh year of Henry the Third.

In the thirteenth year of that king's reign, he granted a second Charter to Liverpool, confirming in detail all the privileges granted by his father, King John, and making Liverpool a free borough for ever. The following is a copy of it :—

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, Earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful people, greeting, Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter do confirm, that our town of Liverpool shall be a free borough for ever, and that the burgesses of the same borough may have a guild merchant, with a hanse and other liberties, and free customs to that guild pertaining, and that no one that shall not be of that guild shall traffic in any merchandise, unless by the consent of the same burgesses ; also, we have granted to the same burgesses and their heirs, that they may have soc and sac and tol and thame and infrangenethef, and that they shall be quit throughout our whole realm and throughout all the ports of the sea of toll, lastage, passage, pontage, and stallage, and that they shall do no suit of county courts, or wapentake courts, for their tenures which they hold within the borough aforesaid ; also, we have granted to the same burgesses and to their heirs, that whatsoever merchants shall come to the borough aforesaid, with their merchandizes of whatsoever place they may be, whether foreigners or others, who shall be in our peace, or shall come into our realm by our license, may safely and securely come to our aforesaid borough with their merchandizes, and there safely dwell, and thence safely depart, rendering therefore the right and due customs. Also, we forbid that any one shall do injury, damage, or grievance to the aforesaid burgesses, upon forfeiture to us of ten pounds ; wherefore we will and firmly command that the aforesaid town of Liverpool be a free

borough, and that the aforesaid burgesses may have the aforesaid guild merchant, with an hanse, and other liberties and free customs to that guild pertaining, and that they may have all other liberties and free customs and acquittances as is aforesaid, these being witnesses—

“ H. DE BURGH, Earl of Kent, Justiciary of England,

“ PHILIP DE ALBANY,

“ RALPH FITZ NICHOLAS,

“ NICHOLAS DE MOELES,

“ JOHN son of PHILIP,

“ GEFREY DISPENSAR, and others.

“ Given by the hand of the Venerable Father R Bishop of Chichester, our chancellor, at Merleberge, the 24th day of March, in the thirteenth year of our reign.”

When Liverpool received the above charter, and that of King John, nearly all the principal towns in the kingdom were the property of the crown. This was the case, amongst others, with London, Winchester, York, Lincoln, Bristol, Gloucester, Lynn, Hull, Southampton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and upwards of thirty ports, with at least as many inland towns. It was a favourite object of the able princes of the Norman and Plantaganet lines to create boroughs, eities, and ports on the sea, on their vast estates, in all parts of the kingdom. In order to effect this object, they granted to the manors which seemed likely to become populous and prosperous the privileges of free boroughs. Those privileges consisted chiefly in the following points:—

First, the parties who took burgages, or small portions of land, on which they built houses in the royal boroughs, were exempted from the payment of the principal manorial and regal rights, both in the boroughs in which they resided, and in all the other royal boroughs of the kingdom. Thus, for instance, the burgesses of Liverpool, after receiving the above charter, could not only buy and sell whatever merchandise they thought fit in the port of Liverpool, without paying any dues to the Crown, but they could do the same in all the other cities, ports, and free boroughs in the kingdom. The dues paid to the Crown, and which formed part of the *jura regalia*, were at that time the only regular and permanent taxes on commerce. The tallages and parliamentary grants, which were occasionally levied, were rather property taxes imposed for a short time, and for a specific purpose, than taxes upon trade and commerce. It is impossible to conceive a more perfect freedom with regard to trade and commerce than that which was given by the Crown to the burgesses in

the royal boroughs. The value of these privileges was so great that persons residing within royal boroughs, but on land which did not belong to the Crown, and which therefore did not confer the rights of a burgess, were willing to buy those rights for a considerable sum; thus, David Le-Tinctor, or David the Dyer, gave King John a sum equal to £10 of our money, to have his house, in Carlisle, made a burgage tenement. These rights were strictly confined to the king's tenants—the holders of burgage lands. All non-burgesses were liable to pay the ancient rights of the Crown, and have paid them in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and numerous other places, from the earliest periods to the present time. Even before the Norman Conquest, the Kings of England collected, in right of their prerogative, a duty equal to about one shilling a ton of our money, on every ton of goods disposed of in the port of Chester; and at the time when Domesday Book was drawn up, the customs of towns formed a considerable item in the royal revenues. It was in some cases as great as the land gable or ground rent of the land on which the towns were built. The town dues of the present time are the remains of these ancient rights of the Crown. The earls and barons of the kingdom granted similar privileges to the tenants in their own boroughs. Thus, Thomas de Gresley, in his charter of 1301, granted precisely the same privileges of buying and selling to his burgesses of Manchester, as King John and King Henry the Third had granted to their burgesses of Liverpool nearly a century before. He did not extend these privileges to strangers trading there. On the contrary, all men of “another shire” were declared to be liable to pay tolls to the lord of the manor, and were heavily fined if they attempted to evade them. In principle there was little if any difference between the charters granted by earls and barons to the burgesses of their towns and those granted by the kings to theirs; but in practice the difference was very great, for a charter granted by an earl or baron gave no privileges beyond the estate of the granter; whilst a charter granted by a king made every burgess to whom it was granted free to trade, without the payment of customs, in every city and large town in the kingdom.

Another privilege conceded in the charters granted to the royal boroughs was, that of trying offences committed within the bounds, in courts situated within the borough. They thus escaped the necessity of having recourse to the courts of the hundred or the county, and also escaped the paying of the enormous fees and fines which the Crown levied in those courts.

A third privilege conferred by these charters was, that of electing their own sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, by whom they were governed, instead of being governed by the bailiffs of the Crown. Liverpool was governed by its own bailiffs from the time when it obtained its first charter; and by its own mayor and bailiffs from the reign of Edward the Third.

These three great points of freedom of buying and selling at home and abroad, of administering justice by means of local courts, and of governing themselves by means of municipal officers of their own choosing, were the three great means which the early kings of England used for bringing trade and commerce to the Royal Boroughs. They were in general effectual in doing so. They were also the means of creating and strengthening public opinion in all parts of the kingdom, and of training the people to habits of self-government.

The following is the meaning of the old Saxon and Gothic words used in this and similar charters:—*Commercial Terms*—A guild merchant was an association or company of merchants, united for mutual assistance and protection. A hanse was also an association of merchants; but one formed for the purposes of foreign commerce. Free customs was freedom from the ancient customs of the crown. Thol signified liberty of buying and selling. Freedom from Thelonium was freedom from dues and market tolls; lastagium, from a duty of so much per last, levied on heavy goods; passagium from passage or ferry rate; pontageum from bridge rates, and stallageum from dues on stalls erected in markets and fairs. *Administration of Justice*—Freedom from suit and service in county and wapentake courts was freedom to manage their own local affairs, without foreign interference. Soc signified the power, authority, and liberty to administer justice. Sac was a royalty or privilege, which a lord of the manor claimed to have in his own courts, of holding pleas amongst his tenants and vassals; thame was a right of trying bondmen; and infrangenethef was a right of trying thieves taken—fangen, within the jurisdiction.*

On the 25th of March, the day following the grant of the above charter, the king granted a lease of the royal rights in the Borough of Liverpool to the men of Liverpool, by the following lease:—

“HENRY, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, &c.—To the sheriff and all his bailiffs of the county of Lancaster, greeting,—

* See *Blount's Dictionary* for all these words, and *Maddox's Firma Burgi*, for a fuller explanation of the commercial terms.

Know ye, that we have granted to our honest men of Liverpool our town of Liverpool, to be held at farm, from the feast of St. Michael, in the thirteenth year of our reign, unto the end of four complete years, rendering therefore unto us in each of the aforesaid years, at our Exchequer, by the hands of the Sheriff of Lancaster, at two terms, £10; to wit: at Easter, in the thirteenth year of our reign £5, and at the feast of St. Michael, in the same year £5, and so from year to year, at the same terms, £10 as is aforesaid. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters hereof to them to be made patent.—Witness ourselves, at Marlborough, the 25th day of Mareh, in the same year of our reign.”

The rent of £10 a year at that time was equal to about £150 of our money. There is no statement of the precise sources of income, which were to be held at farm for this payment, but they no doubt consisted of the reserved rights which the kings retained in all the free boroughs of the kingdom, and which formed a very considerable item in the receipts of the Exchequer.

Before closing the account of the early Charters of Liverpool, and of the position of the new borough at the time when they were granted, it may be well to show the position of the principal cities and towns of the kingdom about the same period. As nearly the whole of the cities and towns were the property of the crown, a very good test is furnished of their comparative position, by the amount of the yearly rents which they yielded to it.* These rents were in part derived from the ground rents of the burgage lands; in part from the tolls on trade and commerce; in part from the profits of the royal mills; in part from the fees and fines of the

* The following are the amounts yielded by the fee farm rents of London, and of the other principal cities and towns of the kingdom, at about the same time. They are made up from the Sheriffs' accounts for the different counties of England, in the years mentioned in the table:—

line table.—								line table.—					
£	s.	d.	EQUAL TO		£	s.	d.	EQUAL TO		£	s.	d.	EQUAL TO
London	300	0	0	£4500, 11th Rich. 1st.	Cambridge.	40	0	0	£600, 2nd Hen. 3rd.				
Bristol	244	0	0	3675, 11th Hen. 3rd.	Chichester.	88	10	0	600, 15th Hen. 3rd.				
Southampton.	200	0	0	3000, 4th Edw. 6th.	Ipswich	35	0	0	500, 2nd Hen. 3rd.				
Lincoln.	180	0	0	2700, 2nd Hen. 3rd.	Huntingdon.	35	0	0	500, 2nd Hen. 3rd.				
York	160	0	0	2400, 16th John.	Oxford	30	0	0	450, 56th Hen. 3rd.				
Winchester.	142	12	4	2139, 26th Hen. 2nd.	Westcumb.	22	0	0	300, 7th Rich. 1st.				
Godmanchester.	120	0	0	1800, 2nd Hen. 3rd.	Shrewsbury.	20	0	0	300, 2nd Hen. 3rd.				
Norwich	108	0	0	1600, 13th Edw. 1st.	Lyme.	20	0	0	300, 5th Edw. 3rd.				
Chester	100	0	0	1500, 25th Rich. 2nd.	Dorchester.	20	0	0	300, 21st Hen. 7th.				
Andover	80	0	0	1200, 2nd Rich. 2nd.	Helleston.	20	marks		200, 2nd Rich. 2nd.				
Yarmouth	55	0	0	750, 9th John.	Appleby	15	0	0	200, 5th Hen. 3rd.				
Newcastle-on-					Bedwin	11	0	0	160, 18th Edw. 1st.				
Tyne	50	0	0	754, 3rd John.	Bala.	10	12	0	160, 5th Edw. 3rd.				
Bedford.	42	0	0	600, 22nd Hen. 2nd.	Liverpool.	10	0	0	150, 14th Hen. 3rd.				
Hereford.	40	0	0	600, 8th Hen. 4th.	Bridgenorth.	10	marks		100, 18th Edw. 2nd.				

courts of justice; and from various other sources, which will be mentioned when I come to speak of the leases of the fee farm of Liverpool. They rose, fell, or remained unaltered, according to the position of the various towns. In London and Bristol, York and Lincoln, Southampton and Winchester, the payments were equal to from £2,139 to £4,500, in our present money. In smaller places, though of some standing, they were of the value of as many hundreds. In places of a still smaller class, such as Liverpool then was, they did not produce more than from £100 to £200 of the money of the present day. As I have mentioned £10 of the money of Henry the Third, which is equal to £150 of the money of this age, was the amount which the "honest men" of Liverpool agreed to pay to Henry the Third, in the year 1229, as a fee farm rent, for all the royal rights in the borough of Liverpool.

It will be seen that the table in the subjoined note confirms the account which I have given in the first chapter of this work, of the manner in which the commerce of England was distributed in early times. In those ages seaports did not owe their importance (such as it was) to manufactures, for nothing deserving the name of manufactures existed in any part of the kingdom, but to the quantity of agricultural and pastoral produce which each district supplied, beyond what was required for the wants of its inhabitants. The great export of the kingdom, as I have already said, was wool; and skins and hides formed the next. Grain was never sent out of the country without the royal permission, which was rarely given. Parties exporting it illegally were punished with the greatest severity. The first complete account which we possess of the exports of England gives their total value at £212,338, equal to about £3,187,070 of our present money. Of this amount, £195,978, equal to £2,939,670, consisted of wool and skins, and the rest of the amount of coarse manufactures of wool and worsted. Probably the only point in which the exports of the reign of Henry the Third differed from those of Edward the Third, was, that the quantity of wool exported was somewhat less in the former, and that no manufactures were exported at that early period. There is not, in the reign of King John or Henry the Third, evidence of the export of any thing but wool, except in the case of a small quantity of grain exported from Yarmouth to Flanders, which drew down a heavy fine on the inhabitants of that enterprising and industrious port. As relates to wool, it appears that both King John and his son, Henry the Third, were extensively engaged in the trade. It also appears that the Knights of the Temple, and the heads of various monasteries, united the risks of wool

dealing to their religious and warlike cares. These transactions of the kings account for the entry in the calendar of the Patent Rolls of various large sums of gold and silver received from abroad, chiefly from Germany. As far as we have the means of judging, there was always a very large balance of trade in favour of England, which was paid in silver. In the year 1354, the total value of the imports of the kingdom is given at £38,383 16s. 10d., equal to £545,756 of modern money, whilst that of the exports amounted to £212,331 5s., equal to £3,184,968. If these accounts are correct, or if they at all approach correctness, the balances due to the kingdom on commercial account were very large. Doubtless, a large portion of these amounts were wasted in the long and destructive wars which Edward the Third waged on the continent. The same observation applies to the times of King John, and of all the early Henrys and Edwards. They were seldom at peace with their neighbours for more than a few years together; and though there was a steady increase of national wealth from the time of the Norman Conquest to the accession of the Tudors, and has been a rapid one ever since, yet the rate of increase was greatly retarded both by civil strife and external war. The civil strife may have been worth all the sacrifices which it entailed, for out of the confusion of the reigns of King John and Henry the Third arose many of the noblest principles of British freedom. The foreign wars, though full of brilliant events, and though they placed England in the first rank of the warlike nations of Europe, were as wasteful and unprofitable as such wars usually are.

I now proceed to trace the History of Liverpool from the time of the granting of its most valuable Charters to the time when the Commerce of the Port began to develop itself vigorously; accompanying the sketch of the rise of the Port with a sketch of the rise of industry in the surrounding districts.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

FROM THE GRANTING OF THE CHARTER OF HENRY THE THIRD, TO
THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

At the time when Henry the Third granted the charter to the Borough of Liverpool which I have quoted in the preceding chapter, that weak and obstinate monarch, whose reign was a series of disasters, was preparing to commence an attack on the dominions of the King of France. This attack was made without provocation, and ended in complete defeat, which was rendered doubly galling by the fact, that the King of France was at that time a boy of fifteen years of age, under the guardianship of his mother. Little anticipating such a result to his first military expedition, the King ordered all the shipping of the kingdom to assemble at Portsmouth, by Michaelmas day, in the year 1229, to convey his army across to Brittany;* and summoned the military tenants of the crown to join him at Portsmouth. As the expedition was known to be undertaken in opposition to the wishes and opinions of the prime minister, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent,† and of other experienced councillors of the crown, the nobles assembled slowly and reluctantly. In the hope of quickening the zeal of Ranulf, the great Earl of Chester, who was at that time the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had governed the earldom of Chester for nearly fifty years, with all but regal power, the king made him a grant of the whole of the royal estates lying between the Ribble and the Mersey. This grant included the Borough of Liverpool, the town of Salford, and from twenty to thirty other manors, chiefly in the hundreds of West Derby and Salford. The following is a copy of the deed by which the Sheriff of Lancaster was ordered to transfer these estates to the Earl of Chester :—

“The King hath granted, and by this Charter confirmed, to Ranulf, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, the whole land which he hath between the Ribble and the Mersey; that is to say, the town of West Derby, with the Wapentake and all the appurtenances; the Borough of Liverpool,

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 13th of Henry III.

† Knight's Pictorial History of England, i.; 676.

with the appurtenances; the town of Salford, with the wapentake, and all the appurtenances; the Wapentake of Leyland, with all the appurtenances, in demesnes, forests, hays, homages, services, and all other their appurtenances, AND WITH ALL LIBERTIES AND FREE CUSTOMS to the aforesaid lands, wapentake, BOROUGH, hays, forests, appertaining, as is more fully contained in the King's Charters, to him thereof made. And it is commanded to the Sheriff of Lancaster, that he cause the same Earl to have, without delay, full seisin of the aforesaid lands, wapentakes, borough, with all the appurtenances in demesnes, forests, hays, homages, services, and all other appurtenances, with all liberties and free customs, to the aforesaid lands, wapentakes, borough, hays, and forests pertaining. Witness, the King, at Portsmouth, the 19th day October."*

At the time when the above estates were transferred to the Earl of Chester, they formed somewhat more than one-third, in value, of the whole Honour of Lancaster. It appears, from the Sheriff's return, in the Great Roll of the Pipe, for the fourteenth year of King Henry the Third, that the income of the Honour of Lancaster amounted that year to £174 7s. 3½d. of the money of that time, equal to £2,615 9s. 4½d. of modern money. Of this income the land belonging to the crown, between the Ribble and the Mersey, produced £68 18s. 4d. a year in the money of that time, equal to £1,033 15s. of the money of this. Of this amount £46 16s. 7d., equal to £702 8s. 9d. of modern money, was derived from estates in the Hundred of West Derby, and £21 11s. 2d., equal to £323 15s. of present money, from estates in the Hundred of Salford. In the Hundred of Leyland the royal property had been reduced by previous grants, to a single carucate of land, worth 10s. a year of the money of that time; whilst in the Hundred of Blackburn every acre of the royal estates had been alienated, previous to the grant to the Earl of Chester. The Borough of Liverpool was the most valuable of the manors transferred by this grant. It then yielded a rent of £10 a year, equal to £150 of our money.† At the time when this grant was made to the Earl of Chester, the fee farm of the Borough, that is, the royal rights and property, were leased to the inhabitants, who collected the various rents and dues by their own officers, during the continuance of the lease. Next in value to Liverpool, amongst the manors granted to the Earl of Chester, was Great Crosby, the chief part of the lands of which belonged to the crown, and were cultivated by

* Close Rolls, 13th of Henry III.

† Lease of the Borough, at p. 93.

bondsmen, otherwise called villeins, or *nativi*. The rent paid by the bondsmen of Great Crosby was £5 5s., equal to £78 15s. of the money of the present day. There were also in that manor two free tenants, Robert (Molyneux) de Crosby, who paid the king 10s., equal to £7 10s. of our money, and Robert Malet, who paid 7s. 6d., equal to £5 12s. 6d. Everton was next in value to Great Crosby. The whole of the lands of Everton were cultivated by bondsmen, who paid £4 16s., equal to £72, of yearly rent. They had a few years before obtained an order from the king, that they should not be compelled to render any other services than those which they had rendered in the time of his father, King John, “before the war;” and that they should have, from the royal woods at West Derby, reasonable estovers, or grants of timber, for the building and repairing of their houses.* The sums yielded by the other manors in which the king held lands will be seen by the subjoined extract from the Sheriff’s Account, or Pipe roll, of a preceding year—the tenth of Henry the Third.† It will also be seen, from the same extract, that each of the thanes, or gentlemen who held manors around Liverpool, paid to the king a yearly sum of 20s. of money of that time, equal to £15 of present money. The income of the estate granted to the Earl of Chester was thus derived from the royal rights and estates in Liverpool; from the rents of the lands, cultivated by the bondsmen, in a few of the adjoining manors; and from the sums paid to the chief lord of the honour in numerous manors, in which the lands were held by free tenants. The following is the extract, with the rents stated both in ancient and modern money:—

“WAPENTAKE OF WEST DERBY.—William, Earl of Derby, renders account of £4 16s, equal to £72 of our money, for rent of Overton (Everton), with the extension of the works of villeins (or bondsmen) of the same town, for lands which they hold in villeinage in the same town; and for 60s., equal to £45, for rent of assize at Waleton (Walton); and of 105s., equal to £78 15s., from villeinage of the king in Crosby; and of 10s., equal to £7 10s., of rent of assize of Robert de Crosby, who holds as a freeman in the same manor; and of 7s. 6d., equal to £5 12s. 6d., for rent of assize of Robert Malet, who holds in the same manor; and of £4 10s., equal to £67 10s., for rent of assize of Hale, which Richard de Mida holds by charter of King John; and of 50s., equal to £37 10s., for increase of the

* Syers’s History of Everton, 13.

† These extracts from the Great Roll of the Pipe, or Sheriffs’ Accounts, are taken chiefly from Roger Dodsworth’s MS. extracts respecting Lancashire, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Some, however, are from the notes of Maddox’s *Firma Burgi*, his History of the Exchequer, and other works in which those valuable records of past ages are quoted.

same manor; and of 20s., equal to £15, for rent of assize at Wavertree; and of half a mark, equal to £5, for increase of the same; and of £9, equal to £135, for rent of assize at Liverpool; and of 72s. 6d., equal to £54 7s. 6d., for rent of assize of West Derby; and of 20s., equal to £15, for rent of assize at Ladum (Latham), for thanage; and of 21s. 4d., equal to £16, for rent of assize for thanage; and of 20s., equal to £15, for rent of assize of Ditton; and of 20s., equal to £15, for rent of assize of Gerstan (Garston); and of one mark, equal to £10, for thanage of Tinginwell (Thingwall); and of 10s., equal to £7 10s., of Richard Wallens, for thanage in Up Lederland; and of 15s., equal to £11 5s., of Henry de Melling, for thanage in Melling and Up Holland; and of 20s., equal to £15, of Adam de Mullinell (Molyneux), for thanage in Lederland; and of 18s., equal to £13 10s., of Alan de Hoiland (Holland), for thanage in Hoyland, and Aintree, and Barton; and of 5s., equal to £3 15s., of Alan the son of Bernulf, for thanage in Bickerstaff; and one mark, equal to £10, of Richard the son of Roger, for thanage in Formeby and Bold; and of 28s., equal to £21, of Henry de Waleton, for rent of assize of Formeby, which he holds by charter of King John; and of half a mark, £5, of the same Henry, for increase; and of 11s. 10d., equal to £8 17s. 6d., for sacfee of the fee of William Butler; and of 3s., equal to £2 5s., for the same of R. Bussel, in Kirkdale; and of 6s., equal to £4 10s., for the same of Adam de Millenel (Molyneux)." Total amount, £46 9s. 2d.; equal to £702 2s. 6d. of modern money.

It will also be seen from the following extract from the Pipe Roll of the fourteenth of Henry the Third, that the estates granted by that king to the Earl of Chester, were transferred to him, by the Sheriff of Lancashire, in the same year:—

"The same sheriff renders account of £21 11s. 2d. from several farms in the Wapentake of Saltford; and of £46 16s. 2d. from several farms in the West Derby; and of 10s. rent from one carucate of land, in Leylandshire, which Richard de Thorpe holds—total £68 17s. 4d. Nothing in the treasury; but paid to Ranulf, Earl of Chester, £68 17s. 4d. for the aforesaid wapentakes, lands, and rents, according to the letter of the king, in which it is said that the king has given to him all the lands which he had between Ribble and Mersey."

Soon after the Earl of Chester had obtained the above grant from the crown, he added greatly to the extent and value of his estates in Lancashire, by purchasing the property of a landowner, named Roger de Mersheya, who appears to have had other estates, and probably

residences, in the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham. The property purchased by the earl consisted of numerous manors, chiefly situated in the hundred of Salford, some of which have since become the sites of great towns. Amongst them were those of Bolton and Little Bolton, Hilton, Brightmede, Redcliffe, Urmston, Sharples, Haigh, Adlington, Derwent or Darwen, Eccleshill, and Heaton, near Lancaster. The price which he paid for these manors and estates was 200 marks of silver, to which 40 marks were afterwards added; the two sums being equal to about £2,400 of modern money.*

Although the great Earl of Chester did not live to enjoy his estates in Lancashire more than three or four years after the grant of Henry the Third, yet he created some memorials of his possession, during that short period, which have helped to preserve the remembrance of his name for many ages. A very ancient tradition assigns to this earl the honour of having built the beacon, or lighthouse, on Everton hill, near Liverpool, which continued in existence until the beginning of the present century. It is not certain whether this beacon was constructed for the purpose of guiding vessels into the port of Liverpool, or for that of raising the country in case of warlike attack. From its position on a hill which rises to the height of upwards of two hundred feet above the town of Liverpool, it must have been visible for many miles at sea, as well as from most of the high grounds of Cheshire. A lighthouse, for purely commercial purposes, was erected in England as early as the reign in which the great Earl of Chester lived. This appears from a grant of certain customs, made by Henry the Third, to support a light or lighthouse erected in the harbour of Winchelsea, for the safety of seamen.† But Earl Ranulf's knowledge was not confined to his own country. A few years previous to the grant made to him by Henry the Third, he had visited Palestine as a Crusader. At that time the route usually taken by the northern crusaders was either through Marseilles, which has never ceased to be a beautiful and populous city for 2,000 years, or through Genoa and Venice, which were then the first commercial cities in the world. The route of King Richard the First was through Marseilles, in going to the Holy Land;‡ and he would probably have returned by Venice, if he had not had the misfortune to be shipwrecked in the Adriatic. King Phillip, of France, sailed from Genoa to Palestine. We have no information as to the route taken by the Earl of

* Duchy Office, Cartæ Regum, No. 79. + Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 45th Henry Third

‡ Pictorial History of England, i, 486.

Chester, either in going or returning ; but it must have been through countries full of commercial activity and intelligence, where he would see every establishment which the science and skill of that age had invented for the security of commerce. It is therefore not improbable, that one of his objects in erecting the beacon at Everton, may have been to add to the prosperity of the port of Liverpool, which, as I have already shown, was the most valuable portion of the property that he had received under the grant of Henry the Third.

Another benefit which the country between the Ribble and the Mersey received from the Earl of Chester, was the forming of a police force, supported by local rates. This was found to be so useful as to be continued after his death, by authority of the king.*

A third act of Earl Ranulf's was of a more questionable character. He seized on the Church of Walton, then the Parish Church of Liverpool ; on the manor of Garston ; the fishery of the Mersey at Thelwall ; and on other estates which had been granted to the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, by Roger of Poitou, and Goisfred, his vice-comes or sheriff, in the reign of William Rufus. It is not known on what pretext he did this. He soon restored them, however, "for the good of his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors," by the following deed of restitution :—

"Ranulfus, Earl of Chester, to the Bishop of Chester, and all the Clergy, the Constable and Seneschal of Chester, &c.—Know that we have restored (*nos redidisse*), for the safety of our own soul and those of our ancestors, to God and the Holy Virgin Mary, and to the Abbot and Monks of the Church of the blessed St. Peter, of Shrewsbury, the manor of Gerston (Garston), with all its appurtenances, the church of Walton, with its appurtenances, a certain house at Newton, in the demesne, the two towns of Poulton and Ulfston, and the half part of the fishery of Thelwall, in the Mersey.—Witness, The BISHOP OF CHESTER."†

The Bishop of Chester, whose name is attached to the above deed, may possibly have induced Earl Ranulf to submit to the authority of the Church in this matter ; but he was not given to pay implicit obedience even to the pope. He firmly refused to allow a tax of one-tenth, imposed by Pope Innocent the Fourth, on all the countries which acknowledged

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 36th Henry Third.

† Harleian MSS., No. 2063, p. 230.

his supremacy, but which was raised for no better purpose than that of carrying on a war with the Emperor of Germany, to be levied in the Earldom of Chester, although it was levied in all other parts of England, as well as in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.*

The great Earl of Chester died at his castle, at Wallingford on the Thames, in the year 1232, after having possessed the earldom of Chester for upwards of half a century;† but after holding the lands granted to him by Henry the Third, between the Ribble and the Mersey, only three or four years. As he left no children, his immense estates were divided amongst his four sisters, or their heirs. In this division his sister Agnes, who was married to William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, obtained the estates between the Mersey and the Ribble. The following extract from a royal order, “Concerning the heirs of Ranulf, Earl of Chester,” will show the arrangement which was made with regard to that portion of the earl’s estates:—

“It is provided that the castle of Chartley, with the manor and all appurtenances for a chief residence, shall pass to William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and Agnes his wife, as part of what falls to the said Agnes; and that the same earl and his wife shall receive the castle and town of West Derby, with its appurtenances, together with the lands which the aforesaid earl possessed between the Ribble and the Mersey. Witness the King at Northampton, November the 12th.”‡

The Earl of Derby and his Countess Agnes subsequently paid the king £50, equal to £750 of our money, as their relief, on taking possession of the estates; and it will be seen by the following deed, that they agreed to render to the king every year an *asturca* or falcon, or in place of it 40s., for their lands between the Ribble and the Mersey. It is an order addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer:—

“Know, that William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and Agnes, his wife, are bound to pay to us yearly a falcon (*asturca*), or 40s., for the land between Ribble and Mersey, which we gave to Ranulf, formerly Earl of Chester, and which is assigned to the said Earl, and Agnes his wife, as part of the portion which goes to them of the lands which formerly belonged to the said Earl of Chester. And therefore I command you that you receive the said payment from them yearly, and give them acquittance.—Witness, myself, at Westminster, 21st day of October.”§

William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who thus became possessed of the

* Matthew Paris, 372.

† Mortimer’s History of Wirral, 79.

‡ Close Rolls, 17th of Henry III., m. 17.

§ Excerpta é Rotulis Finium, i., 267.

borough of Liverpool, and of many other estates in Lancashire, was the descendant of an ancient Norman family, which had obtained the Earldom of Derby, with large estates in that county, by the valour and conduct of one of its members, at the Battle of the Standard, fought at Northallerton, in the reign of King Stephen. This earl and his countess Agnes were far advanced in life when they inherited their estates between the Ribble and the Mersey, and they did not hold them more than a few years. The only act recorded of them in connection with their Lancashire estates is, that they granted a portion of the manor of Altcar at the mouth of the river Alt to the Abbey of Miraval, in Warwickshire.* This estate passed into the hands of the Molyneuxes of Sefton at the time of the Reformation, and now forms part of the fine coursing grounds of the Earl of Sefton, in the Altcar meadows. William, Earl of Derby, and the Countess Agnes both died (within a month of each other) at the age of ninety-four years, in the year 1247, having, (according to Matthew Paris,) lived together as husband and wife for seventy-five years. The same writer gives this Earl of Derby the honourable character of having been a just and peace-loving man, and says of his Countess Agnes, that she was his equal in age, reputation, and goodness.†

A second William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, succeeded to the estates of his father and mother, in the thirty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Third. The following is the account of the homage which he rendered for his estates between the Mersey and the Ribble, taken from the Fine Rolls of that year, 1247 :—

“The King has received the homage of William de Ferrers, for all the lands and tenements which belonged to his mother Agnes, formerly Countess of Derby; and it is commanded to Thomas de Stanford and Robert de Crepping, escheators beyond Trent, that they give full seizin (possession) without delay, to the said William de Ferrers, of all the lands of the said Agnes, formerly Countess of Derby, and of the Castles of West Derby and Liverpool.”

This second Earl William did not hold his estates for many years. He was a victim of the rich man's plague, the gout; and his end was hastened by the accident of his having fallen, whilst passing over a bridge, from a litter on which he was usually carried whilst travelling. The following circumstances connect this Earl with Liverpool and Lancashire :

* Evidences of the Molyneux family, at Croxteth; which I have been kindly allowed to see, by the Earl of Sefton.

† Matthew Paris, 742.

In the year 1252, he obtained a grant of free warren, that is, of the right to take hares, rabbits, and partridges* on his demense lands in Liverpool, and in numerous other manors in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. In the same deed he obtained for his tenants in the manor of Bolton, the right of holding a weekly market and a fair. This grant first made Bolton-on-the-Moors a market town, and thus laid the foundation of the prosperity of that flourishing place. The following is an extract of the grant:—

“The king to the archbishops, &c., Greeting: Know that we have granted, and by this our charter confirmed, to our beloved William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, that he and his heirs may have for ever free warren in all his demesne lands in the manors of Liverpool, West Derby, Everton, Crosby, Wavertree, &c., provided those lands are not within the bounds of our forest, so that no one may enter those lands to hunt in them, or to take anything that belongs to the warren, without the license and consent of the said earl, or his heirs, under forfeiture of £10 (equal to £150). We also grant to the said earl and his heirs, for ever, that they may have, in the manor of Bowelton, in the county of Lancaster, a market and a fair, and also in his manor of Huttokes, in the county of Stafford, &c., &c.—Dated 14th Dec.”†

The same earl also obtained permission from the king to keep up and support by a public rate, the police force which had been organised by his uncle Ranulf, Earl of Chester.

Matthew Paris gives the second earl William of Derby, the character of having been a discreet man, well skilled in the laws of the land,—no mean praise in an age in which might was so much more thought of than right ‡

On the death of William, Earl of Derby, his estates became the property of his eldest son, Robert de Ferrers, then a boy fourteen years of age. He was the last member of the de Ferrers family who possessed them. Being a minor at the time of his father's death he was a ward of the crown, and all his estates passed into the hands of the king, who allowed them to be plundered, first by his son, Prince Edward, and afterwards by the Queen Alianor and her brother, Peter of Savoy,

* Pheasants have since been held to be birds of warren; grouse not to be so. Of the nobler game, the hart, the hind, and the wild boar were held to be beasts of the forest, and were reserved for the hunting of the king; and the buck, the doe, and the fox were held to be beasts of chase. The right of hunting them was sold by King John to the Lancashire gentlemen for upwards of £4,000 of modern money.

† Charter Roll, m. 24, 36th Henry Third.

‡ Matthew Paris, 884.

without shame or scruple. The following facts will show, that if Robert, Earl of Derby, became a rebel in after life, it was not without having received numerous provocations from the king, and from other members of the royal family, in his younger days.

Before the death of his father, and whilst he was yet a boy of nine years of age, Robert de Ferrers was compelled, or persuaded, to contract a marriage, which was held to be good in law, with a child still younger than himself, Maria, the niece of the king, and the daughter of the Count of Angouleme and March.* Forced marriages like this were mentioned by the barons among their grievances, when they rose in insurrection against the king shortly after.

Having thus secured possession of Robert de Ferrers and of his estates for his niece, when the former should reach manhood, the king proceeded to make the most of the estates, for other members of the royal family, during the minority of the heir. For this purpose he made over the wardship of Robert de Ferrers, and the income of his estates, to his eldest son, Edward, afterwards the celebrated King, Edward the First. It will be seen, from the following copy of the grant, that it states with perfect frankness that the management of the estates is given to Prince Edward, in part payment of 15,000 marks of land, that is to say, of as much land as would produce 15,000 marks a year of the money of that time, or £150,000 of present money, which the king had promised to give his son :

“ The king hath granted to Edward, his first-born son and heir, the custody of all the lands which were of William de Ferrers, late earl of Derby, on the day on which he died, to be held unto the full age of the heirs of the same earl, in part for the supplying of the defect of 15,000 marks (equal to £150,000) of land, which, by our charter, we are bound to provide for him, together with the lands which we have given and granted to him in England, Ireland, and elsewhere, saving to the wife of the aforesaid earl her reasonable dower, out of the aforesaid lands, when the king shall assign the same to her. And it is commanded to William de Wilton that he do take the fealty of all the tenants of the aforesaid lands, to the use of the aforesaid son of the king, and that he do also answer for the reasonable tallage to be assessed upon the aforesaid tenants, out of the issues of the same lands, at the king's exchequer, to the use of the same son of the king, as the custos of the same, so long as he shall hold the same custody, and that he do cause the same to be levied without delay. Be it known that the king has sent James Frese, his escheator, to

* Annals of Burton, 310.

take to the use of the aforesaid son of the king, the fealty of the tenants of the lands which were of the aforesaid earl, in the counties of Northampton and Berks, and to assess a reasonable tallage upon the same. Witness, Alianor, the Queen, and Richard, earl of Cornwall, at Windsor, the 15th day of April. By the Queen and H. D. Mara."*

No doubt Prince Edward, who had as firm a grasp as any man of his age, did his utmost to obtain the whole of his 15,000 marks a year from the estates thus placed in his hands, by imposing tallages in addition to the ordinary rents, and by other means of raising money, well understood in those times. Owing to this grant to Prince Edward, we obtain a glance into the condition of Liverpool at that time, from the following extract from the "Roll of accounts of the lands of Lord Edward, in the forty-first year of King Henry his father." It shows that the fee farm of Liverpool still produced the same sum of £10 a year, equal to £150 of our money, which it had produced twenty-seven years before, when leased by the king to the honest men of Liverpool, and that it was still let out on lease:—

"West Derbyshire. Liverpool with the Members.—Henry de Lee, bailiff, renders account for the aforesaid time. The same renders account for £10 for the town of Liverpool, put at farm, with toll, stallage, passage, and two water mills, and one windmill, and for 3s. 9d. for rent of the two messuages, for the term of the Annunciation; and for 66s. 1½d. for rents of assize at Cnateby (Crosby), Everton, and Waverton (Wavertree), for the term of the Nativity, and for 66s. 1½d. for rents there, for the term of the Annunciation. Sum, £16 16s."

This account, drawn up by Henry de Lee, who was at that time sheriff of Lancashire, was audited at the exchequer at Bristol, before the Lords, Richard Abbot of Kingeswood, Galfrey de Caur, and Elias de Cumber, treasurers, and Thomas de Boulton, clerk for the issues of the lands of the said Lord Edward, in the forty-first year of the reign of the king. A.D. 1257. No particulars are given in this return of the nature of the tolls levied in Liverpool at that time, but they were probably the same which the crown levied in other places, about the same period. In London they consisted, in the year 1268 (fifty-first Henry Third), of tronage,† of customs on foreign goods,‡ metage of corn, customs of fish, tolls on the river gates, customs of the river Thames, stallage, soccage, foreigners' forfeited goods, &c. These produced a revenue of £366 15s. 4½d., equal to £5,501 10s. 7½d. half yearly, and were afterwards let to the citizens

* Close Rolls, 38th Henry Third, 1285.

† Weighage, from trona, a beam.

‡ The original is "de consuetudinibus omnimodarum mercandiarum venientium de partibus transmarinis ad Civitatem prædictam."

for a yearly rent of £400, equal to £6,000 a-year.* We find most of the above items enumerated in subsequent leases of the fee farm of Liverpool.

After holding the estates of Robert de Ferrers for some time, Prince Edward sold his interest in them to his mother, Queen Alianor, and her brother, Peter of Savoy, for 6,000 marks, equal to about £60,000 of our money. As Peter of Savoy was the most insatiable of the parasites who had come over from Provence in the train of Queen Alianor, there can be no doubt that the estates were thoroughly drained, before they were allowed to escape from their hands.

The time when Robert de Ferrers arrived at manhood afforded ample opportunities for avenging the injuries which he had received during his minority. The contest between the king and the barons, under Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was just breaking out. For many years the government of Henry the Third had been extremely unpopular. His continental wars had been discreditable in their origin, expensive in their progress, and, with one exception, disgraceful in their results. The court had been filled with needy relations of the Queen Alianor, a princess of Provence, who had been allowed to plunder the estates of the wards of the crown, to marry their sons and daughters to the heirs and heiresses of the finest estates in the kingdom, and to render bankrupt an exchequer exhausted by thirty years of extravagance and weakness. The immense estates of the crown, and the royal rights which it possessed in all the cities and towns of the kingdom, then formed the fund out of which the government ought to have been supported and carried on; but they had been greatly reduced by imprudent grants before they passed into the hands of Henry the Third, and he had still further diminished them. Instead of having an income of £1,000 a day of the money of that time—equal to several millions a year of our money—as William the Conqueror is said to have had, the average income of Henry the Third, from all sources, is known not to have amounted to more than £240,000 of modern money.† Hence the king was continually driven to the most desperate schemes for raising supplies. Large sums were extorted from the citizens and burgesses of the kingdom for the renewal of charters. Heavy fines were also imposed for insignificant offences, as in the case of William, Earl of Derby, whose Lancashire estates were seized by the king, and were not restored until he had paid a fine equal to £1,500 of our money. Frequent tallages were imposed on the tenants of the royal estates, on the most frivolous pretences. In addition to these

* Madox's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, 534. + Matthew Paris says 24,000 marks.

exactions from his Christian subjects, the unfortunate Jews, who were at that time the only persons in the kingdom who possessed much capital in the form of ready money, were plundered without mercy, limit, or the slightest show of decency. Sums equal to £50,000, £100,000, and even to £200,000, were extorted from them at various times, and with various forms of cruelty and oppression. Little as the mass of King Henry's subjects were disposed to sympathise with the Jews, they at length became furious at being plundered to enrich court favourites, and to carry on wars which led to nothing but disgrace. The crowning stroke was given by an attempt to raise an enormous sum of money, equal to a million and a half of the money of the present day, for expenses incurred in a wild enterprise, into which the king had been drawn by the pope; the object of which was to place the king's son, Edmund, who afterwards became Earl of Lancaster, on the throne of Sicily. The attempt failed, but in the course of it, upwards of £100,000 of the money of that time was borrowed by the pope, in the commercial cities of Italy and Germany, which the king of England was afterwards called upon to pay. The attempt to raise this immense sum was resisted with equal firmness by the barons, the citizens, and the clergy of the kingdom. In the hope of freeing himself from his embarrassments, the king called the barons together at Westminster. They came at the call, but came armed, and announced to the king that it was not their intention to grant supplies, but to effect a thorough reform in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom. They afterwards met in much greater force at Oxford, under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The object of their meeting was to consider the state of the kingdom "and of Sicily"; and one of the first resolutions which they came to, was to the effect that "amongst other things it appeared most clearly that the desire of obtaining Sicily was a great injury to the kingdom.*" An inquiry was next instituted as to the large sums carried out of the kingdom by the relatives of the king. It was finally arranged that a committee of twenty-four barons and prelates should be appointed, to manage the affairs of the kingdom, twelve to be selected by the barons and twelve by the king, all real power being vested in Simon de Montfort and the leaders of the barons' party. This arrangement, which was considered a virtual deposing of the king, gave the greatest dissatisfaction to the royalists; but still it was submitted to for a considerable time, Prince Edward at first rather leaning to the side of the barons.

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 42nd Henry Third.

Matters were at length brought to a crisis, by an attempt of the council of barons to obtain powers which would have prolonged their authority after the death of the king. This attempt roused Prince Edward, a young and daring prince, who was in every respect a contrast to his father, to a most determined effort to defend his rights. War was declared between the two parties immediately. The nobles and clergy were equally divided between the king and the barons. The citizens of London, Bristol, Lincoln, Hereford, and all the large cities, took part with Simon de Montfort. From the commencement of the war Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, eagerly joined the barons' party. He collected an army in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, with which he overran the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Hereford, capturing the city of Worcester (where he destroyed the Jewry, or quarter of the Jews), and afterwards wasting the king's estates in Herefordshire.* The principal struggle, however, between the two parties, commenced at Northampton, where Prince Edward defeated the barons with great loss. After his victory Prince Edward marched northward, took the town of Leicester, near which Simon de Montfort's estates were situated, captured the castle of Nottingham, and led his army into Derbyshire, where he laid waste the estates of Robert de Ferrers, with fire and sword.† But these victories and plunderings decided nothing. The main strength of the two parties remained unbroken until the day of the great battle, which was fought at Lewes, in Sussex, on the 14th of May, in the year 1264. On that eventful day the royal army was commanded by Prince Edward, supported by many of the English nobility, and also by Robert Bruce, John Baliol and John Comyn, all of whom held estates in England as well as in Scotland, and fought on this occasion under the orders of the prince, who afterwards became the implacable enemy of their name and race. The barons' army was commanded by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, supported by Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and other nobles of the popular party, and by a large body of the citizens of London, the latter of whom were almost entirely destroyed by a furious attack of Prince Edward. The battle, which was desperately contested, and in which upwards of 5,000 men were slain, ended in the total defeat of the royal army, and in the capture of the king, of Prince Edward, and of all the leaders of the royal party. Their lives were spared, and they were treated with some external marks of respect; but during the two years which followed this battle, the Government was in the hands

* Matthew Paris, 992 A.D. 1262.

† Huntingford, 561.

of Simon de Montfort, Robert de Ferrers, and other leaders of the popular party. As usually happens with parties who have to bear the whole responsibility of Government, their popularity soon began to fail. They also quarrelled amongst themselves, and Robert de Ferrers, especially, lost the favour of his own party, who charged him with holding communications with the King and the Prince. There was probably some truth in this charge, for when Prince Edward shortly afterwards escaped from captivity, brought the forces of the royal party together, defeated the army of the barons, and killed nearly all its leaders, in the great battle of Evesham, Robert de Ferrers was not at first involved in the ruin of his party. His estates were indeed seized, and he was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of the Crown "for his life, members, lands, and tenements." This submission was made at Westminster on the 23rd of February, in the 49th year of the reign of Henry the Third, and it seems to have been effectual in securing his safety, and in preserving his estates. It will be seen from the following deed which bears date the 5th of February, in the 50th year of the reign of King Henry, that it was at least effectual in preserving for him his estates in Liverpool. On that day and year he confirmed the burgesses of Liverpool in the possession of their charters by the following deed:—

"To all to whom the present writing may come, Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, greeting in the Lord,—Know that we have inspected the charter of the burgesses of Liverpool, which they have in these words [here follows King John's charter, see p. 81]: we have also inspected the confirmation of our Lord, Henry the King of England, in these words [here follows Henry the Third's charter, p. 90]: which, having inspected and fully understood, we grant and confirm, for ever, ALL THE LIBERTIES AND FREE CUSTOMS in the preceding charter, and confirmation to the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs, from us and our heirs. In testimony of which, we have caused our seal to be affixed,—these being the witnesses of the Lord:—William de Botiller, Robert de Banastre, Robert de Lathom, Henry de Lee, Alan de Wyndhull, John de * * * Tristram de Lealond, Master (Magister) Robert, rector of the church of Waleton, Master William de Waleton, William de Molineux, and others. Given at Liverpol, by the hands of Master H. Lovel, our chancellor, on the fifth day of February, in the 50th. year of the reign of King Henry, the son of King John."

Unfortunately for Robert de Ferrers, he again ventured to try the fortune of war in the spring of the same year. About that time, the

sons of Simon de Montfort seized upon the Isle of Ely, in Cambridge-shire, and of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, both of which were rendered strong by the surrounding marshes. A daring knight named Adam de Gordon, organised an insurrection in the New Forest, in Hampshire; the seamen of the Cinque Ports resolutely refused to submit to the king; and Robert de Ferrers raised an insurrection, on his Derbyshire estates. All these insurrections were suppressed by the courage and military skill of Prince Edward, or other leaders of the royal party. That headed by Robert de Ferrers proved the least formidable of all. The forces which he had got together were defeated near Chesterfield, and their luckless leader was compelled to fly to a church, where he was taken prisoner.* He was afterwards sent in custody to Windsor Castle, and although he succeeded in saving his life, by presenting the king with a gold cup, ornamented with jewels, and 1,500 marks in money, all his estates in Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire, were confiscated. By a decree, bearing date Kenilworth Castle, 20th of June, in the 50th year of the reign of king Henry, he gave to Edmund Plantagenet, his son, all the lands of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, "from the day of the conflict at Chesterfield."† The confiscation of the estates of Robert de Ferrers and Simon de Montfort was confirmed by the dictum or decree of Kenilworth. The estates of the Earldom of Leicester, as well as those of the Earldom of Derby, were also given to Prince Edmund, the aspirant to the throne of Sicily, and the founder of that great house of Lancaster which afterwards seized on the throne of England. The following are the deeds by which the estates of Robert de Ferrers were granted by the king to his son, Edmund Plantagenet:—

"The king to all greeting &c.:—Know ye that we have granted to Edmund, our most dear son, the castles and all the lands and tenements which were of Robert de Ferrers, with all their appurtenances, to have as long as it shall please us, in testimony whereof, &c. Witness the king at Kenilworth, the 5th day of August, in the 50th year of our reign.

"The king to the abbots, friars, barons, knights, freemen, and to all other tenants of the lands and tenements which were of Robert de Ferrers, heretofore Earl of Derby, greeting:—Whereas we have given and granted to Edmund, our most dear son, the castles, and all the lands and tenements, with all wards, reliefs, and escheats, homages, services, knights-fees, advowsons of churches, and all other their appurtenances, which were of the aforesaid Robert, we command you that to

* Wykes, 35, A. D. 1266.

+ Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 50th Henry Third.

the same Edmund, as your lord, in all things which to the premises pertain, from henceforth ye be attendant and answering; in testimony whereof, &c. Witness the king at Windsor, the 3rd day of January."

The following order from the king to his niece, Maria de Ferrers, commanding her to surrender the Castle of Liverpool, closes the history of the connection of the house of Ferrers with Liverpool:—

"On surrendering the Castle.—The King to his beloved niece, Maria de Ferrers, greeting. As we have committed to our beloved and faithful Adam de Gosmuth, the lands and all the tenements of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, to be held as long as it may please us, we command you, that you deliver to the said Adam de Gosmuth, or to William de Syleby, the castle of Liverpool, with its appurtenances, on their presenting these letters, with the lands and tenements aforesaid. Witness the king at Westminster, the 11th day of July."

Edmund Plantagenet, the first Earl of Lancaster, was one of the favourites of fortune. By the rebellion of Simon de Montfort and Robert de Ferrers, he became possessed of the greater part of the estates of the earldoms of Leicester and Derby; by a marriage with Avelina de Fortibus, the heiress of the Earls of Albemarle, he obtained the estates of that ancient earldom; and by a grant from his father, Henry the Third, he received the Honour of Lancaster, with the title of Earl of Lancaster. He thus reunited the portions of the latter Honour, which had been divided by the grant of the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, to Ranulf, Earl of Chester. These great estates he held to the close of his life. When his brother, Edward the First, returned from the Holy Land, where he had rivalled the exploits of Richard the Lion-hearted, he confirmed Earl Edmund in the possession of all his castles, counties, and honours. In the eighth year of his reign, he also gave to him the residue of Robert de Ferrers's estates in Derbyshire, in exchange for the counties and castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, which had just been conquered from the Welsh. The lands thus given to the Earl of Lancaster consisted of the wapentakes of Wirksworth and Ashburne; of the hamlets of Matlock, Underwood, and Bredlaw; and of the rich lead mines of Derbyshire. Those mines were at that time leased to Robert del Don,* and formed the most valuable mining property in England. By subsequent deeds, the king authorised Earl Edmund to appoint justices, and to hold Pleas of the Forest on all his estates; and he also freed him from

* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 46.

all real acknowledgment to the crown, by allowing him to hold his possessions for three knights' fees, instead of three hundred, which would have been about the proper acknowledgment for so vast an estate. He further authorised him to fortify (kernellare) his palace of the Savoy, in the parish of St. Clement's Danes, outside the gate of the Temple, London. In short, he did everything in his power to build up and extend the influence of the family which afterwards waged war with his own son, and in the end grasped the crown of England.

Although Edward the First was one of the most popular, as well as one of the ablest of English kings, his insatiable ambition and his incessant wars involved him in continual difficulties, and induced him to have recourse to methods of raising money from his subjects, which would have been fatal to a less popular or a less resolute king. Amongst other means of replenishing the treasury, he sent itinerant judges through the kingdom, to inquire into the titles by which bodies corporate, and persons of known wealth, held their estates, with the view of seizing upon everything to which even a colourable claim could be established, on the part of the crown. The inquiry in Lancashire was conducted by the notorious Hugh de Cressingham—as unscrupulous a judge as ever disgraced the judgment seat—who, after having rendered himself odious in England, afterwards made himself ten times more so in Scotland, where he ended a career of injustice and tyranny by a death of violence. He was killed in a battle with William Wallace, which was brought on chiefly by his rash meddling; and after his death his skin was stripped off, tanned, and made into saddle-girths and sword belts. Wallace himself is said to have had a belt made from the skin of this cruel tyrant.*

During the visit of Hugh de Cressingham to Lancashire, several Quo Warrantos were tried, relating either to the Borough of Liverpool, or to persons and property connected with it.

The first of these was an inquiry as to the title by which the burgesses of Liverpool held their municipal rights. The following is a record of the case from the Pleas of the Crown:—

“Proceedings de Quo Warranto before Hugh de Cressingham and his fellows, Justices Itinerant, at Lancaster, in the octaves of the Holy Trinity, in the twentieth year of King Edward, son of Henry (1292).

“The bailiffs and commonalty of the borough of Liverpool were sum-

* Pictorial History of England, i. 717.

moned that they be here this day, to show by what warrant they claim to be quit of common fines and amercements of the county, and suits of counties and wapentakes (hundreds), and of toll, stallage, thorough-toll, passage, pontage, and lastage, throughout the whole kingdom of England, and to have a market, fair, pillory, tumbrel, infangenethef, gallows, and the amendation of the assize of bread and ale broken in the town aforesaid, which belong to the crown and dignity of our lord the king, without the license and will of the lord the king, or of his progenitors, kings of England, &c.

“And certain men of the borough of Liverpool came for the commonalty, and say that they have not at present a bailiff of themselves, but have been accustomed to have, until Edmund, the king’s brother, impeded them, and permits them not to have a free borough, wherefore at present they do not claim the aforesaid liberties, except that they may be quit of common fines and amercements of the county, and suits of counties and wapentakes, and of toll, stallage, thorough-toll, passage, pontage, and lastage, through the whole kingdom of England, &c.

“And as to the other liberties, they say that they have been accustomed to have them, but the aforesaid Edmund now has them, and they say that the Lord John, late King of England, grandfather of the lord, the now king, in whose time the aforesaid borough first began to be, by his charter, which they showed, granted to all his faithful people, who should take burgages there, that they should have all the liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpool, which any free borough upon the sea has in the king’s land; and the Lord Henry, father of the lord the now king, by his charter, which they showed, granted that the town of Liverpool should be for ever a free borough, and that the burgesses thereof should have a mereatorial guild, with a hanse and other liberties to the guild pertaining, and that they should have sac and soc, toll and theme, and infangenethef, and that they should be quit throughout the king’s land, and through all seaports, of toll, lastage, pontage, and stallage, and that they should do no suit of counties or wapentakes, for their tenements, which they hold within the borough aforesaid, &c.

“And whereas, it appears by their evidence that the aforesaid Edmund hath usurped and occupied the aforesaid liberties, the sheriff is commanded that he cause him to come here on Monday next, after the feast of St. James the Apostle, to answer, &c.

“And it is directed to the commonalty, that then they be here to prosecute for our lord the king, together with William Inge, &c.

“ And the commonalty put in their place John de la Mor, (Moore) Adam son of Alan Walseman, and Richard Liverpool.

“ Afterwards the aforesaid Edmund came, by his attorney, and a day is given at Appleby, in the county of Westmorland, in the octave of St. Michael,” &c.

It will be seen from the above proceedings that no final decision was come to in this case, or at least that none is upon record. We know, however, that the burgesses of Liverpool retained and exercised all the municipal rights conceded to them by the charters of King John, and King Henry the Third ; and it will be seen, in the course of the present chapter, that Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who held the lordship of the Borough of Liverpool, under the grant originally made by Henry the Third, to Ranulph Earl of Chester, continued to hold a market and fair, and to receive tolls, and foreign tolls, precisely as Prince Edward his brother had done when he had the guardianship of the estates of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. It will also be seen, in a later part of this work, that the descendants of Earl Edmund had the right of enforcing the laws for regulating the price of bread and beer—the assize of bread and beer—and, therefore, had the power of punishing offenders against those laws with the pillory and tumbrel. With regard to the inflicting of the punishment of death, or of having a gallows, it will also be seen that Richard de Walton, the governor or gaoler of the castle of Liverpool, claimed and exercised that right, as steward of the hundreds of West Derby and Salford.

The second in point of interest of the Quo Warrantos tried before Hugh de Cressingham and his fellows, was one raised by the burgesses of Liverpool themselves, with the view of maintaining the jurisdiction of the port of Liverpool over the waters of the Mersey, and the entrance to the river. They appeared to complain that William de Alkmundbury had seized certain goods, which were wreck of the sea, at Crosby Short, which is a place four or five miles below the town of Liverpool, and had detained them to his own use. They succeeded in establishing their complaint, and compelled the offender to pay a fine of half a mark, equal to about £5 of our money, for his offence. The following is the report of the case:—

“ Pleas of the Crown before Hugh de Cressingham, William de Ormesby, John Wogan, Master John Lovett, and William de Mortimer, justices itinerant in the county of Lancaster, in the octaves of the Holy Trinity, in the twentieth year of the reign of King Edward,

the son of King Henry. The township of Liverpool comes by twelve jurors, concerning wreck of the sea: They say that a certain ship, which belonged to Peter le Poer, was wrecked in the port of Liverpool, in a certain place called Crossebyschort, and William de Alkmundbury took away (certain) of the goods of the said Peter, which were wreck of the sea, and detained them to his own use, and it is not known by what warrant, therefore it is commanded to the sheriff that he cause him to appear. Afterwards the aforesaid William came, and made a fine of half a mark, by pledges of Adam de Tateloch, and John de la Mor, of Liverpool."

The following extract from a statute passed in the early part of the reign of Edward the First, will show what was, at that time, the state of the law with regard to vessels wrecked on the coast of England. It was, no doubt, on this statute, or on a similar proviso, in the Law of Coroners, that the burgesses of Liverpool founded their case:—

"Concerning wreck of the sea, it is agreed that where a man, or even a dog or a cat escape alive out of the ship, that neither such ship nor barge, nor any thing within them, shall be adjudged to be wreck; but the goods shall be saved and kept by view of the sheriff, coroner, or the king's bailiff, and delivered into the hands of such as are of the town (ville), where the goods were found, so that if any sue for those goods, and after prove that they were his, or were lost in his keeping, within a year and a day, they shall be restored to him without delay; and if not, they shall remain to the king, and be seized by the sheriffs, coroners, and bailiffs, and shall be delivered by them of the town, as wreck belonging to the king. And where wreck belongeth to another than to the king, he shall have it in like manner. And he that otherwise doth, and thereof be attainted, shall be awarded to prison, and make fine at the king's will, and shall yield damages also."—[*The First Statute of Westminster, third Edward the First.*] In the statute *De Officio Coronatoris*, of the fourth Edward the First, it is also provided: "Concerning wreck of the sea, wheresoever it is found, if any lay hands upon it he shall be attached by sufficient pledges, and the price of the wreck shall be valued and delivered to the towns."

Two other Quo Warrantos were also tried at the time of this searching inquisition, relating to the rights and powers of the steward of the hundreds of West Derby and Salford. Richard de Waleton, or Walton, who then held that office, was summoned to show by what right he held it. He proved to the satisfaction of a jury that he held it by a grant

from William, Earl of Bologne, Warrene, and Surrey, son of King Stephen, and lord of the honour of Lancaster, to Walthric, his ancestor; which grant had been confirmed by King John, in the first year of his reign, to Henry, the son of Gilbert, the son of Walthric. It further appeared that he had, as his remuneration for discharging the duties of the office, six bovates of land in Walton, four in Wavertree, and four in Newsom, all in the immediate neighbourhood of Liverpool.

Another inquiry was also raised as to the circumstances under which a certain robber named Hugh le May had been confined in the castle of Liverpool, and afterwards put to death by Richard de Walton, when the following facts were proved to the satisfaction of the jury:—

“Pleas of the Crown before Hugh de Cressingham and others, justices itinerant, in the county of Lancaster, twentieth Edward the First—Hugh le May was apprehended on suspicion of robbery, by the bailiff of Salfordshire, and taken to the castle of Liverpool, in the year in which Henry de Lee was sheriff, and was there imprisoned, and afterwards escaped from prison. The jurors testify that the said Hugh le May, a long time afterwards, was taken in the wapentake of Salford, by Robert de Walton, jailer of Liverpool, and was there put to death.”

The last Quo Warranto tried on this occasion was one directed against William de Lee, the grandson of Henry the Falconer, from whom King John had bought the manor of Liverpool. The following is the record of this case:—

“The Lord the King,* by William Inge, who sues for him, demands against William de Lee, the manor of Lee with the appurtenances, as his right, and whereupon, as he saith, that Lord John, the grandfather of the Lord, the now King, was in seisin of the aforesaid manor, as of fee and right, in the time of peace, &c., and this he is ready to verify for the lord the king.

“And William de Lee cometh, and saith, that he holds certain tenements in Lee Engleys, and certain tenements in Lee Fraunceys, and prays that William Inge may declare, for the lord the king, in which of the aforesaid towns he claims the aforesaid manor, and William Inge sayth that the lord the king claims the manor in both towns, &c.

“And William de Lee denies the right of the said lord the king, and, as to the tenements, in Lec Fraunceys, he saith that the lord King Henry (Henry the Second), father of the aforesaid lord, King John, gave those

* William Inge was one of king's council, 1st Edward the Second.—*Madox's History of the Exchequer*, ii., 30.

tenements to one Warine, great grandfather of the same William de Lee, and afterwards the same lord, King John, confirmed the aforesaid gift—whereupon as to those tenements he denies the right of the lord the king, and the seizin of the aforesaid King John as a fee and right, and he puts himself upon the country, in the place of the great assize of the lord the king, and he prays recognition to be made whether he should have the greater right in those tenements before the aforesaid lord the king.

“The jurors say, upon their oath, that the aforesaid William de Lee hath the greater right in the aforesaid tenements, as he held the same before the aforesaid lord the king, &c.

“And as to the tenements in Lee Engleys, he well knows the seizin of the aforesaid lord, King John, and saith that the same lord, King John, gave to one Henry Fitz Warine those tenements in exchange for certain tenements in Liverpool and Up Litherland, and as to those tenements, he denies the right of the same lord the king, and he prays recognition to be made whether he should have the greater right in those tenements by the gift of the aforesaid lord the king, made to Henry Fitz Warine, the great grandfather of the aforesaid William de Lee, whose heir he is of the aforesaid tenements in Lee Engleys, in exchange, &c., as he held them before the aforesaid lord the king so demands the same. Therefore, let a jury be made thereon.

“The jury say, upon their oath, that the aforesaid William de Lee hath the greater right in the aforesaid tenements, as he held them before the aforesaid lord the king so demands the same.”

The above report confirms the statements given in the preceding chapter as to the manner in which the borough of Liverpool came into the hands of King John.

Liverpool was not the only Lancashire borough which had to pass the ordeal of a trial before Hugh de Cressingham. The bailiff and community of Preston were also summoned to show by what warrant they claimed to have a free borough, with market, fair, and other privileges. Apparently they were less successful in satisfying the unjust judge than the burgesses of Liverpool, for judgment was given against them; the liberties of the town were seized; the bailiff and community were held to be at the mercy of the king; and the sheriff of Lancashire was ordered to estimate the value of the said liberties. Preston, however, soon recovered its liberties, and has retained them to the present time.*

* Madox's *Firma Burgi*, 130.

Edmund Plantagenet, the first Earl of Lancaster, died at Bayonne, where he had been sent in command of an army, in the course of the year 1296. An inquiry, or *Inquisitio post mortem*, was held after his death, according to the plan prescribed by the act *Extenta Manerii*,* with a view of ascertaining the nature of the estates possessed by him at the time of his death. They were found to be immense in extent, and to include lands in numerous counties. Amongst other property which belonged to him, were the manor and borough of Liverpool, with the tolls and foreign tolls, the fairs and markets, the burgage houses and lands, the mills, the ferry, and pretty nearly all the property of the town. His income from Liverpool amounted to £25 of the money of that time, or about £350 of the money of this. It further appeared that Earl Edward had held most of the adjoining manors, with fifteen bovates of land in Wavertree, eight in Thingwall, twenty-four in Everton, three parts of the manor of Great Crosby, the Forest of West Derby, and the woods of Cropthall, and Simon's Wood. He also held the greater part of the lands of West Derby. The information which was required to be given on this, and all similar inquiries, was very minute. The points to be ascertained were arranged under thirteen heads, and included the following particulars:—The value of all castles and manor houses, enclosed within the ditch, which was then invariably drawn around the castle of the chief lord; the value of the outbuildings and gardens; the number of fields in the demesne; the number of acres of land in each field; and the yearly value of each acre. Similar information was also required with regard to the meadows, the pastures, the commons, and the woods. Information was also required as to the value of the pannage, or food for swine; as to the wild honey; as to the turbaries, the fisheries, and the mills. Inquiry was also ordered to be made as to the number of free tenants, and bond tenants, on the estates; what land they had, and what they paid for it, in money, or in labour. Similar information was required as to the cottagers and their holdings. Returns were also required as to the profits of the manorial courts; the number and value of the church livings in the gift of the lord; and, lastly, as to the value of the fairs and markets held on the different manors, the tolls and foreign tolls; the pleas and perquisites of the courts; and all other casualties. The following is the return made at the inquisition taken on the death of Earl Edward. That portion of it which relates to West Derby, Everton,

* Act Fourth Edward First. Statutes at large.

Wavertree, Great Crosby, and Garston, contains much curious information as to the state and value of landed property immediately around the borough of Liverpool. The return as to Liverpool, though expressed in few words, contains much information as to the value of the burgages, the fairs and markets, the tolls and customs, the mills and ferry, and other points of interest. As I shall have to refer to several similar inquisitions post mortem, in the course of this work, I have thought it well to give the above explanation of the mode of taking them. The return as to Liverpool and the adjoining manors is as follows, giving the various sums both in the money of that time and of the present day :—

“Inquisition as to the manors of West Derby, Wavertree, Liverpool, Thingwall, Everton, &c., in the year 1296.*—An inquisition taken at West Derby, on Wednesday, in the week of Pentecost, in the 26th year of the reign of King Edward, of the extent of lands and tenements, fees and rents, which were of Lord Edmund, brother of the lord the now king, in the wapentake of West Derby, by Alan le Norr, of Sefton, William de Southwarth, Richard de Molyneus, of Crosseby, Mathew de Haydok, Ralph de Bykerstath, Henry de Huton,* Robert de Bolde, Richard de Holand, William de Aynetre, and Robert de Thornton, who speak as to the first, second, and third articles, of capital messuages, &c., so many acres of arable land, &c., so many acres of meadow, &c. They say that in the manor of (WEST) DERBY is a certain site of an ancient castle, where a chief manor-house used to be within the circuit of the ditch, the herbage whereof is worth by the year 4s., equal to £3; and there are in demesne in a field, which is called Harbruns, sixty-five acres of arable land, which are now at farm in the hands of the tenants of the town, who render by the year 21s. 8d., equal to £16 5s., at the feast of St. Michael, to wit, for the acre 4d., equal to 5s.; and in a certain other field, fifteen acres, likewise at farm, and they render therefor by the year 10s., equal to £7 10s., at the same term, to wit, for the acre 8d., equal to 10s. And in another field, near the meadow, are twelve acres of demesne, which render by the year 12s., equal to £9, at the same time, to wit, 12d., equal to 15s. for the acre. There are also there of demesne, twenty acres of meadow, which are worth by the year 60s., equal to £45; that is to say, 3s., equal to £2 5s. for the acre, at the same term; and there are there in the hands of the tenants thirty burgages and a half, wherefor they render by the year, with the cottages let out, 31s. 6d., equal to £23 12s. 6d., at four stated terms.

* “Inquisitiones post mortem,” in the Records of the Court of Chancery.

Those also of the town hold among themselves twenty oxgangs of land, for which they render by the year 40s., equal to £30; at the same terms, to wit, for the oxgang 2s., equal to 30s., and for the same oxgangs 26s. 8d., equal to £20 at the feast of St. Michael, and for half an oxgang 12d., equal to 15s. And there are there eight cottages, which render by the year 4s. 4½d., equal to £3 5s. 7½d., at the same term; also the tenants of the town render yearly to the lord for having a certain way through the middle of the meadow 12d., equal to 15s., at the same term; and for having entry to the wormstal, with their cattle, within their forest, they render by the year 2s., equal to 30s., at the same term, for having estover of to be cut in the winter, in the common wood, for the sustenance of cattle; and there are there two mills, one a windmill and the other a watermill, and they are commonly worth by the year five marks, equal to £50. There are also there others who hold by charters, and render their rents at the feast of Saint Michael, that is to say, Hugh, the reeve, holds two oxgangs of land, two tofts, and five shops, by executing the office of reeve, and renders by the year 2s., equal to 30s.; Henry del Rydins for his land 15s., equal to £11 5s.; Richard de Trelowe and Gilbert de Kekwyk for land which was of John Grenetu 14s. 10d., equal to £11 12s. 6d.; Galfrey de Bruere, for his land 5s., equal to £3 15s.; Robert, the son of Richard de Holand 12d., equal to 15s.; Richard, the son of Richard de Blakemore 2s., equal to £1 10s.; the prior of Byrkeheved holds fifteen acres of land by decd, and renders 5s., equal to £3 15s. by the year, but they know not whether in fee or for a term; and the tenants of Derby hold of approvement of the wastes two hundred and fifty-one acres and a half, by the greater hundred, and half a perch of land, and render by the year £4 17s. 2½d., equal to £72 18s. 1½d., at the same term, to wit, the acre of 4d., equal to 5s.; also, they hold two hundred and thirty four acres, by the lesser hundred, and two parts of one rood of land, and they render by the year 67s. 1d., equal to £50 6s. 3d., that is to say, for the acre 6d., equal to 7s. 6d., also they hold two hundred acres (except half an acre), and render by the year at the same term £7 19s. 8d., equal to £119 15s., to wit, for the acre 8d., equal to 10s., and for one acre which Rose holds 12d., equal to 15s.; and the perquisites of the Courts of Derby are commonly worth by the year 10s., equal to £7 10s. Sum £33 9s. 2d., equal to £501 17s. 6d. They say, also, that there are in Wavertre, of demesne, fifteen oxgangs of land, which are set to farm by deed, and render by the year 45s., equal to £33 15s., at four terms; and the tenants of the town hold of

approvement one hundred and eleven acres, one rood, and a half of land, and render by the year 43s. 9½d., equal to £32 16s. 10½d., to wit, for the acre 4d., equal to 5s.; and one Roger de Thingwall holds there one oxgang of land by charter, and renders by the year 4d., equal to 5s., at the same terms. Sum £4 9s 5½d., equal to £67 1s. 10½d. In THINGWELL there are eight oxgangs of land which William, the son of Roger de Thingwall, holds of ancient conquest, and renders to the lord by the year one mark at the same terms. Sum 14s. 4d., equal to £10 15s. And the men of EVERTON hold twenty-four oxgangs of land, and render by the year £4 16s., equal to £72, at four terms, that is to say, for the oxgang 4s., equal to £3, and they hold of approvement of the wastes thirty-four acres and an half and one rood and an half of land, and render by the year 17s. 5¼d., equal to £13 1s. 6¾d, to wit, for the acre 6d., equal to 7s. 6d. Sum 117s. 11¼d., equal to £88 9s. 0¾d. And they say that the rents of assize of LYVERPOLE are worth by the year £8 7s. 6d., equal to £125 12s. 6d; also the herbage of the garden, and the dovehouses 10s., equal to £7 10s. 0d., and the passage over the Mersey 26s. 8d., equal to £20; and there are there two mills, one a watermill and the other a windmill, and they are worth by the year five marks, equal to £50. The fairs and the tolls of the market, with foreign tolls, are worth about £10, equal to £150. The perquisites of the courts of the same town are worth about 40s., equal to £30, by the year. Sum £25 10s. 2d., equal to £383 2s. 6d. They say also that Nicholas Blundel holds in GREAT CROSSEBY an eighth part of the town of ancient conquest, and renders by the year 10s., equal to £7 10s., at four terms. Also, he holds four oxgangs of land, which were of Simon de Wakeman, by charter, by doing a moiety of suit at the Wapentake Court, and rendering by the year 10s., equal to £7 10s., at the same terms. Thomas Banastre holds three oxgangs, and doeth the other moiety of the suit at the Wapentake Court, and renders . . . and the tenants of the town hold of the lord twenty-one oxgangs of land, and render by the year £4, equal to £60, at . . . and they hold a certain field of the lord, and render by the year . . . sum . . . 11s., equal to £8 5s."

It appears from the above minute account of Liverpool and the surrounding country, that the value of property continued to advance steadily, both in Liverpool and in the neighbouring districts; and that large quantities of land had been brought into cultivation in West Derby and the adjoining manors. At the time when the Domesday survey was made, the total value of the property in West Derby and its six berewicks—

Liverpool, Everton, Thingwall, Wavertree, Garston, and Great Crosby—was £16 12s. 6d., equal to about £250 of the money of the present time. When William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, made the return as sheriff, in the year 1225, which I have quoted above, the rents of West Derby and its berewicks, exclusive of Garston, which had been given to the abbey of Shrewsbury, amounted to £24 4s. 8d., equal to about £363 10s. of modern money. Garston, which was one of the most fertile of the berewicks, might probably be worth another £100 a year of modern money. When the above inquisition was taken, after the death of Earl Edmund, in the year 1296, the value of the same property had increased to £76 19s. 7d. of the money of that time, equal to £1154 13s. 9d. of modern money. The rapid increase in the latter period was partly owing to the increase of the borough of Liverpool, partly to the fact that the tenants of the surrounding manors had brought upwards of a thousand acres of additional land into cultivation. In the reign of Edward the First cultivation began to extend rapidly, being much encouraged by grants of large portions of land from the royal forests, made on liberal terms. The general rent reserved to the crown in these enclosure grants was 3d. or 4d. an acre, equal to about 5s. or 6s. of our money. Thus, in the forest of West Derby, nearly 1000 acres were approved or reclaimed, for which a rent of £16 4s. was paid, of the money of that time. In the forest of Kynefare, Staffordshire, fifty-four acres were reclaimed, for which 17s. 2d. was paid yearly. In the forest of Wychewood, Oxfordshire, sixty-nine acres, for which a yearly rent of 17s. 5d. was paid. In Bochoulte forest, Hampshire, twenty-two acres, for which 7s. 6d. was paid. In Wolmer forest, Hampshire, 102 acres, for which 36s. was paid. In Savernake forest, near Marlborough, Wiltshire, 421 acres, for which £7 4s. was paid. In Windsor forest 172 acres, for which about 57s. 4d. was paid. In Sherwood forest 30 acres, for which 10s. was paid. In Bernwood forest 401 acres, for which £5 0s. 4½d. was paid. In Melksham forest 472 acres, for which £5 8s. was paid.* These rents do not differ much from the improvement rents paid in the manors of West Derby, Wavertree, and Everton. The general rent of arable land seems to have been about 4d. an acre, or 5s. of the money of this time. That of meadow land was in some cases as high as 8d., or 10s. of modern money; and there is one instance of a meadow in West Derby let for 3s. an acre, equal to about 45s. of the money of the present time. The rent of land let on burgage tenure, in small patches of an acre each, was 1s. an acre, equal to about 15s. a year of modern money. It was

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 62, 3, 4.

by these grants that the class of small freeholders was ultimately formed ; and that seems to have been the ordinary rate at which land was let on burgage in all parts of the kingdom.

In the same year in which the first Earl of Lancaster died, and in which the above inquiry was made, the burgesses of Liverpool were called upon to return two members to the parliament which was then about to assemble at Westminster. This was the first occasion on which the boroughs of the kingdom were called upon to return members to parliament, by authority of the crown, although Simon de Montfort had summoned the burgesses, along with the knights of the shire and other great landowners, to his revolutionary parliaments. It appears from the original return, that the names of the first two members who were returned for Liverpool were Adam Fitz Richard and Robert Pinklowe. These names sound like those of a Norman and a Saxon. It appears further that they were guaranteed to attend at the parliament at Westminster by John de la More, Hugh de Molendino (Molineux), William Fitz Richard, and Elias le Baxter, that is, Elias the Baker.* These members afterwards attended the parliament at Westminster. They received wages for their services, as well as their expenses, and earned them well, if they took any part, however small, in the deliberations of the parliaments which soon after compelled the king to confirm the ancient charters of the kingdom, and to pass the ever-memorable act, which declared that no tallage or tax should be taken or levied by the king or his heirs, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land. The passing of this act, and others of a similar kind, brought to a close a vehement, though bloodless, struggle between Edward the First and his people ; and may be said to have established the crowning principles of the English constitution. Three men made themselves so conspicuous in this struggle as to render it necessary for them to obtain pardon for the part which they had taken in it, in opposition to the king. They were Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England ; Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, Marshal of England ; and John de Ferrers, the son of Robert de Ferrers, who forfeited Liverpool and his other estates, in the struggle which I have described in the previous part of this chapter.†

* Petits MSS. Inner Temple Library, 15, 88.

† Statutes at Large, 34 Edward 1st. Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo, clause 5.

Edmund, the first Earl of Lancaster, was succeeded in his extensive estates by his eldest son Thomas, who was allowed to take possession of them immediately on his father's death, although he was at that time a minor. Thomas, the second Earl of Lancaster, was one of those men who experience the extremes of good and of bad fortune. The immense estates which he inherited from his father, as well as his close connection with the Royal Family, rendered him the most powerful nobleman in England; and he added to his hereditary possessions estate after estate, and earldom after earldom, until he accumulated an amount of wealth and power, which tempted him to aspire to the Government both of the king and of the kingdom. He failed in that rash enterprise, and closed a life of brilliant prosperity by an ignominious death.

Soon after the accession of Edward the Second, the Earl of Lancaster was appointed seneschal or steward of England, by the king. Shortly afterwards he received the jewels of Piers Gaveston, the favourite of the king, whom he and other nobles murdered (with the forms of a public execution) in the neighbourhood of Warwick Castle. A little later he received from the king, who hated him much but feared him still more, a large portion of the estates of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. But these gifts and grants were small, when compared with the immense increase of wealth and power which he obtained by his marriage with Alicia de Lacy, the only child and heiress of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and of his wife Margaret d'Espée, who was, in her own right, Countess of Salisbury. By this marriage the Earl of Lancaster acquired the Castles of Halton, near Runcorn, of Pontefract, in Yorkshire, of Clithero, in Ribblesdale, and numerous other places of strength in all parts of the kingdom, in addition to the Castles of Liverpool, Kenilworth, Pickering, Tickhill, and Tutbury, which he had inherited from Earl Edmund. So great was the wealth of this nobleman that his yearly expenditure amounted to £7,358 of the money of that time, equal to more than £110,370 of present money; and so great his power, that he repeatedly raised armies of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, and long gave law to his Sovereign.

Liverpool, with its Castle, formed a small portion of the estates of this nobleman; and the corporation and burgesses of Liverpool have some reason to think well of a man who presented their predecessors with what now forms a valuable portion of their property. It is true that at the time when Earl Thomas presented the burgesses of Liverpool with the twelve acres of land, mentioned in the following deed, the ground of which

they consisted was an unenclosed moss or peat bog: but it was given to the burgesses to supply them with fuel to warm their homes, and was, no doubt, a very acceptable present. The deed by which this grant was made is remarkable as being the first deed relating to Liverpool written in the French language. All the previous deeds respecting the town are in Latin; and no deed or document relating to Liverpool, written in English, occurs until more than a hundred years later. The following is Earl Thomas's grant to his burgesses of Liverpool, which bears the date of the year 1309, the 3rd year of the reign of Edward the Second:—

“ Know all men that we, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, have given and granted, and by these presents confirm to our burgesses of our town of Lyverpole, six acres of mosses,* lying between the Pikecroft lands and the Lombthorn, adjoining the goit of the said town of Lyverpolle, to hold and to have, from us and our heirs, freely for ever, paying yearly to us and our heirs a silver penny, at the feast of St. John the Baptist, for all service. And we, the aforesaid Thomas, and our heirs, the aforesaid six acres of mosses and the appurtenances guarantee and defend to our burgesses of Lyverpolle, and their heirs for ever. In witness of this we have affixed our seal, in the presence of the following witnesses. Robert de Latham, Adam de Ireland, Alyn le Ferrers, Robert de Byrom, John le Ferrers, Henry de Huyton, Robert de Kykedale, and others. Given at Lyverpolle, the Thursday next after the feast of St. Mark, in the 3rd year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Edward.”†

In the same year in which the above grant was made, we find mention of the two first bailiffs of Liverpool whose names have come down to us, namely, John de la Mor (Moore) and Alan Walsman. The office of bailiff had existed much earlier; probably from the time when the first charter was granted to Liverpool. This is implied in the statement that the burgesses had been accustomed to have a bailiff, which was made on the trial of the Quo Warranto, respecting the franchises of Liverpool, before Hugh de Cressingham, in the twentieth year of Edward the First. The names of most of the earlier bailiffs are lost, but in a deed belonging to the ancient family of Crosse, of Crosse Hall, bearing the date of the year 1309, we find it stated that it was executed in the presence of John de la Mor and Alan Walsman, then bailiffs of Liverpool. At this early period the greater part of the boroughs of the kingdom were governed by

* Large acres, each of them equal to nearly two statute acres.

† Muniments of the Corporation of Liverpool.

bailiffs; and it was only in a few of the larger cities, such as London, York, Chester, Lincoln, Norwich, Exeter, and Bristol, that the chief municipal officer held the rank of mayor. It will be seen in the course of the present work that we find no mention of the Mayor of Liverpool previous to the reign of Edward the Third. As complete lists of the mayors, bailiffs, and other municipal officers of Liverpool, as it is possible to form, will be given in the course of this work. The ancient office of bailiff of Liverpool was abolished by the Municipal Reform Act, after having existed upwards of six hundred years. John de la Mor and Alan Walsman were the first bailiffs of Liverpool, whose names are known; and James Pownall and Ambrose Lace were the last.

In the 10th year of Edward the Second, 1316, a negotiation was opened between the monks of the Abbey of Whalley, in Ribblesdale, and Earl Thomas of Lancaster, for the removal of the abbey to Toxteth Park, which was at that time a deer park attached to the Castle of Liverpool. The monks of Whalley had been originally settled at Stanlaw, near Bromboro', on the Cheshire bank of the river Mersey, where an abbey was founded in the year 1172, by John de Lacy, Constable of Cheshire, and commander of the army of the Earl of Chester. The site at Stanlaw was very ill chosen, except as a place of mortification, being damp and low, and liable to be flooded at spring tides by the waters of the Mersey. In consequence of these annoyances, the monks of that abbey sought and obtained permission from the Pope, in the year 1294, to remove the abbey to a more healthy and agreeable situation; and they selected for their new abode the pleasant valley of Whalley, in Ribblesdale. This site was also situated on the estates of the De Lacy family; who were always munificent patrons of the abbey. Three or four years after the marriage of Alicia de Lacy to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the monks of Whalley were seized with a wish to return to the banks of the river Mersey; and a deed was executed, by which Toxteth Park was made over to them by the Earl of Lancaster, as the site of a new abbey.* The reason given by the monks for making this change was, that the abbey at Whalley required to be rebuilt, and that timber could not be obtained in the neighbourhood for that purpose. They also alleged that there was a want of fuel in the neighbourhood of Whalley. Probably they had other motives; some arising from the fact that North Lancashire was at that time threatened with an invasion by Robert Bruce, who soon after burst into the county at the head of his victorious army, and laid waste the

* *Abbatia de Whallia.* Patent Rolls, 10th Edward 2nd, p. 1, m. 5.

hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness. The monks may have foreseen the coming storm, and wished to escape from it; but they failed to do so; for the negotiation respecting Toxteth Park, after having been nearly concluded, was broken off, and was never completed. Possibly this may have been occasioned by the scandalous quarrel between the heiress of the De Lacys and her husband, which broke out about that time. In the course of it she allowed herself to be carried off by a former lover, whom she refused to quit, until her indignant husband raised an army of 18,000, and threatened to recover her by force of arms. She is supposed to have been encouraged by the king, who was delighted to have this opportunity of mortifying the murderer of his favourite Piers Gaveston.

The only monastic establishment which remained in existence for any length of time in the neighbourhood of Liverpool was the Priory of Birkenhead, which was founded as early as the reign of Richard the First, by the Norman family of de Masci, whose baronial residence was at Dunham Massey or Masci, near Altringham. This priory was built on a wooded promontory of the Forest of Wirral, which projects into the River Mersey opposite to Liverpool, and is now becoming the site of a large town. At the time when the priory was founded, Liverpool was nothing more than a village; and the intercourse between the opposite shores of the river could not be very frequent. After the Castle of Liverpool had been built, and the borough had been formed, the intercourse across the river increased greatly. The road southward, towards London, was then through Chester, which city was the capital of the north-western parts of England.

In the eleventh year of the reign of Edward the Second, the prior and monks of Birkenhead (or, as it was then called Byrkeheved), obtained permission from the king to build houses, for the accommodation of travellers intending to pass across from Birkenhead to Liverpool, but detained by stress of weather or other causes, on the Cheshire side. This is the first mention of the priory of Birkenhead in connection with Liverpool. Amongst the records of the Court of Chancery, preserved in the Tower of London, that is to say, the patent rolls, of the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward the Second, p. 1, m. 14, it is thus set forth:—

“For the Prior of Byrkeheved.—The king to all to whom these presents may come, greeting:—Know, that of our especial grace we have conceded and given licence for us and our heirs, to our beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of Byrkeheved, that they may cause to be

built, on their own ground at Byrkeheved, near the arm of the sea between Liverpool and Byrkcheved, in any place where this may be done without injury to other parties, sufficient houses for receiving and entertaining travellers passing beyond the arm of the sea, and that they and their successors may hold those houses for ever, without occasion or impediment of us or our heirs, or of our justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other bailiffs or ministers. Witness the king at Westminster, the 20th day of November."

A second charter to the same effect, but more explanatory of the reasons for which the privilege of building these houses of entertainment was granted, was issued in the same year, and was as follows:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all to whom the present letters shall come, Greeting:—Know ye that, from the town of Liverpool in the county of Lancaster, under the priory of Byrkeheved in the county of Chester, and from the said priory unto the aforesaid town, beyond the arm of the sea there, a common passage is used, and on account of contrariety of weather and frequent storms, great numbers of persons wishing to cross there from the said county of Chester, into the parts of Lancaster, being often hindered, it hath hitherto been needful to turn aside to the said priory, by reason that at the passage aforesaid there are not any houses for lodging such persons, nor can any provisions be there found to be bought for the support of the said persons; on account whereof the said priory hath hitherto been burdened beyond its means, and the said persons have been very much wearied and grieved. We willing in this behalf to apply a remedy, of our special grace have granted and given license for us and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of Byrkeheved, at the place of the passage aforesaid, or as near as shall most conveniently be done, to build sufficient houses for lodging such persons, and the same being built to hold to them and their successors for ever; and that the persons who shall dwell in the same houses may buy and sell provisions for the support of the men there about to cross the said arm of the sea, without the hindrance or impediment of us, or our heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other bailiffs or ministers whatsoever. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Shene (Richmond), the 20th day of February, in the eleventh year of our reign. 1318."

It will be seen that the above charters, although they recognise the existence of a ferry from Birkenhead to Liverpool, do not confer any

privileges with regard to that ferry on the priory of Birkenhead, except that of building houses of refuge for travellers. The exclusive right of ferry from Birkenhead to Liverpool was not conferred until the reign of Edward the Third, when it was formally granted to the priory, by a deed which will be quoted in its proper place.

The last seven years of Earl Thomas's life were spent in violent quarrels with the king, and in preparations for the civil war, which at last brought him to the block. His principal adviser seems to have been a Lancashire knight, Robert de Holland, to whom he made large grants of land and manors in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. If his object in making these grants was to secure his assistance, in the rebellion which he afterwards raised, it failed; for when that infatuated nobleman commenced his final struggle with the king many of the friends on whom he had relied abandoned his cause, and amongst them Robert de Holland. One of his dependants, Adam de Banistre, had already raised an insurrection against him, in the king's name, in the neighbourhood of Preston; whilst others held back, and left him to his fate. After three days' hard fighting, at Burton, the royal army, under the command of the king, succeeded in forcing its way across the river Trent. On this the Earl of Lancaster and his allies retreated rapidly into Yorkshire. The earl was overtaken, defeated, and taken prisoner at Ferry Bridge, on the river Aire. He was conducted to his own castle at Pontefract, where, after undergoing all manner of indignities, he was beheaded by the public executioner. The king immediately seized upon the whole of his estates; and amongst them, on those which he had granted to Robert de Holland, who was too prudent to offer any resistance. A return was then made by the king's minister, which, though very imperfect, contains some additional information as to the lands within the borough of Liverpool, and the three parks of Toxteth, Croxteth, and Simon's Wood, which were attached to the castle. It is as follows:—

“The herbage of the park of Toxteth, appertaining to the castle of Liverpool, is let to Thomas de Stukebroggelaigh, and to Robert Fitz Henry for £11 per annum.

“Also forty acres of land, called Salthousemore, is let to Robert Fitz Henry, of Liverpool, for five marks per annum.

“Also the herbage of the forest of Croxteth is let to the tenants of the king, at Derby, for 51s. 4d.

“Also the herbage of Simon's Wood is let to Robert, the son of Melle, for 60s. per annum, for a term of three years.

The minister also remarks that "ten marks, equal to £100, worth of oaks (cheynes), might be sold out of Croxteth and Simon's Wood, without making any waste."

It appears from the date of a deed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, that Edward the Second visited the castle of Liverpool soon after the death of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. The king at that time made a progress through the northern part of his dominions.*

The triumph of Edward the Second over his enemies was very short. The loss of Scotland, and the overwhelming defeat of Bannockburn, had destroyed the waning popularity of this weakest of all the Plantagenet kings; at the same time that it laid open the northern counties to the army of Robert Bruce, which wasted the country up to the gates of York, and the banks of the Ribble, without meeting with any enemy to resist its course. The internal affairs of the kingdom went rapidly to ruin, under the misgovernment of the Dispensers, and other favourites of the king. The most formidable, however, of the enemies of the falling monarch were those of his own household, especially his wife, Isabella of France, whom a long course of neglect had rendered the most implacable of his enemies. His overthrow was at length brought about by an expedition organized by the Queen and Roger Mortimer. Several orders were received by the bailiffs of Liverpool, during the last two years of the reign of Edward the Second, all of which show the unsettled state of the kingdom. In the 18th year of his reign (1325), an order was received from the king, addressed "to the bailiffs and community of the town of Liverpool," commanding them not to allow any persons, whether merchants or others, to pass through Liverpool, unless they were proceeding to Flanders. Another order, addressed to the same parties, was received in the course of the same year, ordering them to arrest all vessels, and to send them round to Portsmouth. Two years afterwards, when the affairs of the king had become still more desperate, an order was received by the bailiffs of Liverpool, ordering them to examine all letters, and to arrest all suspicious persons.† About the same time the garrison of the castle of Liverpool, as well as those of Hornby and Clitheroe, received an intimation that the king had raised the pay of the commanders to 8d. per day, and of the men to 4d. a day, equal to 10s. and 5s. a day of our money.‡ But all these precautions and this liberality were in vain. The queen landed with her son, Prince

* Speed, 661. + Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii., 229.

† Cotton MSS., Julius, c. 3, f. 24, a. 4.

Edward, then a boy about fifteen years of age, and with her adviser and lover, Roger Mortimer. Nearly all the nobility of the kingdom hastened to join her; and the cities and towns opened their gates to receive her. Scarcely a hand was raised in defence of the king, who sank from the throne amidst universal contempt. After having endured every insult, he was soon after murdered in Berkeley Castle, under circumstances of detestable cruelty. At his death, all the estates of the house of Lancaster passed into the hands of Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, the next brother of Earl Thomas, beheaded at Pontefract. The borough of Liverpool was one of them.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE THIRD TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

When Edward the Third succeeded to the crown of England, on the dethronement of his father, he found the kingdom not only distracted with internal war, but threatened with attack from without. Although a truce for thirteen years had been made between England and Scotland, the temptation to attack England was irresistible to Robert Bruce and his subjects. A large Scottish army was suddenly collected and marched into England, under the command of Douglas and Randolph, which plundered and wasted all the northern counties. To escape the ravages of this desolating host the inhabitants fled in all directions, and orders were given to the governors of Liverpool and other northern castles to throw them open to receive the fugitives. At the same time the whole male population of Lancashire and Yorkshire, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, were ordered to take up arms, and join the king at Newcastle.*

This invasion was only one of a succession of attacks, by which large districts of the north of England were reduced to the condition of a wilderness. Fifteen years after the accession of Edward the Third the inhabitants of forty townships in the north of Lancashire claimed to be excused from paying taxes, on account of the ravages of the Scottish armies. Even at that time great numbers of persons had abandoned their homes, and were still living in the wastes and hills, to escape an inroad which was threatened by the borderers. But the tide of victory had again turned in favour of England, and the great victories of Dupplin Moor, Halidon Hill, and Neville's Cross, thinned the ranks of the nobility of Scotland, annihilated its regular armies, and left the son of Robert Bruce a captive in the hands of King Edward. Unfortunately for the northern counties of England, victory was almost as fatal to them as defeat, for it always led to fresh schemes of conquest in Scotland, and to additional levies of men, in the adjoining counties. Lancashire suffered

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, iv., 293.

especially, in those early times, from its central position with regard to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; all of which were the scenes of constant wars.* The laws of conscription, or military service, extended to all classes of men, from the earl to the peasant; and were rigorously enforced. By the statute of Wynton or Winchester, passed in the thirteenth Edward the First, it was enacted that every man, between fifteen years of age and sixty, should be required to have arms, according to his rank, and should be ready for military service when called on. The man who had £15 of land, or 40 marks of goods, was required to have an hawberk, a breast-plate of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse; he who had £10 in land, or 20 marks in goods, was required to have the same arms, but without the horse; he who had £5 in lands, was required to have a doublet, a breast-plate of iron, a sword, and a knife; he who had between 40s. and 100s. of land, was required to have a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife; he who had less than 40s. in land was required to have gif-arms, knives, and other lesser weapons; he who had less than 20 marks in goods was required to have a sword and a knife; and all other persons were required to have bows and arrows, out of the forest, and cross-bows and bolts, in it. An inspection took place twice a year, to ascertain that all classes of men had the arms and armour prescribed by law. It appears, from an inventory of the goods of William the son of Adam, of Liverpool, made in the year 1380, that he was just worth 40 marks, or about £400 of modern money, so that he would be required to serve on horseback; and probably there were half a dozen more of the burgesses of Liverpool in a similar position. The poorer classes were trained to archery, on a spot which was called the Shooters'-green,† and doubtless added their small quota to those swarms of archers who fought in the van of every English army, and who often decided the victory, before a blow was struck by the knights or billmen.

On the overthrow and dethronement of Edward the Second, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, the brother of Earl Thomas, was appointed guardian of the youthful king, and received other offices of trust. He also regained all the estates which his brother had possessed,‡ including those which Earl Thomas had obtained by his unfortunate marriage with the heiress of the de Lacys. Alicia de Lacy had found no difficulty in consoling herself for the death of her first husband, by taking a second. She was married to Ebulo Lestrangle; and when Henry obtained his brother's

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 116.

† Muniments of the Crosses, of Crosse Hall, 14th Henry 4th.

‡ Rolls of Parliament, 2, 3.

possessions, having no choice in the matter, she consented to give up all her immense estates, on receiving a pension of 1200 marks, equal to about £12,000 a year of our money. Camden and other writers are somewhat hard on Alicia de Lacy; but, although it cannot be denied that the conduct of this descendant of Fair Rosamond did give ground for scandal, yet it must be said, in extenuation of her misdeeds, that her first marriage was a mere matter of political convenience to the royal family, in which she had no choice whatever. All heiresses at that time, from Alicia de Lacy, whose lands would have formed a handsome principality, down to Margaret de Litherpol, whose patch of ground in Garston was worth half a mark, or £5 per year,* were in the gift of the king; and were given away, or openly sold, to whomsoever the king pleased, without the slightest regard to their own wishes or feelings. We cannot expect every virtue under Heaven from ladies so disposed of.

At the time when the borough of Liverpool passed into the hands of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, an inquiry was made as to its value. The jurors appointed for that purpose made the following return:—

“Also the jurors say that that there is at Lyverpoll a certain castle, whose trench and herbage are of the value of 2s. per year; and that there is there a certain dove cote under the castle, of the value of 6s. 8d.; and that there is there a certain Borough, in which are divers free tenants holding in burgage, and paying yearly £8 8s.; and that there is there a certain Market held on Saturday, whose tolls are worth £10; and that there is there a certain ferry beyond the Mersey, which is worth 40s.; and that there is there a windmill of the value of 26s., and a watermill of the value of 24s.; and that there is there a certain Fair held on the day of St. Martin, whose toll is of the value of 13s. 9d.; and that there is there a certain park, which is called Toxteth, whose herbage in summer is of the value of £11; sum total £35 0s. 5d.,” equal to £525 6s. 3d.

At the time when the above return was made, the greater part of the business of the country was transacted at fairs and markets. To the markets men came together from all the surrounding districts; and where the fairs were of any celebrity, multitudes of people attended them from all parts of the kingdom, and even from foreign countries. The fame of the fairs of Bristol has continued from the reign of Henry the Second to the present time.† Those of Winchester were so important in the reign of Henry the Third that a royal order was issued that no one should

* Testa de Neville, 371.

† Madox's *Firma Burgi*, 17.

interfere with persons going to them. In the reign of Edward the First the burgesses of Hull petitioned the king for the privilege of holding a fair for thirty days in every year.* Lincoln had a fair which was frequented by men coming, by land and water, from all parts of the kingdom.† In the tenth year of the reign of Edward the Third a royal order was issued, granting an especial protection to a large body of German merchants, who were coming to the great fair of St. Botolph, or Boston, in Lincolnshire, with forty ships.‡ The only fair held in this part of the country which could at all compare with these was that of Chester. The fairs of Liverpool never had any great reputation; but they have been regularly held for many centuries. An ancient custom still exists of exhibiting a hand or gauntlet in front of the Town-hall, on the days of the fair. During that time all persons attending the fair are exempt from liability to be arrested on suits originating in the borough courts, so long as they are within the precincts of the fair. The High Cross, which formerly stood near where the present Town-hall stands, was the central point of the fair. The limits within which parties are free from arrest are still marked, in one direction at least, by a broad flat stone sunk in the middle of the pavement of Castle-street.

Soon after Henry Earl of Lancaster had recovered the estates of his brother, Robert de Holland, whom I have mentioned in the preceding chapter, put in a claim to the numerous manors which he had received from Earl Thomas, and amongst them to the manor and borough of Liverpool. In consequence of this demand an inquiry was ordered to be made by a jury of Lancashire gentlemen, as to the validity of his claim. The jurors sat at Wigan, and after some inquiry, made the following report, in which they recognized the fact of Robert de Holland's possession of Liverpool, and the other manors claimed by him, but declined to give an opinion as to the question of his legal rights:—

“Lancaster.—An inquisition taken before Simon de Grimesby, escheator of the lord the king, beyond Trent, at Wygan, on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Gregory the Pope, in the first year of the reign of King Edward the Third, according to the tenor of the writ to this inquisition shown, by Peter de Burnhull, Gilbert de Haydock, Richard de Bolde, Robert le Grelle, John le Norreys the younger, Gilbert de Scaresbrook, Robert le Norreys, Richard le Waleys, Henry le Eltonhevede, Alan de Ecclestone, John de Trafford, Robert del Bothe, Robert the son

* Madox's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, 291.

+ Dugdale, 176.

† Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 126.

of Galfrey de Waleton, John de la More, of Lyverpoll, Adam Clerk of the same place, Robert the son of Henry, Adam Baron, Richard de Walton, Robert de Anderton, Robert de Heskuin, William del Bothe, Henry de Dokesbor, and John de Eton, who say upon their oath, that Robert de Holland, about the time of seven years before the death of Thomas late Earl of Lancaster, entered into the Castle and borough of Lyverpoll, which are worth by the year in all issues £30 10s., equal to £457 10s. of present money;* and into the manor of Everton, which is worth by the year £4 16s., equal to £72; and into the manor of Great Crosseby, which is worth by the year in all issues £7, equal to £105; and into the manor of Wavertree, which is worth by the year in all issues £6 9s. 4d., equal to £97; and into the park of Toxteth, which is worth by the year in all issues £10, equal to £150; and into the forest of Symondeswode, which is worth in all issues 66s. 8d., equal to £50 of our money; and into the wapentake of Derby; and that he received all rents of all free tenants in the same wapentake, with the perquisites of the same, which are worth by the year in all issues £22 15s. 5d., equal to £341 11s. 3d. of our money; and into the borough and wapentake of Salford, and hath received all the rents of all the free tenants in the same wapentake, with the perquisites of the same, which are worth by the year in all issues £29 13s., equal to £444 15s.; and hath made and constituted his bailiffs and ministers, and hath received all the profits and issues of the aforesaid castle, borough, manors, park, forests, and all the rents as well of freemen as others, in the wapentakes aforesaid, which the aforesaid Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, was accustomed to receive; and hath demeaned himself as lord, until the death of the same Thomas, the late earl: But they say that the aforesaid Robert showed no charter, nor any other special deed, under the name of the aforesaid Thomas, the late earl, of the gift or grant of the said Thomas, the earl, of the aforesaid castle, boroughs, manors, lands, and tenements aforesaid in those parts; neither had the said Thomas the late earl personally nor by his attorney, by his deed hereunto specially deputed, ever delivered any seizin to the aforesaid Robert of the aforesaid castle, borough, manors, lands, and tenements aforesaid: And they say that none of the free tenants in the wapentakes of Derby and Salford, or elsewhere, by deed of assignment of the aforesaid Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, nor of his own deed, have ever attorned themselves, either from their homages or fealties, to the aforesaid Robert de Holland: And upon these

* I give the valuation in modern as well as ancient money, to save the trouble of calculation.

being required of, whether the aforesaid Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, died seized of the aforesaid castle, borough, manors, wapentakes, lands, and tenements aforesaid, in his demesne, as a fee or not, they say that they know not, and hereupon to speak precisely, they wholly refuse. And they say that the aforesaid Thomas, the late earl, before the aforesaid Robert entered into the aforesaid castle and borough of Liverpool, manors, lands and tenements, forests, park, wapentakes, and demesnes, himself as lord, as is aforesaid held all the premises aforesaid, with their appurtenances of the Lord Edward, late King of England, father of the now king in capite, by the service of one Gosshawk, and that he held no other lands or tenements of others in the county aforesaid; and they say that Lord Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, steward of England, is the brother of the aforesaid Thomas, and is next heir, and of the age of forty years and upwards. In witness whereof the aforesaid jurors to this inquisition have affixed their seals. Dated at Wygan, the day and year above said."

In consequence of the indecisive result of this inquiry, Robert de Holland petitioned parliament for the restoration of the estates which he claimed.* The treasurer and the barons of the exchequer were ordered to inquire into the particulars of his claim; and to report upon them without delay. This they did, and their report was, in effect, that Robert de Holland was entitled, under the grant of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to the manor of Holland, with its members, Wigan and Orrell; to the forests of Toxteth, Croxteth, and Simon's Wood; to the manors of Hale and Woolton; to certain tenements in Wavertree, Everton, Crosby, Haydock, Derby, Chorley, Aughton, Newton, and Haigh; to the town of Salford; to an acre of land in West Leigh, with the presentation of the church of Leigh; and to the castle and town of Liverpool.

Although the above decision was thus in favour of Robert de Holland, both as relates to Liverpool and the adjoining manors, there is no evidence that he obtained possession of Liverpool. It is not enumerated amongst his possessions, or those of his widow Maude or Matilda de Holland, in the inquisitions which were held after their respective deaths. However this may be, the whole of the estates of Robert and Maude de Holland, who died childless, returned into the hands of the Earls of Lancaster after their decease. Maude de Holland, who was the survivor, died in the year 1349, the twenty-third year of the reign of Edward the Third.

The following Paveage grant made in the second year of the reign of

* Rolls of Parliament, ii., 18.

Edward the Third, may be considered the first local improvement act ever granted to the town of Liverpool. The various sums should be multiplied by fifteen, to show their equivalents in modern money.

“Paveage conceded to the town of Liverpool.—The King to his beloved bailiffs, and to the honest men of the town of Liverpool, greeting. Know that we have granted, in aid of the paving of the said town of Liverpool, that, from the date of the grant of this deed to the end of the three years next following, you may take, by the hands of those whom you think fit to depute for that purpose, and for whom you are willing to answer, the under-written tolls (consuetudines) on articles sold: That is to say, on every horse load of grain, of whatever kind it may be, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every horse, mare, ox, and cow sold, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hide of a horse, mare, ox or cow sold, whether fresh, salted, or tanned, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every five bacon pigs sold, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every ten porkers, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every ten sheep, goats, or small pigs, 1d.; on every ten skins, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hundred skins of sheep, with the wool on, and of goats, 1d.; on every hundred skins of lambs, kids, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, and squirrels, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hundred of gray work, 6d.; on every quarter of salt, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every horse load of cloth, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every whole piece of cloth of the value of 40s., $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every truss of cloth brought by cart, 3d.; on every hundred yards of cloth of worsted (worsted), 2d.; on every hundred yards of linen cloth, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hundred yards of linen cloth of Aylesham, 1d.; on every ‘cendallo afforciato,’ 1d.; and on other cendallo, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every cwt. of salt mullets, and of dry fish, 2d.; on every cart load of sea fish, 4d.; on every horse load of sea fish, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every salmon, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every twelve lampreys, 1d.; on every thousand herrings, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every horse load of ashes, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every horse load of honey, 1d.; on every sack of wool, 2d.; on every cart load of bark, 1d.; on every cart load of lead 1d.; on every cask of wine, 2d.; on every chaldron of sea coals, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every cwt. ‘aeri gadorum,’ $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every cart load of iron, 1d.; on every horse load of iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hundred horse shoes, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every cwt. of averdepois, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; on every weigh of tallow, 1d.; on every quarter of woad, 2d.; on two thousand onions, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every bale of cordovan leather, 3d.; on every cwt. of bordi, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every mill stone, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every hundred faggots or thousand turves, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; and on each cart load of brush wood, used per week, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every cwt. of tin, brass, and copper, 2d.; on every truss of merchandise exceeding the value of 10s., $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; on every other article not enumerated exceeding the value of 2s., $\frac{1}{4}$ d. And, therefore we command you that the aforesaid customs you take, in the

aforesaid form, to the end of the aforesaid three years, and the term of the said three years being completed, the said customs shall altogether cease and be abolished. Witness the king at York, the 7th day of February."

The above grant shows what were the principal articles imported into, exported from, and consumed in Liverpool, in the early part of the reign of Edward the Third. It will be seen from the nature of the articles that the larger portion of them were derived from the corn fields, the pastures, the woods, the heaths, the mines, and the fisheries of England.

The articles which then formed the most important part of the exports of England, were those yielded by its pastures and forests. Upwards of 31,600 sacks of wool, each of them containing twenty-eight stone weight, together with 3,036 cwt. of the same material, were exported in a single year of this reign (1354). The value of the wool thus exported was £195,978 of the money of that time, the total value of the exports being £212,338,* equal in modern money to £3,185,070. I have already stated that Liverpool never possessed more than a very small share of this trade. Lancashire was almost the only county in England which did not possess a native breed of sheep.† Cheshire had such a breed in Delamere Forest. Staffordshire had one on Cannock Heath; and what was called the woodland-horned sheep was spread through the whole of Yorkshire. The most celebrated breeds, however, were found in the southern and eastern counties. Bristol was the port of shipment for the celebrated long wools produced on the Cotswold Hills, and also for the Ryeland wools of Herefordshire, which were considered the finest wools in Europe.‡ Both Boston and Hull were places of shipment for the Lincolnshire wools, which were remarkable for uniting extraordinary weight to good quality. Those of Kent were scarcely inferior; Norfolk and Suffolk had also excellent wools. Liverpool was better situated for the trade in hides, and in the skins of wild animals, of which many varieties are enumerated in the above list. Lancashire has always been famous for its breeds of cattle, and the woods and wastes which then covered the greater part of the county must have contained many wild animals.

With regard to the grain brought into Liverpool, it was probably chiefly for home consumption, though occasionally shipments were made to Wales and the Isle of Man. At this time the merchants of Chester

* Pictorial History of England, i., 832.

+ Penny Cyclopædia, xxi., 359.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 496.

imported grain from abroad, and probably some small quantities might reach Liverpool.*

The woollen goods mentioned in the above grant were some of them of home manufacture; others of foreign. In the year 1350, 8,061 pieces of worsted were exported from England, each piece worth on the average 16s. 8d., equal to £12; and 4,774 pieces of coarse woollens, each of the value of 40s, or £30 of modern money; and, in the same year there were imported into England 1,831 pieces of fine woollens, of the average value of £6. The latter were probably imported from Flanders and Italy, both of which were then celebrated for producing fine woollens.

The salt fish used in England at this time was chiefly imported from the Island of Iceland, which was the Newfoundland of those ages. Bristol, Hull,† and Scarborough were the principal ports which carried on this trade, but as the consumption of fish was universal, some portion of the imports may have found their way to Liverpool.

It will be seen that honey is mentioned as an article then brought to Liverpool for sale in large quantities. The flowering heaths and meadows of Lancashire still yield this article in abundance, when any pains are taken to collect it, but in modern times honey has been almost superseded by sugar. Sugar was well known in England as early as the reign of Edward the First, as we find from an *Essay on Weights and Measures*, published in that reign, in which it is stated that a 108 lbs. of sugar (*zucarii*) make a hundredweight.‡ The crusaders found the sugar cane growing in Syria,|| at the time of the early crusades. It had probably been introduced there by the Arabs, whose empire then extended from the banks of the Indus, where the sugar cane has grown from the most remote ages, to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The sugar cane also flourished in the Greek Islands and in the Island of Sicily, where the Norman King, William the Second, granted a sugar mill to the monastery of St. Bennet, in the year 1166. The knowledge of this valuable article was widely diffused by the Venetians and Genoese, who traded to England as early as the reign of King John. It was at that time, however, only a luxury for the rich, owing to its dearness. As late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth sugar sometimes sold as high as half-a-crown a pound;§ and a faithful chronicler of the Liverpool Corporation, makes honourable mention of one of the mayors of Liverpool, Thomas Bavande, who feasted the burgesses of

* *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 413. † *Camden's Britannia*, 579. ‡ *Statutes at Large*, i. 149.

|| *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xx., 791.

§ *Hollinshead's Description of Britain*, 105.

Liverpool with an unlimited supply of wine and sugar on that famous Queen's birth-day.*

Wine was at that time one of the principal articles imported into England from abroad. The imports of one year (1354), the first in which we obtain any detailed account of the imports and exports of England, was 1,820 tons; the average price of it was 40s. a ton, equal to about £30 a ton of the money of that time. The wines imported were chiefly those grown in the south of France. Gascony and the adjoining provinces were then subject to the Crown of England, having been acquired by Henry the Second, about the year 1160, (by his marriage with the divorced wife of the King of France,) and having remained united to England till about the year 1470. During the whole of that time those beautiful provinces supplied England with wine, oil, dried fruits, and nearly all the other luxuries which were consumed in the families of the great, and by the richer class of burgesses and citizens. Chester carried on a considerable trade in wine from a very early period, and the earliest Custom House case of which we have any mention in Liverpool, is one respecting a cargo of wine, part of which was landed at Liverpool and part at Chester. This occurred in the reign of Edward the Third.

The above, as I have already stated, is the first of six paveage grants made to the borough of Liverpool, in a period of about sixty years. Great numbers of similar grants were made in the reigns of Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Edward the Third, to other towns, from which we may conclude that towns were becoming more populous, and the inhabitants of them more careful of their own comfort, than they have been in past times. The paveage grants to London, Bristol, Lincoln, York, Chester, and other ancient cities, are extremely numerous about this time. I also find that the following towns obtained similar grants previous to Liverpool. In the reign of Edward the First:—Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Coventry, Lichfield, Hereford, and Hull; in the reign of Edward the Second, Warrington and Sankey, Boston, Worcester, Stafford, Spalding, Cork, Birmingham, and Newcastle under-Lyne.† A much greater number of towns obtained murage grants, that is to say grants for constructing walls, which were then as needful for the protection of towns as ditches were for the protection of manor houses in the country. I cannot find any murage grant for Liverpool; but the walls of the town are mentioned in a trial between the Molyneuxes and the Corporation, in the reign of

* Kaye's Stranger in Liverpool. Appendix. † See Calendar of Patent Rolls for these reigns.

Philip and Mary ; and a public officer, named a murager, was regularly appointed in Liverpool, as late as the reign of King James the First.

The earliest mention which I can find of any of the existing streets of Liverpool is in the reigns of Edward the Second and Edward the Third. The streets of Liverpool were then five in number, namely, Castle-street, Dale-street, Bonke-street, now called Water-street, Moore-street, now called Tithebarn-street, and Chapel-street, which, like Castle-street and Dale-street, retains its ancient name. The following deeds, from the muniments of the ancient family of Crosse, of Crosse Hall, in the Borough of Liverpool, contain the earliest mention of these streets.

Castle-street.—The first mention of Castle-street is in a grant of the 8th of Edward the Second, from John de Kirkby to Adam de Chorlate and his heirs, of a piece of land, with the building thereon, in Castle-street, Liverpool, bounded on the north by his own tenement, on the south by that late of Adam, son of Richard ; in front 24 feet, and in depth 65 feet ; to have and to hold of the chief lord in fee, “ with all liberties to such a tenement in the town of Liverpol pertaining ;” paying to the lord fourpence-halfpenny in silver, to John the son of William ninepence in silver, to Richard le Someneur fourpence-halfpenny in silver, and to the heirs of Roger de Sonkey one halfpenny in silver. Witnesses, John de Mora, Richard de Mora, William son of Ralph, William de Kirke-dale, William Walshomo (Walshman,) and others. Dated at Liverpol, on the Saturday next after the feast of St. Michael, in the 8th year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward. 1314.

Dale-street.—The following deed contains the earliest mention of Dale-street :—

“ To all the faithful in Christ who may see or hear this writing. Cecilia, formerly wife of Adam Uttinge, greeting : Know that I, in my pure widowhood, and with full legal power, have given, &c., to Richard de Walton, the half of a burgage in the town of Lyverpoll, in le Delestrete, between the land of William Baret on the east, and the land of Richard Tewe on the west, to be sold, &c., rendering to Alexander, son of Matthew de Wally, eighteen silver pence. These being witnessing, John de Mora, Adam son of William, Adam le Clerk, Adam Baron, and others. April 15. Third Edward III.”

Bonke-strete, now Water-street.—By a deed bearing the date of Sunday after the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, in the forty-third Edward Third, John, the son of Adam le Clerk, of Liverpull, grants to William, the son of Adam, of Liverpull, a piece of land, 20 feet by 17, in

le Bonke-street, between the tenement of St. Nicholas (the chapel) and that of John de Staney. Witnesses, John de Almeric, Richard de Aynesagh, Wm. le Child, John le Someneur, and Nicholas le Clerk.

Moore-street, now Tithebarn-street.—The following deed contains the earliest mention of the ancient Moore-street, now Tithebarn-street:—

“Be it known to the present and the future, that I, Adam, the son of Ranulf, of Lyverpull, give, grant, and by this my present charter confirm, to Richard de Mapelduram and his heirs and assigns, two bovates of land lying in the field which is called le Dalefield, near the royal road—*juxta viam regalem*—on one part, and the lands of Robert le Merser on the other, to be held from the chief lord, with the liberties and easements belonging to such land in the town of Lyverpoll. And be it also known that I the said Adam, the son of Ranulf, assign to him a burgage which lies in the Morstrete, between the tenement of Roger the son of Elkenild and the tenements of John de Mora. Witness, John de Mora, Alan Walseman, William Baron, John de Poder, Ric. de Mora, and others. Given at Lyverpol, on the day of St. Gregory the Pope (12th March), in the year 1304.”

Chapel-street.—The following copy of an ancient mortgage contains the first mention of Chapel-street:—

“Be it known to all, as well present as future, that I, John de Formeby have given, granted, and by this deed confirmed, in mortgage to John Amoryson, of Wygan, and to his heirs and executors, the half of a burgage, with its appurtenances, in the town of Lyverpul, that is to say, that lying in le Chapel-strete, clearly contained within its marks and bounds, to be held until seventeen pounds of silver, by the said John Amoryson, or his heirs and executors, are paid. [Then the warranty as usual.] In testimony of which I have fixed my seal. These being witnesses, Ric. de Aynesagh, William son of Adam of Lyverpull, Robert de Lydyate, Stephen le Walsh, Richard Tipping. The Wednesday before the feast of St. Mary Magdelene. Forty-third Edward III.”

In the fourth year of the reign of Edward the Third, the prior and monks of Birkenhead received from the king a confirmation of the grants made to them in the previous reign; and also a distinct grant of a right of ferry from Birkenhead to Liverpool. The following is a copy of this deed:—

“Edward, &c. Greeting.—We have inspected letters patent of the Lord Edward, late King of England, our father, in these words (reciting the grant of permission to build hospicia, of eleventh Edward the Second).

And we the grant aforesaid holding firm and valid, the same for us and our heirs, as much as in us lies, do grant and confirm, to the aforesaid priory and convent, and their successors, as the letters aforesaid reasonably witness. And being willing to do more ample favour unto those desirous, for their advantage, to cross the water there, we have granted for us and our heirs, to the aforesaid prior and convent, that they and their successors for ever may have the passage beyond the said arm of the sea, as well for men as for horses and other things whatsoever, and for the same passage may receive (fees), without hindrance or impediment of us and our heirs, or our ministers whomsoever, saving our right, and the right of any person whomsoever. In testimony, &c. Witness the king at Woodstock, this 13th day of April, 1331, by writ of privy seal.”*

In the Sixth of Edward the Third, 1333, the king granted to the town of Liverpool an inspeximus and confirmation of the charters of King John and King Henry the Third, but without in any way adding to, diminishing, or varying the privileges granted by those charters. The following is this confirmation. It was granted by the king at York, on his way to Scotland. The payment for it was 40s., equal to about £30 of our money :—

“ Charter of Confirmation by King Edward the Third, in the sixth year of his reign, 1333.—Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, peers, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, bailiffs, and all his faithful people, greeting. We have inspected a charter of the Lord John, late King of England, our progenitor, in these words—John, by the Grace of God, &c. (See charter of King John, p. 81.) We have also inspected a charter of the Lord Henry, late King of England, our great grandfather, in these words—Henry, by the grace of God, &c. (See charter of King Henry the Third, p. 90.) We, moreover, holding firm and valid the grants and confirmations aforesaid, do for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, grant and confirm them to the aforesaid burgesses, and their heirs and successors, as the charters aforesaid do reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses and their ancestors the liberties aforesaid have hitherto reasonably used and enjoyed. These being witnesses ; the venerable fathers W., Archbishop of York, Primate of England, J., Bishop of Winchester, our Chancellor, John de Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, our most dear brother, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey,

* Rolls of Chancery, 4th Edward Third.

Henry de Beaumont, Henry de Percy, Ralph de Nevill, Steward of our Household, and others. Given by our hand, at York, the 22nd of January, in the sixth year of our reign (1333). By fine of 40s., equal to £30—Pokell.*

Liverpool is mentioned twice in the pipe roll, or sheriff's account, of the ninth of Edward the Third. The first mention of it is in connexion with the freightage of two ships, for the purpose of carrying provisions to the king's forces at Skymburnesse, at the mouth of the Solway. The second is in a report made by William Fox and William Aynolesdale (probably one of the Blundells of Ince and Ainesdale), who had been appointed commissioners of the king, to examine the silver coin then current in the borough of Liverpool, with powers to fine all parties having base or light money in their possession. They must have found a large quantity of it, for the fines which they imposed in Liverpool, and paid into the Exchequer amounted to 60s., equal to £45 of our money. It appears, from several laws of this reign, that large quantities of base coin were in circulation. Much of it is said to have been imported by the Flemish merchants; but the great corruptor of the coinage was the King himself. In the eighteenth year of his reign he reduced the quantity of pure silver in 20s., or £1, from 4,995 grains to 4,933 grains; in the twenty-third year of his reign he again reduced it to 4,440 grains; and in the thirtieth he reduced it once more to 3,996 grains, thus coining 25s. out of the quantity of silver from which 20s. had been previously coined. He thus defrauded his subjects in all immediate payments from the Exchequer, and himself and his successors in the value of the fixed money rents, which formed a great part of the royal revenue.

In the ninth year of the reign of Edward the Third, in the year 1335, when the king had arrived at man's estate, and was preparing to return all the evil which he had received from the Scotch during his minority, he issued the following order for the assembling of a squadron of ships in the port of Liverpool. It is found among the records in the office of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, in the Exchequer, in the Originalia of the ninth year of Edward the Third:—

“Touching ships to be taken, and furnished with Men and other necessities, to be sent upon the Sea.—The King to the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, masters of ships, mariners, and all other his ministers and faithful people, as well within liberties as without, to whom, &c.,

* Municipal Inquiry. Appendix.

† M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, 224.

greeting :—Whereas, we are given to understand that the Scots, our enemies and rebels, who have risen against us in war, endeavour to lead and draw together, by sea, men and arms and victuals from foreign parts, to maintain the said war against us. We willing, as it behoveth us, to oppose, with our might, the malice of those our enemies, in this respect, have assigned our dear and faithful Simon de Beltoft and Henry de Kendall, jointly and severally, to provide, take, and arrest six ships of war, of the larger and stronger ships, which may happen to be found on the sea coast, towards the western parts, from the port of the town of Liverpool, and within the same port, unto the port of the town of Skymburnesse; and to cause those ships to be furnished and prepared, as well with mariners, as other fit and strong men, well and sufficiently armed by the said Simon and Henry, or either of them, for this to be elected, in the ports and places between the towns aforesaid, where he or they shall see best to be done; as also with victuals and other things necessary for war, which they may want, by the same Simon or Henry, or either of them, to be taken for our monies, to those from whom the victuals and other things shall happen to be taken to be paid, at our Exchequer, at certain days, by the said Simon and Henry, or either of them, to be assigned; and the said ships so furnished to send with all haste that may be, upon the sea, to oppose and resist the ships of the parts of Scotland, and others that shall be adhering to them. And therefore we command you, all and singular, firmly enjoining that to the aforesaid Simon and Henry, and either of them, you be attending, answering, consulting, and aiding, as often and when the said Simon and Henry, or either of them, shall make known to you, on our behalf. We give also to the same Simon and Henry, and to either of them, by tenor of these presents, full power to arrest and commit to our prisons, all those whom in the premises they or he shall find contrary or rebels. We give likewise to you the afore-named sheriffs and bailiffs in command, that those whom the said Simon or Henry, or either of them, shall deliver to you, you shall receive, and them cause to be safely and securely kept, until thereupon you shall have from us in command. Witness the king at York, the 3rd day of June.”

In the eleventh year of Edward the Third, Earl Henry of Lancaster confirmed his tenants in Liverpool, in the procession of their charters or leases. The following letter on this subject appears in the muniments of the Crosses, of Crosse Hall :—

“ Henry Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, steward of England, to Mons. William le Blunt, our Sheriff of Lancaster, greeting. We send

you the charters of our tenantry of Liverpool, and we command you that you cause them to be delivered, according to the form of our charters aforesaid; and this letter should be your authority. Given at our castle at Kenilworth, the tenth day of August, in the eleventh year. And always be careful to take good security, that we receive the fines of increase, that is to say, for each acre five marks, at the days fixed."

In the eleventh of Edward the Third, 1335, and in the following year, Pleas of the Forest were held in Lancashire before William Basset and Robert de Hungerford, when a variety of delinquents were tried for offences against the forest laws, committed in the forest of West Derbyshire and the park of Toxteth. The following are a few specimens of these ancient game-law cases:—

It was presented by twelve jurors of the forest of Derbyshire, that William de Ryding and Hugh his brother, Henry the son of Ranulf, Richard de Acres, William de Hethe, and John de Spellowe, had broken down the underwood, in the wood of Derby, near the forest, whilst passing through it.

Gilbert de Haydok, Alan de Eltonhead, Richarde de Alvanleigh, Verderers, and a jury consisting of Richard de Walton, Roger del More, Adam le Clerk, Alexander Comyn, William de Barker, John Mariotson, William, the son of Richard, William de Grenelf, Roger de Stone, Adam the son of Simon, Roger Titup, John de Formby, and Adam the son of Adam Edeston, made the following presentment, namely, that:—"On Monday, &c., Reginald de Yoxall entered the park of Toxteth, and there, in a certain place which is called the Holly Hurst, concealed himself with bushes and branches of trees, in order to deceive the wild animals grazing there; that he shot at the deer, and killed two does, which he carried away in the night."

Another presentment was, that William Blundel, of Incc, and others concealed themselves in Maghull wood, and took a doe with their dogs, in the water of Alt, near Ingwath.

An immense number of other cases were tried. In one, Adam de Houghton, knight, the master forester, was himself presented for taking a stag and a doe, in the park of Toxteth; Henry de Dutton was also presented for taking a doe in Toxteth Park, in the presence of the steward of the forest; and Ranulf de Dacre, the parson of Prescott, and Nicholas Penwortham, and others were presented, for breaking into the park of Toxteth and taking a doe. The presentment further states that Ranulf de Dacre and his companions were "common malefactors of

the forest;" that Robert de Barton, the priest, encouraged them in their depredations, by entertaining them in his house in Smethedon subtus Toxtath, and that Adam Itill also received and entertained them, at his house in Aykbright (Aigburth). At these enquiries the verderers, or keepers of the woods, were called on to give account of the timber cut down in the earl's woods, and the various uses to which it had been applied; as, for instance, two oaks cut in the park of Croxteth, to repair the mill del Atters; three oaks to repair the houses, in the Castle of Liverpool; an oak given to John the hermit of Walton, to build his hermitage; trees for the repair of the tenants' houses, for mill-shafts, and for many other purposes.

In the fifteenth year of Edward the Third, an inquiry took place at Prescot, into a matter of much greater importance, that is, into the value of all landed and personal property in the hundred of West Derby. The object of this inquiry was to fix the amounts to be paid by the boroughs of Liverpool and Wigan, and by the rural parishes, towards the Nonæ, or ninths of all personal property and all landed produce, which the Parliament had granted to the king, to enable him to carry on his wars with Scotland and France. The lord abbot of Furness presided at this inquiry, supported by a number of learned associates, and assisted by a jury composed of the following freeholders:—Adam de Rusheton, Robert de Huyton, Robert de Hurleston, Robert de Molineux, John de Dyche-field, Robert de Mossiton, William de Urmston, William de Holland, William de Raynford, Richard de Bradeshagh of Pennington, Richard de Parr, Robert de Blakeburne, Richard de Ashton, Gilbert de Ines, John Gosefordsith, William del Hethe, William de Riding, Richard de Byerlyes, Richard del Salford, William del Pemberton, Simon de Stotfold, Thomas de Penrith, William de Norreys, Roger de Wynstonleigh, Gilbert de Gosefordsith, Richard de Tingwall, Adam de Alcroft, Simon de Holland, Richard de Wolstan, Henry de Downholland, Richard de Bradshaw, of Westleigh, William de Stonbringleigh, Robert de Travis, John de Holland, and Robert de Eaves. The above list seems to have included the representatives of nearly every township in the neighbourhood. They reported the Nonæ, or ninths of the wapentake or hundred of West Derby to be of the value of £293 2s. 4d., equal to £4396 15s. of modern money. Of this sum £280 16s. 4d. was derived from the tax on corn, wool, and lambs, in the rural districts of the hundred; and £12 5s. 11d. from the ninths of the goods of the burgesses of Liverpool and Wigan; namely, £6 16s. 7d. from the borough of Liverpool, and £5 9s. 4d. from the borough of Wigan.

The following valuations from other towns and cities will show how humble a position Liverpool then occupied. Bristol, £244 8s. 9d.; Gloucester, £60 1s. 9d.; Lincoln, £114 13s. 2d.; Reading, £20.; Bridport, £12 3s. 4d.; Ipswich, £49 10s. 4d.; Droitwich, £44 10s.; Winchester, £72 15s. 8d.; Southampton, £9.; Portsmouth, £8 6s.; Scarborough, £27 6s. 8d.; Whitby, £15 10s. 4d.; Grimsby, £10 15s.; Stafford, £5 3s. 7d.; Lichfield, £7 9s. 4d.; Newcastle-under-Lyne, 5 marks; Oxford, £43 13s. 4d.; Hereford, £40; Shrewsbury, £56 2s. 10d.; Bridgenorth, £16 10s.*

I have already mentioned in the introductory chapter to this work that no manufactures of any importance existed in what are now the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, at the time when this return was made. The return made from the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, which now supply manufactures and clothing to the population of half the world, was, that there were no persons depending upon merchandise in those hundreds, and none who were liable to pay the tax imposed on persons engaged in trade. Wherever the woollen and linen manufactures mentioned in the paveage grant to Liverpool, came from, it does not seem to have been from what are now called the manufacturing districts, unless it was from the West Riding of Yorkshire. The weavers of York are mentioned as an incorporated body possessed of a royal charter as early as the reign of Henry the Second; and in the reign of Edward the Third a cloth-hall was established at Leeds, which still continues to be the great cloth mart of the north of England. The woollen trade was also carried on to a great extent in the reign of Edward the Third, at Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, and in many parts of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, as well as throughout the west of England. Numerous laws were passed in this reign for the encouragement of manufactures. Some of them were wise and useful, extending a liberal hospitality, and conferring numerous privileges to the cloth-workers of Flanders and other foreign countries, who were willing to settle in England. Others were of a different character, attempting to force manufactures by rendering it felony to export English wool, or to wear foreign cloth, or even silks and furs. These laws, however, were not observed, for the king was obliged to raise a large portion of his supplies by borrowing money from the merchants of Flanders, and those of Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Lucca, and Venice; and as he never possessed

* See Return in Nonne Rolls.

the means of repaying them in money, his payments were generally made in sacks of wool. The woollen manufactures of England continued steadily to increase during this reign, especially in the counties which I have mentioned above. In those districts considerable quantities of capital had already been accumulated by agriculture, commerce, and retail trade; and fine breeds of sheep supplied abundance of the raw material for the woollen manufacture, with little cost of carriage. As I have already mentioned, the soil and climate of Lancashire have always been unsuitable to the rearing of sheep; and it is partly owing to that cause, partly to the want of capital in the north-western districts of England, that manufactures took root so slowly in the district which has become the workshop of the world since water power, steam, and machinery have become the chief means of manufacturing production. The precise time at which manufactures were established in Lancashire cannot be ascertained; but it was between the reign of Edward the Third and Henry the Eighth. They scarcely existed at the former time; whilst at the latter they were not merely established but flourishing.

In the eighteenth year of the reign of Edward the Third, the men of Liverpool were summoned to appear before Robert de Plessingham, William Lawrence, and Henry de Bickersteth, justices of the king, for using weights and measures not agreeing with those lately established by the king. They were fined 66s. 8d. for this offence; and the men of Wigan, Preston, and Lancaster were fined in the same amount. All these fines were afterwards returned, from which we may conclude that the offence was not very serious.

At the siege of Calais, in the 21st year of Edward the Third, 1347, nearly all the navy of England was assembled. One vessel, with six mariners, was the contribution of Liverpool to a fleet of 700 ships and 14,457 mariners.*

Henry the First, Earl of Lancaster, died in the twentieth year of Edward the Third, 1346, and was succeeded by his son Henry, named Grismond, from the place of his birth, who was afterwards raised to the rank of Duke of Lancaster. He was the second Englishman on whom the title of duke was conferred. He was also one of the original knights of the garter; and held the estates of the six earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, Grismond, de Ferrers, and de Warenne.

* Kaye's *Stranger in Liverpool*, p. 15.

The inquisition post mortem, held on the death of the first Earl Henry was very vague and general, but a return of the bailiffs of the second Earl Henry, made two years after, contains much valuable information, and amongst it the following curious account of the borough and fee-farm of Liverpool:—

“Lyverpoll.—The bailiffs there answer for 1d. of rent from the burgesses of the town of Lyverpoll, for twelve acres of turbary, on the moss, in exchange for a piece of ground enclosed within the park, by charter of Thomas, late Earl. And of 6s. 8d. of John de Wamburgh, and heirs of his body, by deed of Earl Henry, father of the present lord, for three parts of one burgage, and five sellions of land, which came into possession of our lord by death of John Le Botiller, an illegitimate. And of 4s. of rent for the third part of a burgage called Long Stable, before the gate of the castle; besides one burgage, in the hand of Dyonisius Kelynge, held by service of finding stabling for twelve horses, on every visit of the lord within the said borough. And of £8 4s. 10³/₄d. of rent for one hundred and sixty-four burgages, three parts, the eighth part, and the forty-eighth part of a burgage, in the same town of Liverpool, as appears in the rentaly. And of 14d. which was fixed by computation as the rent of one burgage, an eighth part, and a sixteenth part of a burgage, in the rentaly of the burgages. And of 4d. of increase of rent of William de Lyverpoll, clerk, for the half of a burgage, formerly belonging to Henry, the son of John le Walker. And of 18d. of the rent of John Bacon, for a cottage, on the fosse of the castle, held at will, as appears by the new rentaly. And of 68s. 6d. rent of forty acres of land on Saltousmore, as in the new rentaly. Sum total of land and buildings, £12 7s. 1³/₄d.”—equal in money of the present day to £185 7s. 2¹/₄d. From Farm of tolls, stallage, markets, and fairs of the town of Liverpool, ferry boat, one horse mill, and two windmills, let to John, the son of William de Mor, £26,” equal to £390. From Farm of Richard de Walton, for herbage and fruit of the garden, and produce of the dovecote, 16s. From herbage of the castle trench, 2s. From fines of ingress, from perquisites of the court, from perquisites of the Portmoot Court, from wreck of the sea and things cast on shore, and from fishery of the Mersey, 15s. From which 4s. are paid to Benedict le Stedman, of annual rent of a certain tenement, which Earl Henry, the father of the present lord, remitted to the said Benedict for the term of his life, for his services; and which the present Earl confirmed and ratified for the whole term of the life of the said Benedict.”

The following is another account of the above payments, from the return of the earl's ministers :—

“Lytherpole.—The charge of the ministers upon the lands of the lord the Earl of Lancaster, upon their account, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Edward the Third, after the Conquest. County of Lancaster. For the farm of tolls, stallage, markets, fairs of the town of Lytherpole, the passage boat, one-horse mill, two windmills, so let to John, son of William de More, at the terms of the Annunciation and St. Michael, £26. For the farm of Richard de Walton, for the herbage and fruit of the garden and issues of the dovecote, for the term of eight years, this being the first year, 16s. ; at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas for the farm of the herbage and fosse of the castle, 2s., with 15s. of fines of increase, perquisites of courts, customs, anchorage, &c.”

It appears from the Close Rolls in the Duchy Office, No. 52, that Duke Henry granted a pension of 20s. a-year (equal to £15 of our money) for life to William de Lyverpull, for the good and agreeable service which he had rendered, and was expected to render. The order granting this pension is tested at the castle of Liverpool, in the ninth year of his dukedom.

Shortly after he let the house in Castle-street, previously held by Benedict le Stedman, to Richard de Aynesargh, for life :—

“For Richard de Aynesargh.—The duke to all to whom, &c., greeting: Know ye that we have given and granted for us and our heirs as much as in us is to Richard de Aynesargh, of Lyverpull, the same messuage with the appurtenances, in Lyverpull, in the street which is called the Castle-street, which Benedict le Stedman, late constable of our castle of Lyverpull, held of the gift of Lord Henry, late Earl of Lancaster, our father. To have and to hold to the same Richard, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, of us and our heirs. Rendering therefor yearly to us and our heirs 4s. of silver at the usual terms of the town aforesaid, and doing to us and our heirs such other services for the same messuage as the other tenants of the same town do for like messuages. And we and our heirs will warrant, acquit, and defend the said messuage to the before named Richard, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, as is aforesaid; against all men. In testimony whereof, &c., Witness Henry de Walton, archdeacon of Richmond, lieutenant to the duke in the duchy aforesaid, the 8th day of March.”

A house occupied by the constable or governor of the castle, would no doubt be one of the best in the town. The rent of 4s. of Edward the

Third's time is equal to £3 of our money. The highest rent for a private house mentioned in the Calendar of the Close Rolls, is 20s., or £15 a year, paid for a house in Stonegate, York. At that time York was the second city in the kingdom.

It appears from the Statute of Labourers, passed in the year 1350, 25th Edward the Third, that the farm labourers in the counties of Lancaster, Stafford, and Derby, in Craven in Yorkshire, and in the marches of Wales and Scotland, were in the habit at this time of rambling through the country in time of harvest, to assist in cutting and securing the grain of the better cultivated parts of the kingdom, much as the Irish harvestmen do at the present time. This practice having been found convenient was allowed to be continued, by a special exemption in the Statute of Labourers, although no other kinds of labourers were allowed to work in summer out of the townships in which they lived in winter.

In the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, 1351, Earl Henry of Lancaster, granted the office of constable, or keeper of the Castle of Liverpool, to John Baret, with a salary of ten marks, equal to about £100 of our money. Three years afterwards he granted to him a messuage and six ridges of land, which had come into his hands as an escheat or forfeit, by the death of John le Butler, with twenty acres of moss, in the park of Toxteth, joining upon the moss of Liverpool.

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Edward the Third, 1354, the prior of Birkenhead was summoned by the Earl of Chester (Edward, the Black Prince, the king's eldest son), to give account of the right by which he held the ferry from Birkenhead to Liverpool, with various other privileges belonging to the priory. As valuable rights still exist depending on the evidence furnished on this inquiry, and as it shows not only what was claimed by the priors of Birkenhead but what was not claimed, I think it well to give the proceedings at length:—

“Pleadings in a Plea of Quo Warranto, (extracted from the Roll of Pleas of the county of Chester, remaining in the exchequer of Chester, of the twenty-seventh year of Edward III.) [A.D. 1354.] The prior of Birkehead was summoned to answer the lord the earl concerning a plea, by what warrant he claims to dig turves and to have common of pasture in the townships [vills] of Budeston, Morton, and Salghan, for himself and his men and tenants, for all their cattle; and within the bounds of the manor of Claghton, to wit, from the boundary of the township [vill] of Oxtan, to the edge of the water of Mersee, on his own proper soil, to make all kinds of fisheries [fishing

places] ; and in his said soil to receive all sorts of profits, except royal wreck ; and to have small boats, as well in his aforesaid part of the water of Mersee as in his own proper soil, to wit, to fish, and to carry and to receive all other profits beyond the said water, to all manner of lands being in the peace of our lord the king for the time being ; and that he and his men and tenants shall not be impleaded of any matter touching the forest, unless they be found in the manour ; and that he and his men and tenants may be quit of receiving and feeding all manner of servants, except six foresters, without horse and without all other suit, when the turn of feeding them shall come. And to have the ferry [passage] over the water of Mersee for all things, and for that ferry [passage] to receive as shall be just ; and in the place of the ferry [passage] on his own proper soil to erect and have sufficient houses, and that the men dwelling in those houses may have all sorts of victuals, and may buy and sell them without the hindrance of any one ; and that he and his successors and their men and tenants may be quit of all suit at the hundred of Willaston ; and that he and his successors may have their free court twice in the year, for the correcting of all their tenants, to wit, the assize of bread and beer, and all manner of forfeiture of bylagh ; and to have furze and fern, and common of pasture for all their cattle in the township [vill] of Tranemoll [Tranmere] at all times of the year. And the aforesaid prior comes, and as to his first claim, to wit, to dig turves and have common of pasture, he says that in what respect soever he claims those liberties by name, it is nevertheless free tenement, and does not fall within the claim of a liberty ; wherefore he has no need at present to show warrant thereof. Therefore it was considered by the judges that the aforesaid prior, as to this, may go thence without day.* And as to the holding his free court, he says, that he has divers tenants who owe suit to his court of Claughton, according as is granted of common right ; wherefore it does not fall within the claim of liberties. Therefore it was considered by the judges that the aforesaid prior as to this may go thereupon, without day. And as to the assize of bread and beer, and all kind of forfeiture of bylagh, he disclaims it altogether in the same liberty ; therefore let that liberty be taken into the hand of our lord the earl, so that the tenants of the same prior concerning the rest may be in attendance at the turn of the sheriff in the hundred of Willaston [Wirrall] of our lord the earl. And the aforesaid prior as to this is in mercy. And as to this that he claims above to have

* Without any day being fixed for farther inquiry into the matter.

fisheries from the boundary of the manor of Claghton as aforesaid ; and as to this which he claims above that he and his men and tenants may not be impleaded of anything touching the forest, unless found in the manour ; and as to this which he claims to have furze and fern, and common of pasture, in the township [vill] of Tranemoll ; all those things touch the forest of our lord the Earl, of Wirhale, therefore let nothing be done thereupon at the present, but they are respited until, &c. plea of the forest there. And as to the liberties of feeding servants, and so forth, he says that he has divers lands and tenements in Wirhale, and that the Lord Ranulf, formerly Earl of Chester, by his charter granted to all free men and tenants, and those having lands in that part, that they and their heirs for ever should be quit from receiving and feeding all servants, except six foresters only, without any horses, and without any other suit. And he brings here the charter which witnesseth the same. And as to the other liberty, to wit, the being quit of suit at the hundred of Wilaston [Wirrall], he says, that a certain Ranulf, formerly Earl of Chester, by his charter granted to the prior of Birkhead who then was, and to the monks there, that they and their free men should be free and quit of suit at the hundred aforesaid, and of eight pence, which to the sheriff of the same hundred they were used to pay. And he brings here the charter which witnesseth this same, and by that warrant he claims that liberty, to wit, for himself and his men, to wit, his tenants at will, &c. And as to the aforesaid ferry [passage] and the building of houses to be made at the place of the ferry [passage], he says, that the Lord Edward, formerly King of England, the father of our lord the now king, by his letters patent, granted and gave license, for himself and his heirs, to the prior of Birkhead who then was (he being the) predecessor of the now prior, and to the convent of the same place, that they, in their own grounds at Birkhead, at the place of the ferry [passage], from the town of Lyverpol, in the county of Lancaster, to the priory of Birkhead, in the county of Chester, and from the same priory even unto the aforesaid town, across the arm of the sea, (which ferry, indeed, was before that held common,) or near to the same ferry accordingly as might more conveniently be done, they might build sufficient houses for such entertaining, and might hold the houses so constructed, and that men abiding in those houses might buy victuals for the support of people about to pass over at that place, and might sell the same without any let of him our lord the king, or his heirs, or any other persons whatsoever, which letters patent, indeed, our lord the king, now inspecting, has ratified and confirmed the same by his

letters patent. And moreover he granted to the same prior and convent then being, that they and their successors should for ever have in that place a ferry over the said arm of the sea, as well for men as for horses, and other and whatsoever things ; and receive for that [passage] according as might reasonably be done. And he brings here the letters patent of our aforesaid lord the now king which testify the premises, the date of which is at Wodestock, the 13th day of April, in the fourth year of his reign. And by that warrant he claims that liberty. And William Braas, who sues for our lord the earl, prays that the aforesaid prior may show and declare to the court, &c., what and what kind of profits he claims by virtue of the aforesaid ferry,—Who says that he claims for a man and horse, laden or not laden, two-pence, and for a man on foot one farthing ; and on the market day at Liverpool, to wit, on Saturday, for a man a half-penny, and for a man and his baggage, on market day, one penny. And the aforesaid William Braas says, that the aforesaid prior has taken the aforesaid profits in excess, and after another mode than by right he ought to do, and this he prays may be inquired of by the country. And the aforesaid prior doth the like. Therefore it is commanded to the sheriff that he cause to come hither at the next common twelve [jurors], &c., by whom, &c., And who to the aforesaid prior have no, &c., To inquire [recognize,] &c., Because as well, &c.”

From the form of the above proceedings, as well as from the fact that Edward the Third had recently confirmed the rights which his son appeared to question as Earl of Chester, it is not unlikely that the above may have been one of those amicable suits which were raised for the purpose of explaining and putting upon record the grounds on which rights apparently questioned were claimed. It was necessary, in this case, for the safety of the priory, to have legal sanction for the tolls collected for ferrying passengers across the Mersey, as the demanding of unreasonable tolls was at that time a ground for depriving parties demanding them of the franchises under which they were claimed. The tolls claimed by the prior and convent were quite high enough to give rise to dispute. The 2d. which was charged for a man and horse was equal to 2s. 6d. of our money. The farthing charged for a foot passenger was equal to 4d. A still more doubtful question was whether the raising of the ferry to $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or 8d. for a man, and 1d. or 15d. for a man with his baggage, on the market day of Liverpool, did not savour of extortion. There is no evidence that William Braas ever carried this part of the question any further, or that it was ever raised by any one else. If the tolls were somewhat unreason-

able at that time they gradually became very reasonable, as the silver coinage was reduced in value by Edward the Third and his successors, and as the value of silver decreased, after the discovery of the American mines. Whatever the ferry may have been in the days of Edward the Third, Birkenhead is one of the cheapest ferries in the world, in the reign of Queen Victoria.

The first mention of the Mayor of Liverpool occurs in this reign. It is contained in a letter from the king, bearing date the 19th of May, 1356, thirtieth Edward Third, authorising Richard de Aynesargh, "Mayor of the town of Liverpool," to acquire £10 of land belonging to the Duke of Lancaster, and to give and assign the said land (notwithstanding the statute of Mortmain,) to perform divine service, every day, for the souls of the faithful deceased, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas at Liverpool.* The title of Mayor thus given to the chief officer of Liverpool by the king is also used by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in a letter addressed "to the Mayor and Commonalty" of Liverpool, in which he authorizes the dedication of the Chapel and Cemetery of St. Nicholas, in Liverpool, in the year 1361.† In the year 1358 the Duke of Lancaster, in the seventh year of his dukedom, in a deed, dated Preston, 21st April, also for a fine of forty shillings, granted to the "Mayor, Bailiffs, and good men of the town of Lyverpoll," that they should be empowered to take and receive certain rates for the two years next following, in aid of the paving of the said town. The title of Mayor of Liverpool was thus recognized by regal, ducal, and episcopal authority, and has continued in use ever since.

The letter of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, referred to in the above passage, was a permission granted by that bishop to consecrate a cemetery within the town of Liverpool. Liverpool was at that time suffering from the ravages of a dreadful disease, which had swept over the whole of Asia and Europe, like the cholera of modern times, destroying an innumerable quantity of the people, and involving whole nations in grief and terror. On the first appearance of this dreadful disease, which took place in the year 1348, nearly one-half of the population of London is supposed to have perished; and it was many years before it disappeared entirely. It raged so dreadfully in Liverpool about the year 1361, that the inhabitants had neither heart nor strength to remove the dead to the ancient burial place at Walton, which is about

* Patent Rolls, 35th Edward the Third.

† Ecclesiastical Register, Lichfield, Lib. v., 44-45.

three miles distance from the town. They therefore used the good offices of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, one of the sons of Edward the Third, who had passed through Liverpool on his way either to or from Ireland, to obtain permission to form a cemetery around the chapel of St. Nicholas. This permission was granted, and the place is still used for that purpose. It was either during this or some similar visitation that a piece of ground was used as a cemetery outside of the town, on what was then the road to Everton. The lane adjoining to it received and long retained the name of Sickman's-lane. In modern times, Addison-street has been built on the site.

On the 24th of March, in the year 1354, the thirty-first of Edward the Third, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, leased the fee-farm of Liverpool for ten years to the following parties. William the son of Adam, of Liverpool, John de More, of Liverpool, William de Liverpool Clericus, Alexander Cumming, William de Grenelf, Richard de Aynesargh, Adam the son of Richard, of Liverpool, and Robert the son of Thomas, of Liverpool. They were the chief persons in the town, and probably acted for all the burgesses. The deed mentions as the things devised by the duke, the following:—The town of Liverpool, with its appurtenances; all the mills, the rents, and the farm of the said town; the ferry of the river Mersey; the perquisites of the Court; any parcels of turbary below the park of Toxteth which had come into the duke's hands, by the death of the preceding tenants; ALL FINES ARISING FROM BREACHES OF THE LAWS REGULATING THE ASSIZE OF BREAD AND BEER, AND THE PUNISHING OF FORESTALLERS; with all other profits arising in the said town; reserving only to the duke the orchard below the castle, the herbage of the fosse of the same castle, waifs and strays, and the forfeiture of the lands and goods of fugitives and felons. The rent to be fifty marks a year, equal to about £500 of our modern money. The lease also states, that the duke wills and concedes that no one belonging to the same town shall be summoned before any county or wapentake court for any debt, breach of agreement, or other personal matter, arising during the course of the said lease. It also provides that the said tenants shall repair the mills at their own expense, taking sufficient timber from the duke's parks of Croxteth and Toxteth, and his wood of Simonswood, in the presence of the duke's foresters. This deed is witnessed by Henry de Walton, archdeacon of Richmond, locum tenens of the duke, in the duchy aforesaid, at Lancaster, on the 24th of March, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Edward the Third. 1357.*

* Close Roll of Henry Duke of Lancaster, No. 3.

At the time when the above lease was granted, and for many ages before and after its date, the several classes of retailers in Liverpool and all other towns were compelled to sell the articles which they dealt in, at prices fixed by Act of Parliament, under penalty of heavy fines, or in case of repeated offences, of being put into the pillory, or being ridden round the town on a tumbrel or dung cart. Still heavier penalties were awarded against forestallors, by which term was meant all persons who bought up grain and other articles, with a view of selling them again at higher prices. Amongst retail tradesmen bakers and brewers were objects of especial jealousy, and it will be seen that the duke's lessees under the above lease were entitled to the fines paid by them, for all offences against the assize or regulation for the sale of bread and beer. The original assize of bread, made by King John, with the common council of his barons,* was that every baker should put his seal or mark upon his bread, and should be allowed to have a profit of 3d. or 4d., equal to 3s. 9d. and 5s. of modern money, on every quarter of wheat made into bread, together with the bran. A much more formal statute was passed in the fifty-first year of the reign of Henry the Third, and continued in force for many ages; and this was the law which the duke's lessees had to enforce.† It is stated, in the preamble of the act, that the king's bakers have proved that a profit of 4d. per quarter, equal to 5s. of our money, together with the bran, and two loaves, is sufficient for the baker. The expenses of baking are said to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., equal to about 1s. 10d. of our money, for wages of three servants; $\frac{1}{2}$ d., equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., for two lads; $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for salt; $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for kneading; $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for candle; 2d. for wood; and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for bultel or boulding. This proper amount of profit was supposed to be secured, and any greater profit to be prevented, by a sliding scale, which regulated the number of pounds and ounces of bread which were to be sold for $\frac{1}{4}$ d. of the money of that day, or about 4d. of our money, according to the rise or fall in the price of wheat. Thus it was provided, that when the price of wheat was 1s. a quarter, equal to about 15s. of our money, $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or as we should say 4d., should buy 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of very good bread, called wastel bread, "white and well baked," or twice that weight of bread of treet, that is of the coarsest kind of bread in general use; that when wheat sold at 6s. per quarter, equal to 90s. of our money, $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or 4d. of modern money, should buy 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb of wastel bread, or twice that weight of treet; and that when wheat sold for the enormous price of 12s., or as

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 2.

† Statutes at Large, i., 22.

we should say of 180s. per quarter, $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or 4d. modern, should buy rather more than $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of wastel bread, and a little more than 1 lb. of treet. It is difficult to tell what was the average price of an article which fluctuated so greatly. In the Statute of Labourers, passed in the reign of Edward the Third, 6s. 8d. per quarter is the price at which labourers are required to receive wheat. That is also the price at which English wheat was allowed to be exported, by a law of Henry the Sixth; and at which foreign wheat was allowed to be imported, by a law of Edward the Fourth. After all the tampering with the coinage, 6s. 8d. was at least equal to from 70s. to 80s. a quarter of modern money. The law against forestallers might have been passed for the express purpose of preventing the storing of grain in cheap years for use in years of scarcity; for it denounced the forestaller, "who buys up cheap to sell dear," as the common enemy of the whole people, and subjected him to fine for the first offence, to the pillory and tumbrel for the second, and to expulsion from the town for the third. With such laws of course no one would venture to deal in grain, except the farmers who grew it, and the actual consumers. This probably is one reason why prices sank so low in abundant years, and why they rose so high in dear ones. The want of roads, and other means of communication between different parts of the kingdom, was another. With regard to the bakers, they then carried on their trade amidst many perils, for if it was found that their loaves were deficient, even to the extent of one or two per cent., they were liable to be fined at the discretion of the judge of the court; and if they were deficient more than one or two per cent., they were to be put in the pillory, and not let off for any amount of fine. With regard to brewers, it was provided that they should sell two gallons of beer or ale for 1d., that is to say for about 15d., in towns and cities, and three gallons in the country, when barley was selling for 2s., or about 30s. a quarter of our money, and other grain in proportion. They were also subject to the same penalties as the bakers, for breach of these laws. Similar laws were afterwards passed with regard to butchers, wine dealers, tanners, and other tradesmen, with heavy penalties attached to any breach of them. This will be seen from subsequent leases. These were the laws which the lessees of the Duke of Lancaster's rights were authorised to enforce in Liverpool by the above lease; as they were enforced in all other parts of England, for many ages.

Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, died on the 24th of March, 1361, (in the thirty-fifth of Edward the Third,) leaving two daughters,

Matilda and Blanche.* The former died childless, soon after her father. The younger married the celebrated John of Gaunt, who then bore the title of the Earl of Richmond, the fourth son of King Edward the Third. He was afterwards raised to the rank of Duke of Lancaster. By this marriage the immense estates of the house of Lancaster were still further increased by the addition of those of the earldom of Richmond, which then included the rich and flourishing town of Boston, in Lincolnshire, and many other valuable estates in various parts of the kingdom. By this marriage two branches of the house of Plantagenet, one descending from Edward the Third, the other from Henry the Third, were united; and the power of the great house of Lancaster was rendered still more formidable.

During the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third, Ireland, which had never yielded more than a nominal obedience to the kings of England, was violently agitated by civil war and insurrection. The English party was at that time confined to Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, and a few other cities and towns, with the districts immediately around them. Five-sixths of the country was governed by native chieftains, who acknowledged the kings of England as their superior lords, just as the highland chiefs acknowledged the kings of Scotland to be theirs, but who acted as little kings in their own territories, and whenever they could agree amongst themselves (which was not often), threatened to drive the English out of the island. Several times during the latter part of this reign affairs became so alarming in Ireland, that it was necessary to send over governors of superior rank and influence to defend the English interest. On all these occasions fleets were ordered to assemble at Liverpool, to convey them and their attendants and forces across the channel. The first of these viceroys was Lionel, Duke of Clarence and Earl of Ulster, the third son of the king; another viceroy was William of Windsor. The following is the order respecting the sailing of the Duke of Clarence:—

“The king to the justice, chancellor, treasurer, and others of our council in the land of Ireland, greeting:—Recalling to memory how our Irish enemies and rebels, and others, have in great manner destroyed our faithful subjects of the land aforesaid, and have wasted their lands and places, and cease not daily to commit such evil and wicked acts,

* The inquisition, *post mortem*, was very general. The Jurors say only:—“The aforesaid duke was possessed of the Castle of Liverpool, the Manors of West Derby and Salford, with the members and appurtenances which are of the honour of Tutbury.”

and in process of time much greater are dreaded to be done unless their wickedness be soon restrained: We, for the cause aforesaid, have determined to send our most dear son Lionel, earl of Ulster, with a competent armed force, to the land aforesaid; And for the comfort and solace of our adherents and faithful supporters in the said land, we have resolved to send beforehand our beloved clerk, Thomas de Baddely, on whose faithfulness and circumspection we can depend, to announce to you and them the news of the coming of our said son, and to excite, and on our behalf to lay the charge on you, that the whole navy of the land aforesaid, competently armed, shall be sent with all speed to the ports of Lytherpool and Chester, and other ports lying between (them), for the passage of our said son to those parts, so that it be there seven days before the feast St. Peter ad vincula next coming, at the latest; and to ascertain for you, and to provide those things which for such his coming you shall judge useful and necessary; and with all the dispatch in your power to report to us, or to cause to be reported by some other, your advice concerning all the premises; and therefore we command you, that to the said Thomas, in the doing and executing the premises, you be attending, advising, and assisting, and communicating to him your advice upon the said affairs, so that being thereof well advised, he may be able to return to us in England, and relate what things you shall decree to be so done, and that the same, our son (the Lord willing), may be able, more happily and more advisedly, to depart to the land aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c. witness the king, at Westminster, the tenth day of May."*

In the thirty-ninth of Edward Third, 1365-6, an order was issued by the king to the mayors and bailiffs of the principal ports of the kingdom, ordering them to seize all vessels of the burden of forty tons of wine, and to send six of the larger and better-armed to join Roger de Hegham, admiral of the fleet from the Thames westward. In this mandate the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol and Southampton were each of them ordered to furnish two ships; the bailiffs of Falmouth and Plymouth, each one; the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth, two; the bailiffs of Lynn, one ship; the mayor and bailiffs of Kingston-on-Hull, one ship; the mayor and bailiffs of Ravensere, one ship; the bailiffs of Hartlepool, one ship; the bailiffs of Scardeburgh, one ship; the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle-on-Tyne, one ship; the bailiffs of Little Yarmouth, one ship; and the bailiffs of Ipswich, (Gippuceo,) one ship. A general

* Patent Roll, 35th Edward the Third.

order to arrest ships and shipping was also addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London; to the mayor and bailiffs of Cicester, Lynn, and Chester; and to the bailiffs of "Shoreham, Newebiggyn, Whiteby, Almath, Tynemuth, Weekworth, Eueldon, Baumburgh, Holy-iland; Tuedemuth, Blakeney, Dunwich, Kirkele, Orford, Goseford, Herewich, Saltcotes, Grymesby, Barton, Saltfleauby, St. Botulph, (Boston,) Tallesbury, Ualflete, Gaynesburgh, Gilyngnam, Porcestre, Lemyngton, Melcombe, Weymuth, Lynn, Bruggewater, Exon, (Exeter), Exmuth, Seton, Sydemuth, Tengemuth, Falceston, Raculore, Cristehirehe, Birkheved,* Lyverpol, and Stonore."†

The following is the last of a long series of orders to collect shipping in the port of Liverpool issued during this reign:—

"The king, to all and singular admirals, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, owners, masters, and mariners of ships, and other his faithful subjects, to whom, &c. greting, know ye that we have assigned our beloved Simon Charwellen, clerk, and Walter de Eure, jointly and severally, to press, without delay, all ships of the burthen of twenty tons and upwards to two hundred tons, in the port of Bristol, and in all ports and places from thence to the port of the town of Liverpool, and to cause the same to be brought to the said port of Liverpool, so that they be there with all the dispatch possible, ready and equipped for the passage of our beloved and faithful William de Wyndesore, governor and guardian of our realm of Ireland, and of the men at arms and others about to depart in our service in the retinue of the said William, at his wages and expences, and there to remain for the preservation and defence of our aforesaid realm, according to the order of the same William. And also to take and arrest all those whom they shall find opposers or rebels to the said Simon and Walter, or to either of them, in the execution of the premises, and to commit them to our prison, there to remain until we shall cause to be otherwise demanded of them. And therefore we command you, that to the said Simon and Walter, and to each of them, in doing and executing the premises, you be intendant, counselling and advising as often as they, or either of them, shall make known to you, or either of you, on our behalf. In witness," &c.‡

It will be seen that Liverpool and Chester are spoken of as separate ports in the first and second of the above royal orders, and that Liverpool

* This may have been to the prior of Birkenhead, or perhaps it is an error altogether. There was not even a village there at that time.

† Scotch Rolls, 39th Edward the Third, m. 44, dors.

‡ Patent Rolls, 47th Edward the Third.

is mentioned in the third, without any reference to Chester. Nothing occurs in any of these royal orders which confirms the opinion that Liverpool was in any way dependent upon Chester, in the earlier periods of its history. The two ports belonged at that time to entirely different jurisdictions: the one to the Duchy of Lancaster, the other to the Earldom of Chester. The royal orders sent to Liverpool about this time were always addressed either to the mayor or the bailiffs of the town of Liverpool, and Liverpool is almost spoken of in the terms used with regard to other independent ports. Thus, in the eleventh of Edward the Third the bailiffs of Liverpool were ordered to take care that no rams of the English breed were exported from Liverpool. In the thirty-sixth of Edward the Third, two orders were received by the bailiffs of Liverpool, commanding them to take care that no grain was sent out of the port. No such order was sent to Chester on that occasion. In the thirty-seventh of Edward the Third, the bailiffs of Liverpool were ordered to take care that no horses were exported. In the thirty-eighth of Edward the Third, an order was issued for seizing all ships between Southampton and Furness, in Lancashire, and for taking them to the port of Liverpool, thence to proceed to Ireland. In the same year the bailiffs of Liverpool received orders to take care that no coined money was sent out of the kingdom. In the forty-first of Edward the Third a royal order, respecting the mints of the kingdom, was addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of Liverpool, but no such order was sent to Chester. In the forty-second of Edward the Third an order was issued for seizing on all ships and sending them to the port of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster; and in the forty-seventh of Edward the Third another order was issued for seizing all ships in the port of Bristol, and in all ports between Bristol and the port of Liverpool, and for conducting them to the port of Liverpool. The above are only specimens of numerous orders which still exist in the national records, all of which clearly show that Liverpool was at that time perfectly independent of Chester. The only Earl of Chester who possessed Liverpool subsequent to the granting of the charters of King John and Henry the Third, by which it was made a borough and a port, was Ranulf de Blundeville. It will be seen from the deeds quoted in a previous chapter, that he obtained the borough by grant from the king, not by inheritance; that he held it only for three years; and that at his death Liverpool passed into the hands of William and Agnes de Ferrers, whilst the Earldom of Chester passed into the hands of John the Scot. The connexion between Liverpool and Chester

was an arrangement made in the time of the Tudors; probably for the convenience of the farmers of the great customs: this I shall show in a subsequent chapter.

In the register of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, p. 50, b. forty-sixth Edward Third, 1372-3, there appears a mandate addressed "to our well-beloved clerk, Sir William de Hornby, receiver of the county of Lancaster," informing him that the Duke hath appointed his well-beloved esquire William de Bradshagh, for the good and agreeable service which he hath done, or shall do for time to come, "constable of our Castle of Liverpool and keeper of our parks of Toxtat and Croxtat, and likewise of Symonds-wode, and of our forests, chases, warrens, and woods of West Derbyshire, for the term of his life, taking for his fees and the good and safe keeping of the same, 10 m. (equal to about £100) for the office of the said constable, and 40s., £30, for the parks, and ordering the receiver to pay those sums, in half-yearly payments, from the issues of the lordship of Liverpool. This order is given at the manor of the Savoy, the 17th day of March, in the forty-sixth Edward Third, King of England, and thirty-third King of France.

By the following deed of John of Gaunt, bearing date the 16th July, 1373, forty-seventh of Edward the Third, he grants to Rankyn d'Ipres an annuity out of the farm of the town of Liverpool for the term of his life. This Rankyn of Ipres was a Fleming of high standing, who was a great favourite of the Prince. John of Gaunt was dining at his house in London on the day on which the mob rose and attacked his palace of the Savoy. This occurred during the trial of John Wycliffe, who was openly patronised by the great Duke of Lancaster. The following is the order respecting Rankyn of Ipres.

Among the records of the duchy of Lancaster, in the register of John Duke of Lancaster, fo. 22, b., it is thus contained:—

"For Rankyn d'Ipres.—This indenture, made between our Lord John, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, of the one part, and Rankyn d'Ipres, esquire, of the other, witnesseth: That the said Rankyn is retained and dwelling with our said lord, for peace and for war, for the term of his life, in manner following: that is to say, in time of peace the said Rankyn will be at board at court in the manner as other esquires of the household of our said lord; and for his fees in time of peace, our said lord has given and granted to the said Rankyn 17 marks, 6s. 8d., besides 100s., which he hath lately granted him, to be taken from the issues of the manor of Skerton; so that our said lord wills that the

said Rankyn should have and take, in time of peace, for the term of his life, for the whole, 25 marks sterling, from the farm of the town of Liverpool, by the hands of the receiver of our said lord in those parts who at the time shall be, at the terms of St. Michael and Easter, by equal portions. And during the war the said Rankyn shall be bound to serve our said lord, and to travel in his affairs to what parts he shall please; and he shall take for his fee for one year, in time of war, twenty pounds sterling from the said farm, by the hands of the said receiver, at the terms aforesaid, and such wages as other esquires of his condition shall take. And our said lord wills and grants, that if the said rent of 25 marks in time of peace, or the said £20 in time of war, be in arrear in part or in whole, for one month after one of the terms aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the said Rankyn, in the said town, or any part thereof, to distrain, and the distresses to retain until full satisfaction be made to him, together with the arrearages, if any shall be due to him: and he shall commence his year of war the day on which he shall remove from his household towards our said lord, by his letters, which shall be thereafter sent him; and thenceforth he shall take wages in coming and returning, by reasonable journeys, in manner as other esquires of his condition shall take. And the said Rankyn shall have convenient shipment for him and his people, horses, and other business as reason shall demand; and in right of his horses of war, taken and lost in the service of our said lord; and also of prisoners and other profits of war, by him or any of his people taken or gained our said lord shall do to him as he shall do to other esquires of his condition. In testimony, &c. Done at the Savoy, the sixteenth of July, &c., of England the 46th, and of France the 33rd."

The practice of retaining the services of men of influence connected with foreign countries was very common at this period. John of Hainault was in the service of King Edward the Third for many years, although he afterwards passed over into that of the King of France. James von Artaveldt, the famous brewer of Ghent, who governed Flanders for many years with more than sovereign power, was also the close ally, and was falsely charged with being the paid retainer, of the same king. Both Edward the Third and his sons cultivated the alliance of the popular leaders in Bruges, Ghent, Ipres, and others of the large commercial cities of Flanders, as a means of directing their influence against the King of France. At the time when John of Gaunt made Rankyn d'Ipres the above grant out of the revenues of Liverpool, he was engaged in a bold

scheme for obtaining the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, whilst the government of France was not less resolutely bent on defeating an enterprise which would have exposed France to be attacked by all the forces of England on one side, and all those of Spain on the other. The claim of John of Gaunt was founded on the fact of his having married, as his second wife, the Lady Constance, the eldest daughter of Don Pedro, the dethroned king of those countries, who had taken refuge at Bordeaux with his two daughters. John of Gaunt married the elder, and his brother, the Earl of Cambridge, afterwards created Duke of York, married the younger. With the assistance of the Black Prince they succeeded in restoring Don Pedro to the throne, after defeating his rival, Henry de Trastamara, in a great battle fought at Nevarette, at the foot of the Pyrenees. Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, was knighted for his valour in this battle. This success, however, was only transitory. The English army returned to Bordeaux, after having gained a worthless success, and after its leader, the Black Prince, had ruined his health, and contracted a disease, which shortened his life, during the winter campaign in the Pyrenees. Soon after Don Pedro had been restored by the English army, he was dethroned and murdered by his half brother and rival, who was supported by the French. After his death, John of Gaunt claimed the throne of Castile and Leon, in right of his wife the Lady Constance; and for many years he directed all his efforts to this object, and induced the English people to incur great expenses in supporting his claims. He ultimately failed in his main object, but succeeded in marrying one of his daughters to the Prince of Asturias, so that his descendants ruled in Spain as well as in England for many generations. His eldest son, Henry of Bolingbroke, who sprang from his first marriage with Lady Blanche Plantagenet, held no claim to the throne of Castile and Leon, and that probably may be the reason why he directed his ambition to the seizing of the crown of England, whilst his father was satisfied with attempting to grasp the crown of Spain.

On the 18th of November, 1374, the forty-eighth of Edward the Third, the duke confirmed a lease of the profits of the town of Liverpool for ten years. In this deed, which is directed to William de Neofeld, seneschal of the county of Lancaster, he states that he confirms the lease which William de Neofeld had made to William the son of Adam of Liverpool, to Richard de Aynesargh, to John de Hull, and John de Wolveton, of Liverpool, of all the profits of the same, on the same terms and conditions as it had been

let by him before, but on condition that they pay an increased rent of two marks. The lease is as follows:—

“ 48 Edward Third, 1374. John, &c. To our well-beloved William de Neofeld, our steward in the county of Lancaster, greeting: Whereas we have understood that you have let to farm to William Fitz Adam, of Liverpool, Richard de Aynesargh, John de Hull, and John de Wolveton, of Liverpool, the town of Liverpool, with all the profits thereof, for the term of ten years, by the same covenants and conditions that it hath been let to farm by us heretofore, and that they shall pay for the same town two marks increase more than it was accustomed to let to farm before: We command you that the persons before named you suffer to have at farm the said town, in and by the same manner that you have let the same to them. And these, &c. Given at the Savoy, the 18th day of November, the year the 48th.”*

In the Register of John Duke of Lancaster, pp. 65, 66, there appears another order, appointing “our well beloved Chevalier, Master John Botiller, for the good and agreeable service which he hath done to us, constable of our Castle of Liverpool, and keeper of our parks of Toxtat and Croxtat and Symondeswode, in manner as our well-beloved esquire Thomas de Haselden held them of our gift,” taking for his fees 10 m. as governor of the castle, and 40s. for the parks, for the term of his life, from the issues of the lordship of Liverpool. Given at the Castle of Hertford, 10th December, forty-eighth Edward Third.

King Edward the Third died in the year 1377, after a brilliant reign of fifty years, having survived his eldest son, the Black Prince, only one year. He was succeeded by his grandson, Richard the Second, then a boy only eleven years of age. Five years after his accession to the throne, the youthful king confirmed the charters of Liverpool. This confirmation is remarkable for the evidence which it affords of the progress of society and of public opinion. By the charter of Henry the Third it was provided that no one should be allowed to carry on business in Liverpool who was not a burgess of the town, without the permission of the burgesses. When Richard the Second confirmed all the other rights granted by the previous charters, he refused to confirm the burgesses in the possession of this monopoly. It will be seen by the following deed of confirmation that this clause was excepted (*penitus excepta*) in the confirmation:—

“ Charter of Confirmation, by King Richard the Second. Richard,

* John of Gaunt's Register, p. 213 B., Duchy Office.

by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, barons, knights, justices, sheriffs, reeves, bailiffs, ministers, and all other his faithful people, greeting. We have inspected a charter of confirmation of the Lord Edward, late King of England, our grandfather, to our beloved burgesses of our town of Lyverpull, made in these words:—Edward, by the grace of God, &c. [See charter of King Edward, p. 146, reciting the previous charters of King John and Henry the Third]. And we also, the grants and confirmations aforesaid, as well of our said grandfather as of others of our progenitors, (the clause above expressed THAT NO ONE, WHO IS NOT OF THE SAME GUILD, SHALL TRANSACT ANY MERCHANDIZE, UNLESS BY CONSENT OF THE SAME BURGESSES, BEING WHOLLY EXCEPTED,) holding firm and valid, do for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, according to the tenor of the charters aforesaid, by our especial grace, accept, approve, ratify, and to the aforesaid burgesses, and their heirs and successors, burgesses of the borough aforesaid, by the tenor of these presents, do grant and confirm the same, as by the charter aforesaid is reasonably witnessed. Moreover, willing to do the same burgesses, and their heirs and successors, more abundant grace, we have granted to them, for us and our heirs, and by this our charter have confirmed, that although they or their predecessors, burgesses of the borough aforesaid, shall not in any case have heretofore fully used any one or more of the liberties or acquittances in the said charter contained, the same burgesses notwithstanding, and their heirs and successors, burgesses of the borough aforesaid, shall henceforward and for ever fully use and enjoy the liberties and acquittances aforesaid, and every of them, EXCEPT THE CLAUSE AFORESAID, without let or impediment of us or our heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other bailiffs or ministers whomsoever. These being witnesses, the venerable fathers W., the confirmed elect of Canterbury, R., Bishop of London, and W., Bishop of Winchester; John, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, our most dear uncles; Richard, Earl of Arundel, Thomas, Earl of ———; Richard, chancellor; Hugh de Segrave, our treasurer; John de Montacute, steward of our household, and others. Given by our hands at Westminster, the 11th day of June. Symyngton.”

The refusal of the king to continue the monopoly of trade in the hands of the burgesses shows that sounder views were beginning to prevail as to the interests of towns and the rights of the subject.

Early in the reign of Richard the Second, the government had received

a terrible lesson from the rising of the commons in all the southern parts of the kingdom, a rising commonly known as Wat Tyler's rebellion. At that time villeinage, or forced servitude, was drawing to a close, the bonds of the peasantry having been much weakened by the increase of the towns. As I mentioned in a previous chapter, a twelve months' undisputed residence in a borough town gave the villein a right to his freedom. Freedom to trade in fairs and markets (at which all the business of the country was transacted) was one of the four demands made by the populace when they rose in insurrection. Their chief demands were, first, the total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever; second, the reduction of the rent of good land to 4d., or about 5s. of our money, per acre; third, full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets; and fourthly, a general pardon for all past offences. Nothing could be more reasonable than the first and third, or, in most cases, than the fourth of these demands. Even the third was not more unreasonable than that clause of the Statute of Labourers, which had been passed a few years before, by which it was declared that no one should demand higher wages than he had been accustomed to receive, during the twenty years previous, under pain of being sent to gaol; or than the laws by which parliament attempted to fix the prices of bread, beer, wine, and innumerable other articles of general use. Wat Tyler's followers were no worse political economists than their masters. It would have been strange if they had been better.

In the same year in which Richard the Second confirmed the charters of Liverpool he or his ministers sent the following order to the mayor and bailiffs of Liverpool, (through the Duke of Lancaster,) permitting grain (wheat only excepted) to be exported to Wales, in return for supplies of other kinds of food. This permission was given at a time when the exporting of grain to foreign countries was prohibited.

Among the records preserved in the Duchy of Lancaster, that is to say, in the Close Rolls of the fifth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, No. 53, it is contained as follows:—

“ The king and duke to the mayor and bailiffs of our town of Liverpool, greeting: Know ye that we have received the royal mandate of our lord the king of England and France, to us directed, in these words,— ‘ Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to his most dear uncle John, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, or his lieutenant in the duchy aforesaid, greeting. Although lately we commanded you that in the several boroughs, market

towns, and other places in the duchy aforesaid, where you should see most expedient, you should cause it to be publicly proclaimed and prohibited on our part, that any one, of whatever state or condition he might be, should take, or cause to be taken, any kind of grain out of our kingdom of England, to any foreign parts, under forfeiture of the same grain, or of the value of the same, secretly or openly, without our special license, as by the inspection of the rolls of our Chancery, to us it appears: We, however, with the advice of our Council, command you, that in the several boroughs, towns, and places aforesaid, within the said duchy, you cause to be proclaimed, that our several subjects and liegemen, who will buy such grain, wheat only excepted, and take or carry the same to the parts of Wales, for other victuals there to be bought and to be taken back within the duchy aforesaid, for the sustenance of our liegemen, may take and carry the same freely, and without any impediment, to the said parts of Wales, and not to other foreign parts, our said mandate, to you otherwise directed notwithstanding. Witness myself at Westminster, the 17th day of February, in fifth year of our reign: And willing to obey the same mandate in all things, as we are bound, we command you that the royal mandate aforesaid you cause to be publicly proclaimed and executed in our said town, in all things as the same mandate itself requires.—Witness the King and Duke of Lancaster, the first day of March.”

In the age in which the above order was issued grain was seldom allowed to be exported from England; but a few years afterwards, in the year 1436, a law was passed by which it was allowed to be exported when the price of wheat was below 6s. 8d., that is, from 70s. to 80s. of our money, and barley was below 3s., or, as we should say, below 30s. Agriculture was at this time excessively rude and unproductive. On the Hawsted Manor farm, in Essex, the average produce of wheat, oats, and barley per acre was only eight bushels; that is, wheat six, barley twelve, and oats five bushels per acre. This is not more than the fifth part of the produce which is now yielded by land of average quality, fairly farmed.

In the thirteenth of Richard the Second, 1389, the barons of Dover presented a petition to Parliament, praying that all travellers proceeding to the Continent might be compelled to pass through the port of Dover, as they had been previously compelled to do, by an act of Edward the Third, under penalty of one year's imprisonment. The pretence for this strange demand was that the search of gold and silver, and other contra-

band articles, could be more conveniently made at one port than at many. The answer was as follows :—

“ The King wills that all travellers and all other people, except known merchants, and also soldiers and people of arms, who will pass by sea out of the kingdom, so pass to the ports of Dover, and Plymouth, and no port besides, without special leave of the king himself ; but that those who will pass towards Ireland, pass by Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, or elsewhere, where they please.”*

Although the intercourse between Liverpool and Ireland was thus allowed to be continued, this port, in common with many others, was greatly injured by the exclusive privilege of dealing in the staple products of the kingdom—wool, hides, and lead—which was given to certain cities and ports, under the laws respecting the holding of the Staple.

By a law of the twenty-seventh Edward the Third it was provided that the Staples (or great markets for the sale of staple articles) should be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Exeter, and Bristol ; at Carnarvon, in Wales ; at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda ; “ and no where else ;” and that the shipping places for staple articles should be Newcastle-on-Tyne, Hull, Boston, Great Yarmouth, London, Sandwich, and Southampton. When this law was passed, and for some time after, all other places were excluded from the export trade of the kingdom ; and though the law was afterwards relaxed, the places where the staple was fixed were allowed to retain many privileges which, joined to their great natural advantages, gave them a practical monopoly of the foreign trade of the kingdom.

In the seventeenth year of the reign of Richard the Second, John of Gaunt granted another lease of the fee farm of Liverpool to the following persons :—Thomas de la More, Robert de Derby, Richard de Hulme, and William de Raby. In this lease, amongst the articles mentioned as let to the lessees are “ the whole toll (totum theolonium) as it hath been anciently accustomed to be taken.” This theolonium was the toll paid by strangers, that is to say, by non-burgesses, from which the burgesses themselves were free by the charter of Henry the Third. Another article included in the lease was the fines on butchers and tanners, as well as those to which I have previously referred, on bakers and brewers. The lessees of the duke were also entitled, under this lease, to the correction

* Petitions to Parliament, 13th Richard the Second, A. D. 1389, No. 7.

of all workmen dwelling in the said town or hereafter coming there ; that is to say, they were entitled to the fines imposed by the Statute of Labourers on all persons who dared to pay or attempted to obtain a greater rate of wages than had been paid previous to the passing of that statute. This lease also freed the burgesses from the obligation of serving on county juries. The words of the lease are as follows :—

“ John, son of the King of the English, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Seneschal of England, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have granted and let to farm to Thomas de la More, of Liverpool, Robert de Derby, Richard de Hulme, and William de Raby, our town of Liverpool, with the common pasture lying between our said town and our park of Toxteth, together with all our mills to the said town belonging, together with the income and whatsoever farms in the said town and thereto belong, and also to receive the passage money of the water of Mercee, as anciently accustomed to be taken, and our particular court of the said town to be held by them, Thomas, Robert, Richard, and William, together with the parcels of turbary, under our park of Toxteth, which have come into our hands, or those of our ancestors, by the death of any of our tenants of the said town ; and also that they may dig in the same lands for turves, and dry and carry them at their will. We have also granted to the same Thomas, Robert, Richard, and William, to correct the assize of bread and ale, the fines and forfeitures of forestallers, butchers, tanners, and peace breakers, and other things which belong to view of frankpledge, although there has been shedding of blood, and also the goods and chattels of fugitives, and also the correction of all workmen dwelling within the said town, or hereafter coming there, and all toll (“ totum theolonium” in the original) of the said town, to be taken as anciently accustomed to be taken, together with the herbage of the fosse of our castle of the said town, with waifs and strays, wash of the sea, and with all other profits to the said town belonging, as well by sea as by land, to have and to hold from us and our heirs, from the feast of St. Michael next coming after the date of these presents, unto the end of seventeen years next following to be fully complete. Rendering herefor to us and our heirs yearly, at Leverpull, fifty-seven marks of silver, at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, in equal portions, for all things which belong to us and our heirs in the said town. We will also and grant that no one of the said town shall be impleaded in the said county or wapentake for any debt, or transgression, or agreement, or any

other personal thing whatsoever arising within the said town ; and we also will and grant that no one of the said town shall be put as a juror on any jury, unless arising from land or tenement in the said town during the aforesaid term. And always that the said Thomas, Robert, Richard, and William make and repair the aforesaid mills at their own proper costs, taking sufficient wood for making and repairing the said mills, as there may be need, in our parks of Toxteth and Croxteth, and our wood of Symondswode, by view and permission of our foresters there. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under our seal, at our Castle of Lancaster, the 10th day of August, in the seventeenth year of King Richard, the Second since the Conquest.”*

The above lease is the last act by which John of Gaunt is connected with Liverpool. That powerful prince died soon after, and, on his death, the contest between his eldest son, Henry of Bolingbroke, and King Richard the Second commenced, and did not cease until Richard had been driven from the throne, and the House of Lancaster reigned in his stead.

In the same year in which the above lease was granted, a return was made of the value of the Duke's estates in the county palatine of Lancaster. It appears from the return, that they then produced a rent of £2,816 a year, equal to at least £42,240 a year of modern money. Of this sum, the manor of West Derby and its dependencies produced £146 8s., equal to £2,196 a year ; and the borough of Liverpool produced £38, from which 12s. a year was allowed (“ by the late Duke, whom God assoil”) to the chapel of Liverpool, leaving a clear rental from Liverpool of £37 8s., or about £561 of present money.

It will have been seen, from the course of the preceding narrative, that the wealth and power of the great House of Lancaster had been steadily increasing for a period of a hundred and forty years. After the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, Edmund Plantagenet obtained all the estates of the earldoms of Derby and Leicester, and, by a grant from his father he obtained possession of the whole of the Honour of Lancaster. Thomas, the second Earl of Lancaster, added immensely to the wealth and power of his family by marrying the heiress of the De Lacys, Earls of Lincoln, and constables of Chester. All the estates thus accumulated by the preceding earls descended to Henry, the third earl ; and afterwards to his son Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster. On the marriage of Blanche, the sole surviving heiress of this Duke of Lancaster, to John of

* MS. in possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.

Gaunt, who was then Earl of Richmond, these vast estates were united to all which he had received from his father, Edward the Third. Ultimately the estates of another wealthy and powerful earldom were added to the above, by the marriage of Henry of Bolingbroke, the eldest son of John of Gaunt and Lady Blanche Plantagenet, to Maria de Bohun, the heiress of the great earldom of Hereford. The private fortune of Henry the Fourth is said to have amounted to 24,000 marks per annum, equal, probably to about £240,000 a year of our present money. In addition to this immense fortune he possessed strong castles in all parts of the kingdom, and was connected by marriage or alliance with all the most powerful nobles in the kingdom. Thus he was connected by marriage with the Percies of Northumberland, and also with the Nevilles, Earls of Westmorland, the ancestors of Warwick the king-maker. With all these advantages, and with the still greater advantage of a resolute mind and a politic understanding, he eagerly seized the opportunity of engaging in the struggle which Richard the Second commenced, by seizing on his paternal estates, after the death of John of Gaunt. The contest ended in the overthrow, the capture, the dethronement, and the death of Richard the Second. By the accession of Henry of Bolingbroke to the throne, as King Henry the Fourth, Liverpool became once more one of the possessions of the crown, and continued in the hands of all the succeeding sovereigns of England until the reign of Charles the First. On the accession of Henry the Fourth the dukedom of Lancaster was united to the crown, and has not since been separated from it.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY THE FOURTH TO THE DEATH OF
RICHARD THE THIRD.

In the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, he granted to the burgesses of Liverpool a confirmation of those of their charters which they wished to have confirmed, that is to say, of the charters of King John, of Henry the Third, and of Edward the Third. The charter of Richard the Second, which threw open the borough to all persons who chose to settle in it, being too liberal for the taste of the burgesses, was quietly set aside, and passed over without notice. The following is King Henry the Fourth's confirmation of the previous charters :—

“ Charter of Confirmation by King Henry the Fourth. Henry by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland ; to all of whom these presents shall come, greeting. We have inspected a charter of the Lord Edward, late King of England, our great grandfather, made in these words :—Edward, by the grace of God, [reciting the charters of Edward the Third, Henry the Third, and King John,] We also holding the grants and confirmations aforesaid firm and valid, do, for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, accept and approve, and, to the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs and successors, do grant and confirm the same, as the charters aforesaid reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses ought to use and enjoy the liberties and acquittances aforesaid, and as they and their predecessors have used and enjoyed the liberties and acquittances aforesaid from the time of the sealing of the charters and confirmations aforesaid. Witness the king at Westminster, the ninth day of May. For six marks paid at the hanaper. THORALBY.”

In the same year in which the king confirmed the above charters, he also confirmed the lease of the fee farm of the town which his father, John of Gaunt, had granted to Thomas de la More and others, in the seventeenth year of Richard the Second.*

* This, and all the other leases of the fee farm of the town, not given in the text, will be given in the Appendix to this work.

In the seventh year of his reign, King Henry the Fourth gave permission to Sir John Stanley, knight, to fortify a house which he had built "with stone and lime" in the borough of Liverpool. As this is the first mention of the Stanley family in connection with Liverpool, and is thus the commencement of a connection which has continued for many hundred years, and still exists, I shall briefly explain the reasons why the Stanleys built and fortified the Tower of Liverpool.

Sir John Stanley was a younger son of an ancient and honourable family which had been settled in Cheshire for many ages. In his youth he acquired a high reputation for courage and military skill in the wars of France, which he greatly increased in Ireland, where he held command in the reign of Richard the Second. He had in the mean time married Isabella de Lathom, the sole heiress of a family which had been settled in Lancashire from the time of the Norman conquest, and one of whose members was the founder of the Priory of Burscough, near Ormskirk. The family of Lathom had been closely connected with the Lancaster branch of the Plantagenets from the reign of Edward the First, and Sir John Stanley naturally adopted the hereditary attachments of the Lathom family. In the first year of the reign of Henry the Fourth, he was appointed lieutenant to the king in Ireland;* and, in the second year of his reign the king issued a proclamation in Ireland, commanding that all in the land should be obedient to Sir John Stanley, knight, lieutenant to the king.† Henry also granted to him the Manor of Neston, with all the estates which had belonged to John, Earl of Salisbury, in the forest of Wirrall, with the homage and personal service of those who held them. Two or three years afterwards, the Percies, of Northumberland, under the renowned and heroic Hotspur, rose in insurrection against the king. In this rising, they first put forth the claims of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, the heir by the female line of Lionel Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, whose rights afterwards descended to the house of York. Hotspur was connected by marriage with the house of Mortimer, and as the influence of that great family was extremely strong along the Welsh border, nearly the whole of the Cheshire gentry joined him, and fought in his army at the battle of Shrewsbury.‡ After the death of Hotspur and the ruin of his cause, all his estates and those of his father and uncle were confiscated. The king made extensive grants from these

* Calendar of the Close Rolls, 238.

† Ibid, 211.

‡ Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 256.

estates to Sir John Stanley, who was one of the very few men in whom he placed confidence. On this occasion he granted to Sir John Stanley, in fee, the castle, peel, and lordship of Man, and the dominion pertaining to it, with the patronage of the bishopric of the island; to be held by homage and allegiance, and by the service of rendering to the king and his heirs, the kings of England, on the day of the king's coronation, two falcons. He further granted "that the heirs of Sir John Stanley might enter on the castle and lordship immediately after his death, although it had not so been held by Henry, Earl of Northumberland."* In order to facilitate communication between Sir John Stanley's Lancashire and Cheshire estates, and his new dominion in the Isle of Man, he authorized him to fortify a house which he had built at Liverpool. This house, which was long known as the Tower, stood on the brink of the river, at the foot of the present Water-street. It was from this point that the Stanleys kept up their communication with the kingdom of Man for more than three hundred years; indeed, until the time when the Isle of Man passed into the Atholl family, by the marriage of the heiress of the tenth Earl of Derby with a member of that family, when the Lancashire estates of the family devolved on the heir male, from whom the present Earl of Derby is descended. The following is the grant by which Sir John Stanley was authorized to fortify the Tower:—

"John de Stanley, Knight. The King, to all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that, of our special grace, we have granted and given license, for us and for our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our dear and faithful knight, John de Stanley, steward of our household, that he may embattle and fortify a certain house, which he has lately constructed of stone and lime, in the town of Liverpool, and hold the same so embattled and fortified to him and to his heirs for ever, without impeachment or disturbance of us, or of our heirs, or of our officers and ministers whomsoever. In testimony whereof, &c. Witness the king, at Westminster, the 15th day January. By writ of privy seal."

It will be seen that the above deed speaks of the tower or house, as having been recently built by Sir John Stanley, and there is no evidence that any such building existed in Liverpool previous to his time.†

Soon after his accession to the throne, the king made a grant to Nicol de Atherton of £10 per year for life, out of the fee-farm of Liverpool.

* Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 251.

† Patent Rolls, 7th Henry the Fourth, 2 p., m. 14.

This pension he continued to receive during the greater part of the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth. The following is a copy of the grant :—

“For Nieol de Atherton, chevalier, Henry, &c.; to all those, &c., greeting, Know ye that of our especial grace, and for the good and agreeable service which our dear and faithful Nicol de Atherton, chevalier, has done to us and will do for time to come, we have granted to him to have yearly £20 for the term of his life, from the issues of our lands within the said county of Laneaster, that is to say, £10 from the issues, profits, and commodities of our manor of Derby, in the said county of Laneaster, and other £10 from the farm which the mayor, bailiffs, and men of our town of Liverpool pay to us yearly, by the hands of our receiver, bailiff, farmer, or other occupier of the said farm, for the time being, at the terms of St. Michael and Easter, by equal portions. Provided only that the said Nichol be not retained by any other for the term of his life, save only by us. In witness, &c. At Westminster, the 2d day of July, in the first year of our reign.”*

On the 6th of August, 1410, the king granted a pension of 2d. a day to Robert Biekerstath, out of the farm of the ferry of Liverpool.

In the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, we first find the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool presenting a petition to the Commons House of Parliament. In this petition, which is written in excessively bad French, they complain that the king's bailiffs had interfered to prevent their holding the local courts which they had been accustomed to hold from the time of Henry the Third. The following is a copy of this petition :—

“Petition to Parliament. To the very wise Commons of this present Parliament, beseech humbly the poor tenants of our lord the king of the Duchy of Laneaster, the burgesses of the Borough of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster: That whereas King John, formerly king of England, by his letters patent under his great seal, granted that those who held any burgage in the town of Liverpool, should have all the liberties and free customs that any borough upon the sea had; and also King Henry, formerly King of England, by his letters patent under his great seal, granted that the said town of Liverpool should be a free borough at all times, and that the burgesses of the same borough should have a guild merchant, with Hanse, with all manner of liberties and

* Duchy Register, 15, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, 19.

customs to the said guild appertaining, and he moreover granted to the said burgesses among divers other franchises soc and sac, thol and theam, as in the said letters patent is more fully contained, which same our said lord the king, by his letters patent, has ratified and confirmed generally ; which word sac is interpreted a free court, as it is declared of Record in the Exchequer ; by authority of which grants the said burgesses have at all times had and continued a court in the same borough, and the perquisites of the said court, with all manner of profits to the said court appertaining, have taken and received ; until now lately, that the officers and ministers of our said lord the king, of the said county, have come, usurped, and held certain courts, in the same borough, with force, since the said confirmation, and at no time before ; and thus the said burgesses are grievously molested, vexed, and disturbed of their said liberties and franchises, by the said officers and ministers, against right and reason, and against the effect of the letters patent and confirmation aforesaid, to the great hindrance and detriment of the said borough, and the disinheriting of the said burgesses, if they be not secured and aided in this present Parliament. May it please your very wise discretions to consider the said matter, and hereupon to pray our said lord the king, that the said burgesses may have and enjoy all the liberties and franchises specified in the said letters patent, according to the effect and purport of the grants of the said late kings, and of the late confirmations aforesaid, without disturbance or hindrance from the officers and ministers in these parts : for God and in the work of charity.”

To the above petition their very wise discretions of the house of commons returned the following discreet answer :—

“Be the matter within written committed to the Council of the king, and let the same council, by authority of the parliament, have full power to do right to the servants within written, upon the contents specified in this petition.”

In justice to the crown it must be mentioned, that the king's officers made much the same complaint against the mayor and bailiffs of Liverpool which they made against them. They complained that the mayor of Liverpool had held the king's courts without authority, and received his tolls and profits ; and so far was the quarrel pushed, that the following order was issued to distrain the goods of all parties who had been mayors of Liverpool from the time of the king's accession :—

“For the King. Henry, &c. To our Steward of our Wapentakes of Salford and Derby, or to his Lieutenants there, greeting : We com-

mand and charge you that you cause to be distrained all those who have been mayors and bailiffs of Liverpole from the time of our coronation until now, that they be before the barons of our Exchequer at Lancaster, at the next session there to be holden, to render us account from the time that they have holden our courts, and for the toll and other profits by them levied in the mean time, as reason demands. And this omit not at your peril. Given, &c., the 2nd February, in the second year. By the Council."

About this time there was a great preparing of arms and armour caused by the wars with France; and in the seventh year of this reign, Richard Crosse, of Crosse-hall, Liverpool, the executor of Makyn of Kenyon, presented William of Kenyon, his son, with the armour of his father, in the presence of Sir John Stanley and other persons of rank. The following account of this presentation of armour is a curious specimen of the English of that day: it is from the muniments of the Crosses, of Crosse hall:—

"The armour of Makyn of Kenyon. This endenture beres wittenes yat Ric of the Crosse, on of the executores of Maykyn of Kenyon, hath delyverde to William, the son of Maykyn of Kenyon, the hernes (armour) yat was of the forsaid Maykynnes, the whech was in keping of the forsaid Ric, in presence of Sir John of Stanley, knyght, James of Strangwais, and others, at Lancastre, the Thursday before the fest of the Annunciation of our lady, in the yere of King Henry, the son of King Henry, the Seventh; yat is to wete, a muche maser haftet baslard harnesshet wyth silver, a girdell of silver, barret with lokkes and batches of silver, and a nother girdell of silver, barret throughoute; a colar all of silver, six bosses for a jak of silver, wyth foure poyntes of silke and silver, a tabule, one wmolde of silver in a purse of velvet, and a payre of bedes of whyt ambre. In the wyttenes of the whech thyng the forsaid Sir John, James of Strangwais, and William of Kenyon, haven set to ther sealles. Wretyn at Lancastre, the day and the yere before said."

On the 15th July, 1421, the ninth of Henry the Fifth, the king granted permission to the men of the town of Liverpool to enjoy the farm of the town for one year, from the 29th of September preceding; and he further directed that an inquisition should be held to ascertain the value of the town, and how and in what manner the said people had held the town, during the time of his very honoured grandfather, John of Gaunt.*

* See Appendix.

The career of Henry the Fifth was as short as it was brilliant. He died in the ninth year of his reign, leaving to his son, then an infant one year old, a doubtful succession to the throne of England and a ruinous war with France. This unfortunate reign was little else than a series of disasters abroad, and of confusion at home.

In the third year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, 1424, a violent quarrel sprung up between Thomas Stanley the younger (who was afterwards Lord Stanley) on the one side, and Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton on the other.* The cause of this quarrel is not known, but it appears from the report of the facts made by Ralf of Radcliffe and James of the Holts, justices of the peace within the said county of Lancaster, that they had some difficulty in preventing a pitched battle between the retainers of these two powerful families. The justices reported to the chancellor of the diocese, that having heard that there was "great rumour and congregation of routes" between these two honourable persons, they and the sheriff of Lancashire, Sir Richard Radcliffe, proceeded to the house of Sir John Stanley, in Liverpool, where they found "Thomas of Stanley, with a multitude of people in the town, to the number of 2,000 men or more," waiting to receive Sir Richard of Molyneux, who was expected to enter the town immediately, for the purpose of attacking the Stanleys. With some difficulty the sheriffs and justices succeeded in arresting Thomas Stanley. They afterwards arrested Sir Richard Molyneux, whom they found marching from West Derby, "with great congregations, route and multitude, to the number of 1,000 men or more, arrayed in manner as to go to battle, and coming fast towards Liverpool town." The sheriff having fairly got hold of the two chief offenders, obtained an order from the representatives of the king to the following purport:—"That Thomas, son of John Stanley, knight, now residing in the castle of Clidderhow, shall withdraw himself as far as the castle at Kenilworth; and that Richard Molyneux, knight, residing at the castle of Lancaster, shall withdraw himself as far as the castle at Windsor." The quarrel between these two families did not continue long. We find them soon after connected by marriage, and supporting the same side in the wars of York and Lancaster.

The Thomas Stanley mentioned above was summoned to Parliament as Lord Stanley about the year 1456. His name appears in the list of the Lords who assisted in the treaty with the Scots at Coventry, on the 11th June, 1457.

* Dodsworth's MSS., 87, 89.

Liverpool, like most other places, appears to have declined in prosperity during this turbulent period of our national history. In the ninth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the number of burgesses in Liverpool was still only 168, which is not more than it had been in the reign of Edward the Third. The farm of the town derived from tolls, mills, and other sources, also fell off rapidly during the whole of this and of the succeeding reigns, so as not to amount to half the sum, at the close of the reign of Edward the Fourth which it had produced at the end of the reign of Richard the Second. This is easily accounted for. The whole county was the scene of continual strife and confusion. When the Princes of the House of Lancaster seized on the throne, they drew a great part of their resources both in men and money from their hereditary estates, which included nearly the whole of Lancashire. When their feeble successor, Henry the Sixth, had to fight for his crown and life, the leading Lancashire families, especially the Stanleys and Molyneuxes, with all their retainers, were found fighting in the thickest of the fray, but fighting on the side of the House of York. And when the enormous crimes of Richard the Third had brought about a union of the partizans of the Houses of York and Lancaster, to drive him from the throne, the levies of the second Lord Stanley, consisting of the men of Lancashire and Cheshire, struck the decisive blow. Whilst these "long years of carnage urged their destined course," the greatest crimes were committed with impunity, and all the arts of peaceful life languished. In the year 1463 there was a great rising of the commons of Lancashire and Cheshire, to the number of ten thousand men; and such was the poverty and turbulence of Lancashire that a Norfolk gentleman of that day, writing to his brother in the year 1473, could say:—"Sir, my lord hath sent unto the most part of the gentlemen of Essex to wait upon him at Chelmsford, where, as he intendeth to meet with the king, and that they be well appointed, that the Lancashire men (then expected) may see that there be gentlemen of so great substance, THAT THEY BE ABLE TO BUY ALL LANCASHIRE!"* The above brief explanation of the course of public events will account for the tenor of most of the following notices.

In the ninetcenth year of Henry the Sixth, Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, was appointed governor of the castle of Liverpool, with a yearly salary of £6 13s. 4d., equal in value to about £100 of our money. Five years afterwards he was appointed governor for life, and the office was made hereditary in his family. The following is an extract of the

* Paston's Letters, ii., 163.

deed by which the Molyneuxs received this office, which they held so long as a castle existed in Liverpool:—

“Whereas, on the 10th of February, in the nineteenth year of our reign, we did of our especial grace, constitute and ordain our trusty and well-beloved Sir Richard Molyneux, knight, and Richard, his eldest son, to be, as well the master forester of our forests and parks within our wapentake of West Derby, as to be our steward of the same wapentake, and also of Salfordshire, to be held for their lives; and on the 10th day of February, in the year aforesaid, by others letters patent, the constablenesship of Liverpool Castle, &c., and they being willing to restore to us their estate in the said offices, to the intent that we would graciously grant the same to the heirs male of the aforesaid Richard the father, We, taking the same into our gracious consideration, have ordained them the said offices to hold as aforesaid, with the fees, wages, profits, and commodities, to the said offices pertaining.”

Sir Richard Molyneux was one of the first victims of the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster. He fell, along with many other of the gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire, whilst fighting on the side of the Yorkists, in the desperate battle of Blore Heath. In that battle Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, defeated the army of the Lancastrians commanded by Lord Audley. This Sir Richard Molyneux was brother-in-law of the second Lord Stanley, who had himself married Lady Eleanor Neville, sister of the Earl of Warwick the king maker, and the champion, before he became the enemy and rival, of the house of York.

In the twentieth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, a new tower was completed on the south side of the castle of Liverpool. It appears from the accounts of Thomas Urswick, receiver for the king in the duchy of Lancaster, that the stone used in building this town was got from the quarries in Toxteth Park, the wood from the royal forests of Croxteth and Symonswode, and that the lime was brought from the Isle of Man. There is also mention made in his report of the draw-well, by which the castle was supplied with water. The cost of the repairs, and of that part of the new building erected in the twentieth of Henry the Sixth, was £46 13s. 10½d. Of this sum £23 6s. 8d. was received from the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool, as the rent of the fee farm of the town, which they then held under the crown, or rather under the duchy of Lancaster, which had been inseparably annexed to it.

In the twenty-second of Henry the Sixth, the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool obtained another lease of the fee farm of the town, by the

good offices of Thomas de Lathom, of Parbold, a descendant of the ancient family of the Lathoms, of Lathom Castle. The following copy of the instructions to Thomas de Lathom from the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool, as to the matters which they wished to have included in the lease, is the earliest document relating to the affairs of Liverpool, written in the English language, which has yet been discovered. The instructions were written on the back of the lease which John of Gaunt granted to Thomas de la More, of Liverpool, and others, in the seventeenth year of Richard the Second. The lease is now in the possession of the Earl of Derby. The instructions are as follows :—

Copy of the minute at the back of John of Gaunt's lease, written in Henry the Sixth's time, for and concerning certain instructions agreed upon by the town of Liverpool, to be sent to the chancellor of the duchy to allow of, &c. :—

“These been the poyntes and the articles that the mayre of Liverpoole, with assent of all good men and commoners of the same towne, praying Thomas of Lathom to sue to the counsell of the dutchee: in the first, to take the towne to ferme to as eysey a rent as hee can get it be his gud labour; the second article, to gett annual fayre upon anc day; the third article is, to gett us poaire to tack a man by his body; the fourth article is, to gett us a recognizance of [imperfect here] and with the seale that 'longs thereto; and these iij last articles most be in a patent both to ourselfe, to the mayre, and to the bayles, and to their successors for evermore. Halfe in mynde, to take the castle orchard, in our takeing, and the May in anywise. Halfe in mynde alsoe to speake to my lord Sir Thos. for the Moldkirke. Halfe in mynde alsoe to gett a privy seale direct to the mayre, charging all those that holden of the kinge, in Liverpull, to appear before the counsell at London, else they will agree with the mayre.”

The sum for which the fee farm of the town was leased to the mayor and burgesses in the preceding lease was £21 per year. Another lease was granted in the thirty third Henry the Sixth, in which the rent was reduced to £17 16s. 8d. a year.

After a long and desperate struggle, the house of York succeeded in possessing itself of the throne. Amongst the early acts of Edward the Fourth, were deeds to confirm the Stanleys in the possession of their honours and offices, and to confirm Thomas Molyneux in his office of governor of the castle of Liverpool and steward of the hundred of West Derby.* During

* Patent Rolls, first Edward the Fourth, No. 270.

the early part of the reign of Edward the Fourth, he held the borough of Liverpool along with all the other estates which had belonged to the fallen house of Lancaster. Several leases of the fee farm of the borough, granted by him, are still in existence, and will be given in the Appendix to this work. The following are two leases, one of the mills, the other of the ferry of the Mersey, which are worth giving here :—

“ The King has granted to farm to William Leyland and Robert More, a wind-mill in the town of Liverpool, formerly in the tenure of the said Robert, to have and to hold the said mill, with all the profits to the said mill belonging, to the aforesaid William and Robert, and their assigns, from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past, to the end of the term of seven years thence next following, and to be fully completed, rendering therefrom yearly to the aforesaid lord the king, his heirs and assigns, 13s. 4d., to be paid at the feast of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, by equal portions : And the aforesaid William and Robert shall sustain and repair, at their own proper cost and expenses, the said mill in all things ; moreover that the said lord the king shall find timber for the repair of the same, in his parks of Toxteth and Croxteth, and his wood of Simondswode, to be taken by the view of the officers there, for the time being, &c. : With consent for re-entry in case of non-payment of rent, &c., &c. In testimony, &c., given at Westminster, 26th February, in the eleventh year, by the council of the duchy.”

In the Bill of Patents of the third year of King Henry Fourth, preserved among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster, is the following :

“ Third Edward Fourth, 1463. The king, &c. To all, &c., greeting : Know ye that we of our special grace, in consideration of our good and faithful service of our beloved servant, John Best, page of our bed-chamber, heretofore rendered, and in future to be faithfully rendered, have granted to him the rents and profits of the passage of the water of Lithpole, within our Duchy of Lancaster, to have and receive to himself from the feast of St. Michael, in the second year of our reign, for the term of his life, without any redemption to us and our heirs. In witness, &c., given, &c., at Westminster, on the 4th of March. By letter, with seal.”

In each of the leases of the borough of Liverpool, granted during this reign, there is a decrease in the amount of rent paid. The last and lowest sum at which the fee farm was let by Edward the Fourth, was £14 a year. Allowing for the difference in the value of money, this is not more than the rent for which the borough was let in the reign of Henry the Third, two hundred and fifty years before.

In the ninth year of Edward the Fourth the king gave to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the principal part of his honours, castles, and lordships in Lancashire. This appears from a warrant addressed by the king to Thomas, the second Lord Stanley, who was at that time receiver of the duchy, in which he was ordered to pay over the rents to the Duke of Gloucester, or his deputy. Amongst the property named in this warrant is the town and castle of Liverpool, with the parks of Toxteth and Croxteth. In an article in the Harleian manuscripts, of the date of the twenty-second of Edward the Fourth, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, is styled chief steward of the honour of Lancaster. His salary, as steward, is stated to have been £6 13s. 4d. The following parties, with their salaries, are also mentioned: Thomas Molyneux, constable of the castle of Liverpool, £6 13s. 4d.; the same as forester of Symonswode, and parker of Croxteth, £3 10s. 4d., and as steward of West Derby and Salfordshires, £5: Thomas, Lord Stanley, as receiver of the county of Lancaster, £6 13s. 4d.; as parker at Toxteth-park, £3 0s. 8d.; as steward of Halton and of Halton Castle, £11 13s. 4d.; and as receiver of the lordship of Halton, £3 16s. 8d.

Every one is familiar with the history of the unnatural murders of his youthful nephews, by which Richard the Third possessed himself of the throne; of the crimes by which he attempted to maintain himself there; and of his final overthrow and death. The following is an account of the few acts which connect the history of this wretch with the town and castle of Liverpool.

In the first year of his reign, he confirmed Thomas Molyneux in the office of constable of Liverpool and master forester of Toxteth, Croxteth, and Symonswode, during the minority of his nephew, Richard Molyneux, by the following deed:—

“The king grants to Thomas Molyneux the offices of constable of the castle of Liverpool and master forester of our forests and parks of Symonswode, Toxteth, and Croxteth, which came into our hands, as well after the death of Sir Thomas Molyneux, Knight, as by reason of the minority of Richard, the son and heir of the said Thomas; to have and to hold, for himself or his deputy, from the time of the death of the aforesaid Thomas Molyneux, Knight, during the minority of the heir or heirs of the said Thomas Molyneux, with all fees, salaries, and profits anciently due and accustomed. Dated at York, the 18th September, in the first year.”

In the second year of Richard the Third, he bid very much higher for the support of Thomas Lord Stanley, the only man of whom he was

ever really afraid. In that year he made a grant of 1,000 marks per annum, and of numerous manors, including Chorley, Bolton, and Brightmede, together with a messuage near Powle (or St. Paul's) Wharf, to Thomas Lord Stanley, and his son, Sir George Stanley, Lord Lestrangle. He also granted to him the forestership of Macclesfield forest.*

In the same year in which the above grant was made, King Richard granted the ferry of Liverpool for life to a much less celebrated person; one whose services, perhaps fortunately for his memory, are totally unknown. The following is the deed:—

“The king, &c.: Know ye, that we of our special grace and for the good and grateful service which our beloved servant, Richard Cook, hath performed and shall perform to us in time to come, have given and granted to the said Richard the passage or ferry over the water of Mersey, between the town of Lythepole and county of Chester, part of the duchy of Lancaster, together with the boat and all the profits, issues, and emoluments, to the same passage or ferry pertaining, or in any manner belonging: To have and to hold the passage or ferry, with the said boat to the same pertaining, to the before-named Richard for the time of his life, together with all profits, issues, and commodities to the same passage or ferry whatsoever pertaining or belonging, without any account therefor to us to be rendered, or anything therefor to be paid. In testimony whereof, &c. Given at the castle of Nottingham, the fourteenth day of September, in the year, &c. the second. By letter under the signet.”

I need scarcely remind any of my readers of the events which preceded the downfall of Richard the Third. On the 7th of August, in the year 1485, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, one of the descendants of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford, landed at Milford-haven, and claimed the throne. On the 21st of August he arrived at Tamworth with a considerable army, where he was joined by swarms of deserters from the falling tyrant. On the following day the battle of Bosworth Field was fought, in which the charge of Lord Stanley, who had brought up an army of three thousand men from Lancashire and Cheshire, gave the victory to Henry Tudor. Richard the Third fell on the field of battle, fighting with the hereditary valour of his race; and Lord Stanley placed the battered and blood-stained crown on the head of the first monarch of the house of Tudor.

The following copies and abstracts of ancient deeds executed in

* Muniments of the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.

Liverpool, or the neighbourhood, during the reigns of the Plantagenet kings, throw some light on the state of society, and on the manners of those early times:—

“Last will and testament of William, the son of Adam, of Lyverpull.—In the name of God. Amen. I, William, the son of Adam, being of sound mind, though weak in body, make my last will in this manner. Imprimis, I bequeath my soul to God, and to the blessed Virgin Mary and all the Saints; and my body to be buried in the chapel of Lyverpull, before the face of the white image of the virgin, which is my perpetual place of burial. I leave to be distributed in bread, on the day of my burial, three quarters of wheat. I leave six pounds of wax to be used about my body. I leave to every priest in the chapel of Lyverpull 4d. I leave the rest of all my goods to Katherine, my wife, and our children. To perform my will, I appoint as my executors, John le Fuller and William Parker, chaplain. Given at Lyverpool, on the Tuesday next after the Feast of St. Luke, the Evangelist, in the presence of Thomas de la More, the Mayor, and John de Eccleston, and others of my neighbours, in the year 1380.”*

“Inventory of the goods of William, the son of Adam, of Lyverpull.—Imprimis, in grain, 10 marks. In seven oxen and cows, each 10s. In two cows, two horses, and a mare, each $\frac{1}{2}$ a mark. In three horses, 1 mark. In eighteen pigs, 30s. In twenty-four sellions of wheat sown in the ground, £7. In domestic utensils, 11 marks. Sum total, 40 marks.” Equal to about £400 of modern money.†

The following abstract of a deed of the tenth Henry Fourth, contains the first mention of a payment of rent to the mayor and corporation of Liverpool:—

“Nicholas de Lyverpull, clerk, grants to Richard de Crosse, all his messuage in Dale-street, thus described. The messuage which I had of the gift and feoffment of Peter de Dytton, in the Dale-street, which was late the tenement of William le Child, to be held of the chief lords of the fee, rendering to the said Nicholas and his heirs, &c., for the next six years from the date hereof, a rose on the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, and after the expiration of the six years, to Nicholas aforesaid, 3s. 4d. per annum, at two terms; and also to the mayor and commonalty of the town of Lyverpull, 3s. of silver at Christmas and Midsummer, for all services. Witnesses, Robert del Derby, the Mayor, Robert Coudray

* Muniments of the Crosses of Crosse Hall.

† Ibid.

and Robert de Seacombe, bailiffs and others. On the Monday after the feast of the translation of St. Thomas, the martyr."

The following deed contains the first mention of Jugelar-street:—

"Know that I, John Gregory, chaplain, have given to William Gaythead, of Leverpull, merchant, a picce of ground near to the Cross, between the street called the Dale-street and another street called the Jugelar-street. Witnesses: Roger Chernock, now mayor of Leverpull, Robert del More, Henry de Mossock, Robert Coudray, &c. Given at Leverpull, 18th August, Sixteenth of Henry the Sixth."*

"Warrant to deliver twelve oaks. Henry, &c. To the keeper of our park of Toxteth, near Liverpool, greeting: We command you that you cause to be delivered in our aforesaid park, to our very dear and well-beloved Isabella, wife of our very dear and well-beloved John de Stanley, seneschal of our palace, twelve oaks, fit for timber, to have to the said Isabella, of our gift, to build her messuages in Liverpol. In witness, &c. Given at Westminster, 8th June."†

"Duchy Book, 18th Henry the Sixth, page 111. To the keeper of our parks of Toxteth and Croxteth, greeting: We command you, that you cause to be delivered to our dear and faithful knight, John de Stanley, out of each of our said parks, four live bucks and four live does, to have to the said John, with them to store his new park, of our gift. In witness, &c. Given 10th February."

"Sixteenth Henry the Sixth. The king let to farm to Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Richard Molyneux the herbage and pannage of his park of Toxteth, in the county of Lancaster, with the honey and wax of the bees in the oaks of the aforesaid park swarming, and the heath there growing. To hold for twenty years, at a rent of £6 13s. 4d."‡

I have traced the ancient History of Liverpool somewhat more fully than I should have thought it necessary to do, if the present interests of the town and corporation had not been inseparably connected with the past. An income of more than one hundred thousand pounds a year, applicable to public purposes, is now enjoyed by the corporation and inhabitants of Liverpool, under a title which is historical, and which can only be understood by tracing the changes, by which the lordship of Liverpool has descended from Henry the Second, the first king of the house of Plantagenet, to the Mayor, town council, and burgesses of Liverpool.

* Harleian MSS., 2042, p. 280.

* Duchy Register Book, No. 14, page 94, 14th Henry the Fourth.

‡ Duchy Book, p. 90.



Drawn by J. Shaw. R. Green, Lith.

LIVERPOOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

MAYORS AND BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE PLANTAGENETS.

MAYORS OF LIVERPOOL.

1356..30th Edw. 3..Richard de Aynesargh.	1416..4th Henry 5..Henry de Mysoke.
1366..40th Edw. 3..Richard de Aynesargh.	1418..6th Henry 5..Henry Mossock.
1374..48th Edw. 3..Thomas del More.	1420..8th Henry 5..Robert de Derby.
1375..49th Edw. 3..Thomas del More.	1421..9th Henry 5..Robert Coudrey.
1377..51st Edw. 3..Richard de Aynesargh.	1424..2d Henry 6..Robert del More.
1378..1st Rich. 2..Wm. the son of Adam.	1425..4th Henry 6..Thurstan de Holcroft.
1380..4th Rich. 2..Richard de Aynesargh.	1426..5th Henry 6..Henry Mossock.
1381..5th Rich. 2..Thomas del More.	1428..7th Henry 6..Robert del More.
1383..7th Rich. 2..Thomas del More.	1432..11th Hen. 6..Hugh de Botyll.
1385..9th Rich. 2..Hugh Crosse.	1433..12th Hen. 6..Robert del More.
1388..12th Rich. 2..Edward del More.	1434..13th Hen. 6..Thomas del More.
1390..14th Rich. 2..Thomas del More.	1437..16th Hen. 6..Roger de Chernock.
1395..19th Rich. 2..Adam Birkhead.	1439..18th Hen. 6..Jas. Harebrown.
1397..21st Rich. 2..Thomas del More.	1441..20th Hen. 6..Roger de Chernock.
1400..2d Henry 4..Thomas del More.	1443..22d Hen. 6..Robert del More.
1401..3d Henry 4..Robert de Derby.	1448..27th Hen. 6..John More.
1402..4th Henry 4..Thomas del More.	1454..33d Henry 6..John More.
1403..5th Henry 4..Thomas del More.	1459..38th Hen. 6..John Crosse.
1405..6th Henry 4..Thomas del More.	1464..4th Edw. 4..Nicholas Harebron.
1406..7th Henry 4..Thomas del More.	1469..9th Edw. 4..Edward Crosse.
1408..9th Henry 4..Richard de Derby.	1471..11th Edw. 4..Hugh Harebron.
1409..10th Hen. 4..Richard de Crosse.	1472..12th Edw. 4..John Tempest.
1410..12th Hen. 4..John de Osbaldston.	1473..13th Edw. 4..John Davenport.
1411..13th Hen. 4..Robert de Derby.	1474..14th Edw. 4..Robert More.
1413..1st Henry 5..Robert de Derby.	1478..18th Edw. 4..Richard Bold.
1414..2d Henry 5..Richard de Crosse.	1479..20th Edw. 4..John Davenport.
1415..3d Henry 5..Robert de Derby.	

BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL.

1309..3rd Edw. 2..John del Mor, Allan Walsman.	1414..2d Henry 5..Thomas de Glesté, William de Goosnargh.
1377..6th Edw. 1..Stephen Walsman. John le Somenor.	1416..4th Henry 5..Thomas Glesté, John Kyllbrande.
1388..11th Rich. 2..Robert de Salley, John de Morehouses.	1417..5th Henry 5..Thomas de Bold, 1420..8th Henry 5..Hugh de Botyle, Thomas Bold, Merc.
1390..13th Rich. 2..John de Morehouses, Henry de Roby.	1421..9th Henry 5..Hugh de Botyll.
1394..18th Rich. 2..Henry de Chatterton.	1428..7th Henry 6..John de Bretherton, John de Lathé.
1396..20th Rich. 2..Thomas de Thelwall, John Cook.	1433..12th Hen. 6..Richard Caudrey, Nicholas Lunt.
1397..21st Rich. 2..Richard de Hulme, John Lynacre.	1434..13th Hen. 6..Nicholas Lunt.
1400..2d Henry 4..Thomas de Glesté. William de Swynley.	1437..16th Hen. 6..William Mynor, John Taylor.
1402..4th Henry 4..John de Lunt, John Dey.	1439..18th Hen. 6..Richard Swynley, William Gayteherd.
1403..5th Henry 4..John de Hutt, William del More.	1441..20th Hen. 6..Thomas Brande, Thomas del Mosse.
1405..7th Henry 4..John Dey, Richard del Moss.	1459..38th Hen. 6..John Garston, Hugh Richardson.
1406..8th Henry 4..John de Driffield, John de Sallay.	1469..9th Edw. 4..Richard Swindley, Thomas Wodeley.
1409..11th Hen. 5..Robert Caudrey, Robert Seacome.	1472..12th Edw. 4..Robert Farrinton, Thomas Butler.
1410..11th Hen. 4..Robert de Derby, Henry le Barker.	1474..13th Edw. 4..Robert Swyndley, Thomas Wodely.
1411..13th Hen. 4..John de Bykersteth, Richard Paills.	1475..14th Edw. 4..Christopher Day, Richard Seacome.
1412..13th Hen. 4..Robert le Dey, Robert de Holland.	1479..20th Edw. 4..Edward Thorpe, Thomas Hurst.
1413..14th Hen. 5..Thomas de Bold, Roger de Holland.	

RECORDER.

1438..17th Hen. 6..John Bretherton. Clericus et Recordator villæ.

TOWN-CLERK.

1470..10th Edw. 4..William Maude.

CORONER.

1378..2nd Rich. 2..Thomas Dutton.

CLERGYMEN.

1439..18th Hen. 6..Sir John Harrison,
Chaplain.

1433..12th Hen. 6..Sir John Gregory,
Priest.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

During the period of a hundred and eighteen years which elapsed between the battle of Bosworth Field and the death of Queen Elizabeth, the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the kingdom made rapid progress. The firm and wise policy of the Tudor Princes freed the country from two evils, which had greatly retarded its progress, under the preceding dynasty: from civil war on the one hand, and from extravagant schemes of foreign conquest on the other. During the hundred years which preceded the accession of the first of these resolute Sovereigns to the throne, all branches of industry had been checked, and the fruits of industry had been wasted, in internal strife, and in wild attempts to conquer France; and though England had been tolerably free from civil war during the preceding reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Third, yet it was in the first of those reigns that the scheme of conquering Scotland, which cost so much blood and treasure, was formed; and in the latter, that that hopeless enterprize was abandoned only for the still wilder one of subduing the kingdom of France. All parts of England suffered greatly from the internal confusion caused by the long rivalry between the successive occupants of the throne and the Princes of the great House of Lancaster; from the struggles which took place between the Houses of York and Lancaster, after the latter had seized on the crown, for the same brilliant prize; as well as from the incessant wars with France, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales: yet the pressure both of these domestic and foreign wars was felt much more severely in the north of England, than in the south. The northern counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland were frequently laid waste in the wars with Scotland; and whether those wars were successful or unfortunate, the counties near the borders were subject to a merciless conscription, which on more than one occasion drained away a fifth, if not a fourth, part of the male population. This was also the case, though not to quite the same extent, in the wars with Wales and Ireland; and from the warlike habits of the population of the north they

had also their full share in the wars with France, in which the Dukes of Lancaster, the great proprietors of Lancashire, frequently took the field, at the head of 1,500 or 2,000 bowmen and men-at-arms, chiefly drawn from their northern estates. In the civil wars the north suffered still more, either from the drain of men or from the presence of hostile armies. In Lancashire, all the landowners were dependents of the House of Lancaster; and the fortunes of those wars varied, as the great Northern Houses of Percy, Neville, Clifford, Scrope, and Stanley, joined first one party then another.

The accession of the house of Tudor freed the kingdom from both these evils. It was the wise policy of Henry the Seventh to avoid all foreign wars. His vain-glorious son was not equally prudent: but still a frivolous campaign or two in France, in which the capture of Boulogne was the most important achievement; and the short and fierce war in which the King of Scotland was slain, and his nobility were destroyed, at Flodden, were very brief interruptions of the peace generally maintained with foreign nations during his long reign. The foreign wars of Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, were not more important. The battle of Pinkey put a speedy end to the one; and the loss of Calais, the principal event of the other, deprived England of a constant temptation to quarrel with its most valuable friend and its most powerful enemy. The wars of Queen Elizabeth were of longer duration; but they were conducted with extreme economy, and were chiefly defensive in their character. That prudent princess rather aimed to retain what she already possessed, than to acquire new and costly conquests. She even refused the Sovereignty of the Netherlands when it was offered to her. On a comparison with the policy of the Plantagenets, that of the Tudors may be regarded as very pacific; and, therefore, as highly beneficial to the country.

Nor was the condition of the country less improved in its internal relations. The marriage of Henry the Seventh with the heiress of the House of York put an end to the rivalry and strife amongst the members of the royal family, which had been the ruin of England during the preceding century. The successive princes of the House of Tudor also rendered an unspeakable service to the country by repressing the overgrown power of the great families of the nobility; of the Percys, the Nevilles, the Bohuns, the Howards, and the Stanleys, who had repeatedly given and taken away the crown during the preceding age. The unvarying object of the Tudors was to reduce the power of the nobility within such limits as would render it impossible for any of them

ever again to contend successfully against the crown. In this they succeeded; and, in succeeding, they freed the crown and the people from a continual source of danger and disquietude, and, at the same time, retained for the nobility themselves a permanent position amongst the institutions of the country, by rendering their power not only consistent with the order and tranquillity of society, but highly conducive to it. It was part of the policy of Henry the Seventh, and of his successors, to raise up a middle class of small landed proprietors and yeomen, as well as of citizens and burgesses, as a counterpoise to the nobility.

A further increase of the power of the middle classes arose out of the great struggle with the Church of Rome, which commenced in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and continued during those of his successors. The vast estates of the abbeys, priories, and other monastic institutions were broken up, and divided among a multitude of purchasers or favourites, thus adding to the number of landowners and small proprietors in town and country. In Liverpool, where the confiscations were small, and where only a portion of the confiscated lands were sold, upwards of thirty persons became purchasers of church property.* The great change in religion, and the revolution of property by which it was accompanied, were not effected without considerable internal strife and a long period of restlessness and danger; yet, the actual wars which the Reformation produced in this country were short in duration, and very slight in the injury which they inflicted on the community, when compared with those of other countries—when compared, for instance, with the sufferings which were inflicted on France by the destructive wars between the Catholics and the Huguenots; on Germany by the thirty years war, which at length, after a period of unparalleled misery, secured freedom to the Protestants of Germany, at the expense of the unity of the empire; on Flanders by the inhuman massacres of the Duke of Alva, and the stern system of repression adopted by his successors; and on Holland, in that heroic struggle in which the Dutch established their independence as a nation, and vindicated the rights of conscience against the bigotry of Spain. Compared with these events, no country suffered so little, and gained so much by the Reformation, as England. It was during the merciless wars and massacres of France and Flanders that the most ingenious artisans of those two countries took refuge in England, furnishing all

* Gregson's Fragments.

existing trades with the most skilful workmen, and introducing numerous branches of manufacture previously unknown. The ultimate effect of the changes caused by the Reformation was to separate the northern from the southern portions of the Netherlands, so that Flanders, then the first manufacturing country in the world, was deprived of an independent outlet for its products; and the commerce of Holland was deprived of those great sources of internal support which are furnished by a skilful agriculture, and by water power, iron, and coal.

Probably the worst effect of the Reformation, so far as England was concerned, was its tendency to aggravate the difficulties of Ireland. These difficulties were greatly increased by the fact, that the two nations took directly opposite views on the great questions which then divided the world. It will be seen, in the course of the present chapter, that the disordered state of Ireland, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was the principal reason why Liverpool, which then depended on that country for nine-tenths of its imports, shared in so small a degree in the prosperity which pervaded the kingdom during the latter years of the house of Tudor.

Whilst the general tendency of political events, both at home and abroad, was to give fresh vigour to every branch of internal industry, a still stronger impulse was given to all by the discovery of a new world. The first effect of the discovery of America was to pour the precious metals into all parts of Europe, in quantities unknown before. The result of this great increase in the circulating medium of the whole civilized world was two-fold. It facilitated commercial exchanges : it created at the same time a great demand for all descriptions of manufactures. Whilst the Spaniards obtained gold and silver directly from the mines of Mexico and Peru, the English and other nations obtained them indirectly, by producing in their workshops numerous articles, which the owners of the new Indies willingly accepted in exchange for their gold and silver. The effect of this increased ability of the Spaniards to buy was a prodigious increase in the demand for English manufactures in the markets of Antwerp and Bruges, where they purchased many of their supplies, as well as in those of London ; and also a great increase of the trade with Spain and Portugal. I shall trace the course of the discovery of America in another chapter ; and therefore shall only observe, in passing, that it is very doubtful whether the English were not, from the first, greater gainers than the Spaniards themselves, by the discovery of Mexico and Peru. The effect of the discovery of the gold and silver mines of America was

still further to thin the population of Spain, which had already been reduced by perpetual wars, and by the expulsion of the Moors, after the triumph of the Christians. During the whole period of the Tudors the population of Spain was rapidly passing over to the New World ; and all the ordinary occupations of industry were looked on with contempt, when compared with the pursuit of gold and silver. What is occurring in California in our own times, occurred in Spain in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the first attempts of England to colonize America were singularly unsuccessful ; and hence it was saved from the drain of its population, until it was able to bear it. Nor were the circumstances less different under which the English efforts to colonize at last succeeded. Whilst the Spaniards landed in an open country, abounding with gold and silver, and inhabited by a mild and docile population, easily converted into slaves, and whose labours enabled their conquerors to live in idleness, the English fixed their abode on the edge of immense and trackless forests, extending from the Atlantic, for nearly a thousand miles, across the Alleghanies. Into these forests they had to cut their way with the axe. They lived either by the sweat of their brow, with the labour of their hands, or at the hazard of their lives, by hunting in forests, in which the wild beasts were the least formidable inhabitants. The natives whom they encountered, instead of resembling the soft, timid creatures, who fled before the Spaniards, were brave, subtle, implacable ; resolute in resisting attack, and prompt in seizing every opportunity of revenge. The result of this difference of circumstances was a still greater difference in character. The Spanish settlers soon lost in sloth, and in their easy dominion over an unresisting people, all the energy of their ancestors ; the Anglo-Americans, on the other hand, trained in the school of difficulty and danger, more than retained theirs ; and hence they have in modern times succeeded in establishing the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race on the American Continent. In tracing the course of English discovery and settlement in America, Asia, and Australia, from the earliest times, and in showing the progress of domestic industry from its feeble commencement, I shall best show the causes which have created the commercial greatness of England, and which have ultimately fixed so large a portion of it in the port of Liverpool. Before doing this, however, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the local events in Liverpool, under the kings and queens of the house of Tudor.

One of the first acts of Henry the Seventh, after obtaining possession of the crown, was to secure for himself and his successors the estates of

the Duchy of Lancaster. They were still large and valuable, notwithstanding many imprudent grants made, and much neglect sustained, during a century of political confusion and civil discord. The Borough of Liverpool and two of the parks which had been so long attached to the Castle of Liverpool, with most of the manors around the town, still formed portions of the estates of the duchy. The only considerable alienation of property which had taken place in the neighbourhood, during the wars of York and Lancaster, was that of the beautiful park of Toxteth, which had been granted to Sir Thomas Stanley, (afterwards Lord Stanley,) and his heirs, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth.* With this exception, nearly all that had ever been possessed by the earls and dukes of Lancaster, in and about Liverpool, passed into the hands of Henry the Seventh; and in the first year of his reign he induced parliament to agree to an act, which not only secured him in possession of the lands of the duchy, but also of all the ancient royal and manorial rights belonging to it. These were described in the act as all "toll, pannage, passage, pickage, stallage, lastage, tallage, tollage, and carriage," which the tenants, inhabitants, and residents had been accustomed to pay, in all lands, market towns, and places whatsoever, belonging to the duchy.† The history of Liverpool during this reign consists of little more than an enumeration of various schemes by which the king, whose only passion was avarice, attempted to draw as much money as possible from the town and neighbourhood, as he did from every other part of his dominions.

In the third year of his reign, Henry the Seventh resumed the ferry of the river Mersey, which his predecessor, Richard the Third, had granted to Richard Cook, rent free, for the term of his life. This Henry leased to him for seven years, at a yearly rent of sixty shillings.‡ In the seventh year of his reign, he granted to Thomas Fazakerley, in consideration of a small annual rent, permission to form a fishing station at his own cost and expenses, in the river Mersey, between Toxteth and the Borough of Liverpool.§ In the tenth year of his reign, this prudent monarch granted a lease of the fee-farm of Liverpool to one of his Welsh followers, David ap Griffith, not forgetting to raise the rent from £11 to £14.|| In the thirteenth year of his reign he attempted to extort money from the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool by the terrors of a

* From the Chancery Documents at Lancaster Castle, 25th Henry Sixth.

+ Rolls of Parliament, 1st Henry Seventh.

‡ Register Book of the Duchy.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

Quo Warranto, which was one of his favourite methods of obtaining money ;* but he appears to have abandoned the proceeding, probably on finding that there was nothing to be gained by fleecing his own tenants.† In the fourteenth year of his reign, he imposed fines on certain of the inhabitants of Liverpool, for selling corn for the purpose of exportation, without royal license. In the seventeenth year of his reign, he again leased the fee-farm of the town to David ap Griffith, or, as he is called in one of the leases, David Harvey. In the twenty-second year of his reign, he secured a return in money from the two remaining hunting grounds of the crown in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, by letting Croxteth and Simonswood to William Molyneux, of Sefton, for a perpetual rent of £16 a year,‡ equal even then to about £100. At the time when they were so leased they were mere wastes. Simonswood “was overgrown with wood of little value, and was a watery, moorish, and mossy ground, with little or no grass growing ;” and Croxteth was “a barren and moorish ground.” By these grants the last of the royal parks in the neighbourhood of Liverpool was alienated from the Crown and Duchy of Lancaster. With them terminates the brief, inglorious, History of Liverpool and its dependeneies, under the first king of the house of Tudor.

Henry the Eighth was as extravagant as his father was rapacious, and his calls for money were therefore equally urgent. In the sixth year of his reign he, or his ministers, caused a commission to be issued, to inquire into the causes of a decline which had taken place in the customs revenue of Liverpool.§ One of the principal objects of this inquiry was to ascertain whether the Mayor of Liverpool had not caused this decline, by enfranchising strangers resident in the borough, and so freeing them from the liability to pay the town dues, which then belonged to the king, as Duke of Lancaster. Amongst the commissioners appointed to make this inquiry was Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, who thus obtained that knowledge of the royal rights in Liverpool which afterwards induced him and his successors to lease, and ultimately to purchase them from the Crown. Nothing is known of the report made by these commissioners.

* Quo Warrantos flew about like hailstones in a storm, at this time. Amongst the corporations and proprietors aimed at in Lancashire, were the mayor, bailiffs, and community of Liverpool; the mayor and burgesses of Preston; the prepositus and burgesses of Wigan; the prepositus and burgesses of Salford; the mayor and burgesses of Lancaster; the prior of Cartmel; the Abbot of Delacrosse; Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (the king's mother!); George Stanley; Lord le Strange and Johanna, his wife; Sir Edward Stanley; Sir John Townley, knight; Lord de la War; Sir Richard Langton, knight; Sir Thomas Butler, and many others.—*Rolls in the Castle of Lancaster*.

† Rolls in Lancaster Castle. ‡ Muniments of the Earl of Sefton. § Duchy Book of Leases.

In the seventh year of Henry the Eighth, the present Oldhall-street, which had previously been a private road to the Old Hall, was made a common way, for the ease of the burgesses and commonalty going with their carriages or otherwise into the fields of Liverpool. This was done by an agreement between William More, of the Old Hall, and the mayor and burgesses.* The town was thus slowly extending.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, we find the first documentary evidence of the claim of the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool to the wastes or common lands within the borough. As these wastes have in modern times become building land of immense value, and now yield an income of more than £100,000 a-year to the Corporation of Liverpool, it is interesting to trace them from the earliest period of their history, when they produced a rental of only a few shillings a-year. The subjoined lease of a few roods of waste land, situated near More Green, an open space at the top of the present Tithebarn-street, granted by the mayor and burgesses, to Sir William Molyneux, in the year 1524, the fifteenth of Henry the Eighth, is interesting, both as the first act of ownership of which we have any knowledge, and because it must have greatly strengthened the corporation, in their final struggle for the possession of the wastes of the town with the Molyneux family, in the reign of Charles the Second.† The object of the lease was to enable Sir William Molyneux to build an office or Tythebarn, to store the tithes of that part of Walton parish which was then comprised in the townships of Liverpool and Kirkdale. The Molyneux family had bought the living from the Abbots of Shrewsbury, in the reign of Edward the Fourth. It had been in the possession of the abbey from the reign of William the Conqueror; having been granted to it by Goisfred, the vice-comes of the Honor of Lancaster, one of the followers of Roger of Poitou.

* Muniments of the Crosses, of Crosse Hall.

+ "This indenture, made between William More, Arniger, mayor of the Town of Lythe-pole and the community of the same town, on the one part, and Sir William Molyneux, knight, on the other part, testifies that the said mayor and community have unanimously conceded, delivered, and demised, in perpetual fee-farm, by these presents, to the aforesaid Sir William Molyneux, a certain parcel of land, lying near the More-green, opposite to a certain croft of William Fazakerley, of Kirkby, containing four roods in length, and in breadth, at the end abutting the lands of William Fazakerley, two roods and a half, and at the other end, one rood and a half, according to the measure of twenty-four feet to the rood, on which parcel of land the aforesaid Sir William Molyneux intends to build a certain office (officium), to be held by the said Sir William Molyneux, his heirs, and assigns, in fee-farm for ever, paying yearly to the aforesaid mayor and community of the aforesaid town, and to their successors, at the Feast of St. Michael, sixpence sterling, towards the reparation of the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in Liverpool: and, if it should happen that the said rent of sixpence shall be in arrear, &c. [Here are clauses for distress, warranty, delivery of possession, interchange of deeds, penalty of £50 on either party making default.] Given on the 5th day of the month of October, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth."—*Muniments of the Corporation of Liverpool.*

This is the earliest document claiming the commons of the town as the property of the mayor and burgesses, but it is not the only one of this date. In the most ancient Record Book of the Corporation the subjoined account of the rental yielded by the common lands of the town appears, as one of the elder "precedences," under date of the sixteenth of Henry the Eighth. The rental of seven shillings and fivepence, mentioned in it, is the germ out of which the present splendid estate of the corporation has grown.*

In the same year in which the above entry was made, the King, as Duke of Lancaster, granted a lease of the fee-farm of the town to Alice Gruff, or Griffith, and to Henry Ackers, who is supposed to have been her son-in-law. The term for which the lease was granted was twenty-one years. Four or five years later, that is, in the twentieth of Henry the Eighth, another lease was granted, for a further period of twenty years from the date of the second lease, at an increased yearly rent of 6s. 8d. In the following year, on the 15th of March, 1531, Henry Ackers sub-let the half of the fee-farm of the town to the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool for a term of six years, at a yearly rent of £10; the mayor and community undertaking by this agreement to collect the whole of the dues, and to account to the lessee for his share of them, as well as for the rent. In the same year, Henry Ackers claimed the ferry from Liverpool to Runcorn, as part of the fee-farm; and obtained a royal order, forbidding any one else to carry passengers between Liverpool and Runcorn, until the question of right had been tried and decided.† No record of any such trial is known to exist.

A copy of the king's rent-roll in Liverpool, made on the 8th day of October, in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, 1539, is still in existence. Among the king's tenants were "my Lord of Derby," who paid a rent of 19s. 8d. for the Tower lands; the heirs of Sir John Stanley, who paid 2s. 6d.; William More, who paid 49s. 6d. for his lands, and who was the owner of a house in Castle-street, "letten

* The rentals of the commons at the assembly aforesaid, (R. Corbett, mayor.) The true copy of the rental that is found written in these words following, by the hand of William More, Esquire, deputed, due at Michaelmas, anno sixteenth, regn. reg. Henrici Octavi, etc. "Inprimis, Sir William Molyneux, knight, for the new Tend-barn, (Tythebarn,) 6d.; Richard Barker, for certain common ground lying betwixt St. Catherine's Hey and his croft, 20d.; John Smyth, mariner, for common ground, 8d.; Gilbert Cooke, for common, 10d.; Robert Dobbe, for common, 20d.; Adam Dandye, for mill-dam, 10d.; Jenkey Baxter, for common, 4d.; Thomas Wistanley, for common, 12d.: sum total, 7s. 5d. Such is the earliest account of the landed estate of the Corporation of Liverpool!

† Pleadings and Surveys of the Duchy of Lancaster, tempore Henry Eighth, ii., 62.

unto the king's farmers." at a rent of 4s.; Richard Crosse and Roger Crosse, Esquires, for land exchanged with William More, Esquire, 18s.; John Walker, "for a house that he dwells in, and for the lands he bought of Edmund Gellybrond, for the shops," 18d.; Thomas Mossocke, for "the stone-house," 6d.; Roger Fazakerley, for a house in Castle-street, 6d.; Sir William Molyneux, knight, for his lands, 14d.; Miles Gerrard, for half a burgage, 6d.; James Blundell, of Ince, 6d.; Sir Ralph Howarth, for St. Nicholas' lands, 2s. 1d.; Sir Richard Frodsham, for the lands of our Lady, 18d.; Sir Thomas Roley, for the lands of St. John, 6d.; William Norris, Esquire, for lands, 6d.; Miles Gerrard, "paid by John Sudlow," 6d.; the Priests' Chambers, 6d.; William Mather, for lands he bought of William More, 2d. The sum total of the rent of Henry the Eighth from Liverpool, was £10. 16s.* It will be seen that the title of Sir is given to the priests who held the church-lands. It was then usually applied to clergymen, as to that amusing though indifferent specimen of the priesthood, Sir Hugh Evans, in "the Merry Wives of Windsor," and to the false Sir Topas, in "Twelfth Night."

The twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, 1534-5, was the memorable year in which the king and parliament declared the connexion with the Church of Rome, which had existed for so many ages, to be at end; and in which they thus committed the monarchy and people of England to that great movement which had already agitated the continent of Europe for upwards of twenty years; which continued to agitate both the continent and these islands, with constantly increasing violence, during the whole of the reigns of the Tudor princes; and whose consequences will be felt to the most remote ages. The effect of this great change was at once felt in Liverpool, in the revolution of religious opinion, and the change in the forms of public worship. The change in the property of the church was less felt in Liverpool than in many other places; the endowments, for purposes proscribed by the reformers of religion, being very small. The patronage of Walton, which was then the parish church of Liverpool, had been sold (as I have already mentioned) some years before to the Molyneux family, by the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury: hence it escaped the general plunder of monastic property. The priory of Birkenhead, immediately opposite to Liverpool, but not possessing much property in the town, was at once suppressed, along with

* Gregson's Fragments.

the smaller monastie houses. In the year 1545, all the property and rights which the priors had held for about four hundred years passed, by grant, into the hands of Ralph Worsley, of Worsley, in Lancashire, page of the wardrobe and groom of the chamber "of the unconquered chief," Henry the Eighth, and afterwards keeper of the lions, lionesses, and leopards in the Tower.* This grant included the site of the late priory of Birkenhead, with all the church, belfry, and churchyard of the same; all the house, edifices, mills, barns, and stables, within or nigh the precincts of the same; a messuage or tenement, in the possession of Robert Molyneux; one dove house, one mill, and all the fish-yards, with two aeres of meadow, seventy aeres of arable land, and one pareel of land where flax was used to be grown; the ferry, the ferry-house, the boat called the "Ferribot," and the profit of the same; situated and being in Birkenhead, and Bidston, and Kirkby Whally, otherwise Wallasey; together with all lands and rights belonging to the said priory, in the townships, parishes, or hamlets of Birkenhead, Claughton, Wolton, Tranmere, Bidston, and Kirkby Whally. At the time when the priory was granted to Ralph Worsley it produced a clear yearly rental of £115. 13s. 5d. After passing through various hands, it has come into the possession of Francis Richard Preece, Esq., in whom the manor of Birkenhead, and the rights which formerly belonged to the priory, are now vested. The monks of Birkenhead had a granary in Water-street, Liverpool, which produced a rent of 4s. 2d., at the time when the priory was suppressed. That was the only property which they possessed in Liverpool.

The church property in Liverpool confiscated at the time of the Reformation was not very large. It consisted of four chantries belonging to the chapel of St. Nicholas, of which two were sold, and two were retained in the hands of the crown.†

The first of the chantries was that of the High Altar, founded by Henry Plantagenet, the first Duke of Lancaster, to pray for the souls of himself and his ancestors. The incumbent at the time when it was suppressed was Ralph Haworth. The lands and tenements were of the value of £5 19s. 10d., and the priest also received 40s. a-year for his living! The ornaments belonging to this chantry were valued at 2s., and the number of ounces of plate belonging to it was eight.

The second chantry was that of St. Nicholas, founded by the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Laneaster, to pray for the souls of

* Mortimer's History of Wirral, 316.

+ See Gregson's Fragments.

himself and his ancestors. The incumbent was Richard Frodsham, a venerable priest, eighty years of age. The chantry lands produced £5 14s. 7d., besides 40s. for the living of the priest. There were no ornaments, nor plate, belonging to the chantry of St. Nicholas.

The third chantry was that of the altar of St. John, founded by John of Liverpool, to pray for his soul and the souls of his ancestors, for ever. John Hurd, aged fifty years; was the incumbent, with a salary of £5 4s. 8d., besides 40s. for his living. The ornaments belonging to this chantry were of the value of 40s., besides eight ounces of plate, in the form of a chalice.

The fourth chantry was that of the altar of St. Catherine, which was founded by John Crosse, of Crosse-hall, Liverpool, to celebrate for his soul; to do one yearly obit; to distribute at the same time 3s. 4d. to the poor; and to keep a school of grammar for all children bearing the name of Crosse, and for poor children (which latter duty was not performed). Humphrey Crosse, a member of the founder's family, was the incumbent. He was of the age of fifty years. His revenue from the chantry was £6 2s. 10d., besides 40s. for his living. The ornaments belonging to this chantry were of the value of 3s., and there were besides twelve ounces of plate.

At the dissolution of these four chantries, the sum of £5 13s. 4d. a-year was granted for the purpose of establishing a grammar school in Liverpool, a portion of the rents was retained by the crown, and a portion was sold in about thirty lots. The principal purchasers were Richard Rose, who bought £40 worth of property, producing a rent of 26s.; Robert Moore, who bought £39 worth, producing a rent of 23s.; Lancelot Walker, who bought £33 worth, producing a rent of 18s. 6d.; William Eceleston, who bought £37 9s. worth, with a rent of 35s. 8d.; — Hiteh-mough, who bought £55 worth, with a rent of 35s. 6d.; Thomas Lurting, who bought £30 worth, with a rent of 29s.; William Coore, who bought £51 worth, with a rent of 33s. 4d.; Edward Robinson, who bought £40 worth, with a rent of 21s. 2d.; and Mr. Rose, who gave £50 for the Merlin, a house which once stood where Nelson's Monument now stands, in the middle of the Liverpool Exchange. These prices were all high in comparison with the rents; and as thirty-one purchasers were found amongst the principal inhabitants of the town, we may conclude that the Protestant interest was tolerably strong, in Liverpool before the sale. It certainly would not be weaker after it. Amongst other property sold on this occasion was the Custom House, which was the property of the

chantry of St. Catherine; and which produced a rental of 5s. a year, equal to about £1 5s. of our money.

At the time of the reformation, a number of new bishoprics were created, of which the modern see of Chester was one. The diocese of Chester was formed by separating the county of Chester and that part of Lancashire which lies between the Mersey and the Ribble, from the diocese of Lichfield, and by uniting to those districts portions of the ancient Richmondshire, and of the counties of Flint and Denbigh. Cheshire and South Lancashire had been united to the bishopric of Lichfield from a period so early that it is scarcely possible to tell when it commenced. The belief, in the reign of Henry the Eighth was that it went as far back as the times of the Saxon Heptarchy, when Penda, the last Pagan King of Mercia, was vanquished and slain by Edwin, the Christian King of Northumberland.* Under the rule of the Christian kings of Mercia, Lichfield was raised to the rank of an archbishopric; but after the overthrow and dethronement of that line of kings by the Danes, it was shorn of much of its greatness, although it afterwards regained a high rank. Lichfield was the parent of many bishoprics, several of which it has survived. The bishopric of Manchester is the last created from the ancient territory of the bishops of Lichfield.

It is in the reign of Henry the Eighth that we begin to obtain a view of the interior of society in Liverpool, from the Corporation Records. What are called the "elder precedences" commence about the year 1525, although the regular series of the Corporation Records does not begin until nearly thirty years later. We learn from these "elder precedences" that the town was then governed by a mayor and bailiffs, and by twelve burgesses of the commonalty "appointed to order for the public weal." A few of the elder precedences will give a clearer notion of what was the state of the place at that time than any description. It was provided by these ancient local laws, that a priest should say mass at St. John's Altar, between five and six o'clock every morning, so that labourers might be able to attend before they went to their work; that the burgesses should wait upon the mayor whenever commanded to do so, on the business of the town or of the church; that all vagrants should be kept out of the town; that the bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesses, the keeper of the common warehouse, the water-bailiff, and waites, should attend the mayor on market-days and in yearly processions, armed with halberds or

* Leland's Itinerary, iv., 118.

bills ; that all bakers should bake wholesome bread, and keep such assize as the mayor doth give ; that no ballast should be thrown into the sea-lake or pool ; that suspicious or suspected persons should not walk in the streets after nine o'clock at night ; that persons afflicted with pestilence should be kept separate from the rest of the inhabitants ; that no flax should be gigged in houses in the town ; that no flax, nor hemp should be watered in or about the town ; that the liberties or boundaries of the borough should be walked once a-year ; that foreign burgesses should bear equally with those of the town, scot and lot, but that they should not follow their occupations in the town, nor bake, brew, nor sell ale, nor expose their goods for sale, except on market-days ; that tanners should not leave horns or hides in the streets ; that apprentices should not play at cards or dice ; that sheep should not be turned out without a shepherd, nor swine without a swineherd ; that carts should pay 4d. a-year each towards mending the roads, and that country carts should not ply in the town ; that corn should not be sold before the market-bell rang, and that country persons should not buy any until an hour after ; that corn and malt should not be winnowed in the streets ; that the curfew-bell should “ toll the knell of parting day ” at eight o'clock ; that waites should be appointed to play on musical instruments, morning and evening, every day except Sunday ; and that all the inhabitants should join the mayor, bailiffs, and aldermen, in public procession round the borough, on St. John's or Midsummer's Eve. Such were the laws, and the old customs of Liverpool, three hundred years ago.

In the twenty-cighth year of Henry the Eighth, the fee-farm of Liverpool was let to Thomas Holcroft, Esq., a great trafficker in church-lands ; and on the 27th of August, in the same year, Holcroft assigned his lease of the fee-farm to Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton. This was the commencement of the connexion of the Molyneux family with the fee-farm of Liverpool, which continued for upwards of two hundred years. On the 3rd September, 1539, Sir William Molyneux granted a moiety of the fee-farm to the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool, at a yearly rent of £10 ; and some time afterwards he sub-let the other moiety to Edmund Gee, of Chester and Liverpool, on payment of a fine of £4, and subject to a yearly rent of £8. In this sub-lease, Edmund Gee covenanted not to sublet the farm again ; and “ not to do, or procure to be done, any act or acts against the liberties of the town of Liverpool.” He also granted a right of pre-emption to Sir William Molyneux and his heirs and assigns, of all merchandize, wines, or wares, which he or his

factors might bring into the port and town of Liverpool.* This Edmund Gee was elected Mayor of Chester during the year 1551-2, and died, during his mayoralty, of that fatal and mysterious disease the sweating sickness. He is mentioned in two deeds of this time, in one of which some large importations of wine into the port of Liverpool, from Spain, are said to have been made at his instance, by a Spaniard named Lope de Rivera; in the other of which he is spoken of, by the chancellor of the duchy, as “the great merchant” of Liverpool.

The earliest account of Liverpool given by any writer of celebrity, is that published by John Leland, or Leyland, the librarian of Henry the Eighth, who visited all parts of the kingdom in the latter part of the reign of that monarch, and spent six years in collecting the materials for his Itinerary. His account of Liverpool is as follows:—“Lyrpole, alias Lyverpole, a paved town, hath but a chapel. Walton, four miles off, not far from the sea, is the parish church. The king hath a castelet there, and the Earl of Derby hath a stone house. Irish merchants come much thither, as to a good haven. After that Mersey water coming towards Runcorn, in Cheshire, loseth among the common people the name (of Mersey) and (floweth) to Lyrpole. At Lyrpole is small custom paid; that causeth merchants to resorte. Good merchandize at Lyrpole; and much Irish yarn, that Manchester men do buy there.” From the above account it will be seen, that although Liverpool was at this time an inconsiderable place, yet that it was already the port through which Manchester and the manufacturing district of Lancashire obtained the materials for carrying on the manufactures, which (as I shall show in a succeeding chapter) were beginning to flourish there. It will be seen that Leland speaks of the smallness of the customs duties as a reason why merchants frequented the port. The only customs collected in Liverpool at that time were the petty customs, now called town dues, a branch of the *jura regalia*. The local dues, called *murage* and *keyage*, which were collected in Bristol, Chester, and other strongly-fortified cities, and which were nearly as heavy as the town dues, were never paid in Liverpool; and it is stated, in a petition addressed to Queen Elizabeth, that the still more considerable taxes of *tonnage* and *ponndage* were not paid at Liverpool previous to her reign—probably because they would not have paid the cost of collecting. Liverpool was thus a cheaper port than either Bristol or Chester.

On the death of Henry the Eighth, which occurred in the year 1546-7,

* Muniments of the Earl of Sefton.

Liverpool passed into the hands of his son, Edward the Sixth, along with the other estates of the crown and of the duchy of Lancaster. The regular records of the Corporation of Liverpool commence in this reign, from which time we have very much fuller information as to local events in the borough. In the year 1556, we find the earliest audit of the accounts of the Corporation of Liverpool. It shows that the corporation was then in receipt of the town's customs or dues, which it held under a sub-lease from the Molyneuxes of Croxteth, the lessees of the crown.* A summary of the information afforded by the Corporation Records, both as to this and the two succeeding reigns, will be given in the course of the present chapter.

In the second year of Edward the Sixth, Henry Shaw sold to Henry Tarlton, of Fazakerley, gentleman, four shops near the High Cross, in Liverpool, that is close to the present Town Hall: the price paid for them was £10, and an annuity of eleven shillings, to be paid to Ellen Shaw, for the term of her life.†

Edward the Sixth died in the seventh year of his reign, in the year 1553-4. The accession of Queen Mary was the signal for the revival of the power of the Catholics; and the Corporation of Liverpool, seeing the approach of the storm, very prudently elected as their mayor Sir William Norris, of Speke, the representative of one of the oldest, bravest, and most zealous of the Catholic families of Lancashire. In the same year, Sir Richard Molyneux, whose family was even more distinguished, and equally zealous for the old religion, obtained a renewal of his lease of the fee-farm of Liverpool, from the queen, for forty-one years. The granting of a lease of the town, for so long a period, produced great alarm in Liverpool, as it gave the Molyneuxes the control of the commerce of the port, in addition to the great influence which they possessed as hereditary governors of the castle. In their anger, the mayor and burgesses determined to resist the payment of a portion of the dues claimed by the lessees of the crown; and attempted to prove that they belonged to the corporation, either by prescription or under their ancient charters.

They began by taking the law into their own hands. This they did by arresting and throwing into prison Hugh Daubie, the collector of the dues of Sir Richard Molyneux. The consequence of this illegal act was, that Mr. Thomas Moore, the Mayor of Liverpool, who had gone up to

* Mr. Thomas Mor, Mair of Liverpol, tok the accompt of Roff Sekerston, beyng mair the year before, and of Rauff Leay and Thomas Bolton, Bayleys, the 20th of December; and they were quyit; and their remaynynse to receyve of Edward Preskot, for the town custum, 21s. 3d.—*Corporation Records*.

† Harleian MSS., 2042, p. 256.

London on the business of the town, was himself arrested and committed to the Fleet prison, where he was kept in durance, until he made an apology for his conduct and that of his co-burgesses. The question of the right of the crown and of its lessee to collect the dues in question was afterwards brought before the chancellor of the duchy, who, after a full hearing, decided that Sir Richard Molyneux was entitled to all that he claimed, as tenant of the crown. That is, “to all and singular the profits of the said custome, arising and coming, by any mean, within the said town and lordship, as well by all freemen of the same town, as also by all foreigners and estrangers, whatsoever they be, that shall bring, transport, or use any kind of merchandize within the said town or lordship of Lyverpooles, or liberties of the same; and also the profits of the stallage, passage, anchorage, keil-toll, profits of the fairs and markets, within the said town and lordship; as also all and singular other profits, whatsoever they be, belonging to or in any wise appertaining to the said town of Lyverpooles.”*

During the contest with Sir Richard Molyneux a parliamentary election occurred, and the burgesses of Liverpool, like discreet men, determined to make as many powerful friends out of it as possible. With this view, they first elected Sir Richard Shirborne, steward to Edward, Earl of Derby, as one of their members: they then returned the writ, with a vacant space in it, to be filled by the chancellor of the duchy, with whatever name he might think proper to insert!

On the 4th of January, 1556, King Philip and Queen Mary inspected and confirmed the charters of the borough of Liverpool. The following is their deed of confirmation:—

“Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Prince and Princess of Spain and Sicily, Archduke and Archduchess of Austria, Duke and Duchess of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Earl and Countess of Hapsburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting: We have inspected the charter and the letters patent of the Lord Richard the Second, heretofore King of England, the progenitor of us the aforesaid Queen, made in these words: Richard, by the grace of God, &c. [After reciting the charters of Richard the Second; of King John; of Henry the Third; and of Edward the Third, the charter of Philip and Mary proceeds as follows:] We, also, the charters and letters aforesaid, and all and singular in the same contained, except the clause

* Decree of the Duchy Court, 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.

aforesaid (the clause of Richard the Second's charter, mentioned at page 171), holding firm and valid, do, for us and the heirs of us the aforesaid Queen, as much as in us is, accept and approve, and to our beloved the burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their heirs and successors, burgesses of the said borough, by the tenor of these presents do ratify and confirm the same, as the charters and letters aforesaid do reasonably witness. In testimony whereof these our letters we have made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminster, the 4th day of January, in the second year of our reign."

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne on the 17th of November, 1558. It was during her reign, which did not close till the 24th of March, 1603, that the commerce of Liverpool first began to make some progress, notwithstanding the deep depression which prevailed when she ascended the throne. This was caused partly by the unsettled state of the kingdom, partly by threats of invasion from abroad, and partly by the ravages of the plague, which in one of its recent visitations had swept away 250 persons, in a population of from 1,200 to 1,500, in the town of Liverpool.

In the year 1561, Liverpool was visited by one of those destructive storms which occasionally rage with irresistible fury on the open coast of Lancashire. In this storm the old haven of the town, which there is some reason to believe had existed from the reign of Edward the Third, was totally destroyed. This occurred in the mayoralty of Robert Corbett. He lost no time in calling the burgesses together, and in urging them to construct a new haven, in the place of the one which had been destroyed. It will be seen from an extract from the Corporation Records given below, that the burgesses set to work with spirit, and in a short time constructed a new and better haven, by their own voluntary and gratuitous services.*

* THE NEW HAVEN—ROBERT CORBETT, MAYOR, 1561.—Sunday being the 9th of November, this year, and next after the great wind and storms aforesaid, master mayor called the whole town, as many as then were at home, together, unto the hall, where they counselled all in one consent and assent, for the foundation and making of a new haven, turning the fresh water out of the old pole (pool) into the new haven; and then and there before he rose, by the side of the bench, of his free will, gave a pystal of gold towards the beginning, which that day was good and current all England through for 5s. 10d., although after, in few days, it was not so, but by proclamation in London, by the Queen's Majesty, &c., was prohibited and not current, &c. Also, the same day, Mr. Sekerston did give, also all the rest of the congregation did give, so that in the whole was gathered that present day the whole sum of 13s. 9d. current, &c., and put into the custody of Richard Fazakarley and Robert Mosse, who were then appointed to be collectors for that time, &c. On the Monday morning then next, Mr. Mayor, and of every house in the Water-street, one labourer went to the old pole, and there began and enterprized digging, ditching, and busily labouring upon the foundation of the new haven; and so the Tuesday, of every house in the Castle-street was a labourer sent to the same work. Wednesday then next after came forth of every house in the Dale street to the said new haven, a labourer gratis. Thursday then next after the Juggler-street. With the More-street, Mylne-street, Chapell-street, every house sending a labourer, and this order continued until St. Nicholas Day, then next after, gratis.—*Corporation Records.*

About this time, the burgesses, finding that nothing was to be got by resisting the law, made a treaty of friendship with the Molyneux family, and to confirm it elected Richard Molyneux, Esq., the son and heir of Sir Richard, as one of the members for the borough. In order still further to strengthen the local interest, it was the wish of the burgesses that their powerful neighbour the Earl of Derby should nominate the other member. By thus fixing on both the members without taking his advice, they gave mortal offence to the chancellor of the duchy, who had always been in the habit of nominating one, if not both of them. Fortunately, the nominee of the Earl of Derby, Mr. Ralph Sekerston, was as little troubled with fear as he was with modesty. He took and held his seat, in defiance of the chancellor of the duchy, and distinguished himself by both making and delivering several speeches in Parliament; an achievement to which no member for Liverpool had ever before aspired. He did still more than this, for "of his own politic wit and wisdom" he drew up, and presented to the queen, a very melancholy picture of the state of the town; in which he insinuated that it had recently been deprived of certain valuable privileges (which, however, was not true), and suggested that it would be very much benefited if the queen would give up the town dues to the burgesses. Her majesty having quite as much occasion for money as the Corporation of Liverpool, gave a civil answer to this request, which amounted to a refusal. This Ralph Sekerston, who seems to have been a very active man in Liverpool about the middle of the sixteenth century, had a favourite maxim, which shows that his charity not only began but ended at home. It was "Save me and mine, and the town of Liverpool, and all that belongs to it; and let the lords kill whoever else they like!"

The progress of the Protestant religion was much slower in the north of England than in the south. In the north Protestantism was chiefly confined to the towns. Liverpool and Manchester were then small and insignificant places when compared with the towns and cities of the south, the east, and the west of England, which were the great seats of industry, population, and intelligence. North of the river Trent all the noblemen, with the exception of the Earls of Derby, who were Protestants from the first, and nearly all the country gentlemen clung resolutely to the Catholic cause. During the great rising of the north in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Ralph Sadler declared that there were not ten gentlemen, north of the Trent, who were favourable to the new opinions; and Strype, the historian, mentions, in his annals of the year 1570, that

“ from Warrington, all along the sea coast of Lancashire, all the gentlemen, except Mr. Butler (of Busey) were of that faction (that is, of the Catholic party), and withdrew themselves from religion (from the Protestant worship) as Mr. Ireland, of Hale, Sir William Norris, of Speke, alderman of Liverpool, and many others.” So strong was the Catholic party in Cheshire and Lancashire, that there are said to have been 2,442 Roman Catholic “recusants” in the diocese of Chester, out of a total number of 8,512 who were known to exist in the kingdom. Dr. Chatterton, the Protestant Bishop of Chester, had even formed a plan of living in Manchester, which was then “the best,” meaning thereby the most Protestant place in these parts. Liverpool was probably the next.

In the sixth of Queen Elizabeth, we have again an account of the revenue of the corporation, from the waste lands of the town, from which it appears that it had increased since the reign of Henry the Eighth, although it was still ludicrously small, in comparison with its present amount.*

Liverpool (as I have already stated) suffered greatly during the reign of Queen Elizabeth from the civil and religious wars of Ireland. Although it might have seemed almost impossible to add to the confusion which had existed in Ireland during preceding reigns, yet the internal conflicts of that country now assumed a greater vehemence and intensity, from the addition of religious discord to all the previous causes of public confusion. The condition of the province of Ulster was at that time pre-eminently turbulent, owing to the continual strife kept up by the great chiefs of the house of O’Neal, who waged war with astonishing determination, and for a long time with great success, against the lieutenants of Queen Elizabeth. One governor after another passed through Liverpool during this reign, to assume the command either of the whole country or of particular portions of it; and the town was not a little troubled by crowds of ill-disciplined soldiers assembled for the Irish wars.

Amongst the governors or commanders whose names are mentioned

* Rentally. Anno 1563, Sixth of Elizabeth: 1st, Alexander Garnet, two butts, called crooked lands, 12d. each; 2d, ditto, five butts at the lower ends of the crooked lands, 12d. each; 3d, Thomas Seacome, Sickman’s-lane, for the term of his life, 0d.; 4th, ditto, for a parcel of land near the Hogs-heys, 0d.; 5th, Richard Haydock, for one land in the Higher Heavy lands, 1s. 2d.; 6th, ditto, for another land in ditto, 1s. 2d.; 7th, for ditto, 1s. 2d.; 8th, for half a land in the Higher Short, 1s. 7d.; 9th, ditto for ditto; 10th, Gilbert Hughson, for a parcel of land called Brown’s Croft, 1s. 8d.; 11th, Elizabeth Bailie, widow, for a parcel of land called the Hurst Hey, having the footway from Bank Hall going through the same, 3s. 4d.; 12th, ditto, for the lane lying along the pikes, 8d.; 13th, Richard Fazakerly, for the Sea Bank, 6d.; Richard Mercer, for part of Middle-mill Dale, 20d.; 15th, ditto, for the mill dam, 10d.; 16th, William Tatlock, for land lying by Gods’ Croft, 12d.

—*Corporation Records.*

in the annals of the corporation, as having passed through Liverpool to take commands in Ireland, are the Earl of Bedford, Sir Henry Sidney, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Sir George Stanley. The two whose visits produced the greatest sensation, were Sir Henry Sidney and the Earl of Essex. The former visit was rendered memorable in local annals by a dreadful storm at sea, which occurred soon after Sir Henry's retinue had embarked from Liverpool, in which all the shipping of the port very narrowly escaped shipwreck. The second was rendered almost equally remarkable by the outrageous conduct of the officers and soldiers, who came to join the earl. They fought among themselves in Liverpool, and committed so many outrages in the town and neighbourhood, that at length the mayor, bailiffs, and all the inhabitants of the town were compelled to turn out, with their halberds and bills, and offer them battle on Liverpool heath. To the credit of Liverpool, it is recorded that this display of vigour brought the soldiers to their senses, and induced them to behave better, until the time when they embarked for Carrickfergus. There they were most of them destroyed by the army of O'Neal. A Liverpool ship which had helped to convey them across was driven on shore, and the captain and crew were slain.

In the year 1586, the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmost excitement, by the sailing of the Spanish Armada. The earliest intelligence of the sailing of the Biscayan division of the fleet to Corunna, where it was joined by the three other divisions, equally strong, was brought to England by Humphrey Brooke, merchant and shipowner of Liverpool, who was at St. Jean de Luz, in the south of France, with his vessel, when the fleet sailed. He immediately returned to England, after collecting all particulars, and forwarded to the government a very minute description of the Spanish fleet and its equipment. Liverpool was not at that time in a condition to add much to the large fleet of upwards of a hundred merchantmen, which joined the twenty ships of the royal navy, and took so distinguished a part in baffling, defeating, and dispersing the "invincible" armada.

The Corporation Records are very full and minute during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and those of her predecessors, Edward and Mary. Whoever kept them was a man of some imagination, and occasionally introduced curious and amusing descriptions of passing events, along with the graver records of his office. I shall give a few specimens of his lighter effusions, after having given a summary of the more prosaic information which the records supply, as to the government and ordinary affairs of the town.

To begin with that dignified character, the mayor. We find the following particulars respecting that high functionary. The mayor was elected on St. Luke's Day, that is, the 18th of October; it was his duty to preside at elections, when he sat on the bench in state; on all great occasions he was attended by the aldermen, bailiffs, and burgesses, who were required to appear in their best robes, and with their halberds; the serjeant-at-mace, called by the classical recorder "lictor" and "serviens ad clavem," was appointed by the mayor, and walked before him with the mace; the waites or musicians of the town were at his orders, and it was their duty to play before his house morning and evening; a "decent pew" was prepared for him in the church, with the Queen's Arms set over it; it was the mayor's office to give and preside over the banquets offered to visitors of distinction; he had the expending of all the public monies; thus the mayor of 1571 received £24 14s. 8d., and contrived to expend £28 11s. 8d.; the mayor of 1572 received £23 11s. 8d. What he expended is unknown to posterity; but it is to be feared that it was more than he received, for the mayor of 1573 had a very much smaller sum to dispose of, namely, £5 14s. 9d.; nevertheless he left office with credit, having expended only £5 7s. 9d., thus leaving a surplus of 7s. with his bankers. The mayor of 1574 received £10 1s. 4d., and expended £10 8s. Any one not sufficiently conscious of the dignity, and refusing to serve the office of mayor, was fined £6 13s. 4d., which sum went to the mayor who supplied his lack of service. As the chief person in a corporation which was a trading guild, it was the duty of the mayor to make bargains for the public; as, for instance, on one occasion he bought two hundred measures of wheat, as a town bargain; on another a cargo of salt; on another a cargo of salmon, "lying near the Tower gates." He was entitled to the second best fine, paid on the admission of freemen, admitted during his mayoralty; and presided at the genial feasts given on the admission of freemen, at one of which the recorder informs us that one of the occupants of the chair got exceedingly merry, and ended by falling asleep—*dormit in concilio*. It was part of the mayor's more serious duties to see that the highways were kept in order; to perambulate the bounds of the town; and to preserve the public peace, which was no easy matter in that turbulent age.

Next in dignity were the aldermen, or mayor's peers. Each alderman was required to keep four halberds, to assist in overawing the unruly; and to supply two men to walk in the great procession on Midsummer's Eve. Each of them was also required to walk himself, and in his best

gown, and one alderman was presented by the grand jury for absenting himself. The junior alderman at that time acted as coroner. Any alderman refusing to take a reasonable journey, on the town's business, having his expenses paid, was subject to a fine of £10; and any burgess abusing an alderman was liable to a fine of £20.

Next in dignity to the aldermen were the bailiffs, the men-of-all-work of the corporation. Two bailiffs were appointed; one by the mayor, the other by the burgesses. It was their duty to collect the town's rents; and also all the leys or taxes; and to pay them themselves, if they were not diligent in their office; to keep two halberds or bills; to go with the mayor to inspect and put down nuisances; and to turn out of the town all persons "disallowed" by the grand jury. For performing these duties they were entitled to a share in all fines, including the cost or ransom money, of ducks (diggs), geese, and swine seized in the corn market on Saturday. Any inhabitant presuming to abuse the bailiffs was fined £20.

The governing body of the town was the council. It appears to have undergone several changes, as to its numbers, having at one time consisted of twelve members, then of sixteen, then of thirty, and at one time of forty. The council was consulted as to the buying of town's bargains. We trace several struggles between the "Aristocracy" and "Democracy" of the town in the reports of its proceedings; especially in the account of a long and stormy meeting held in the mayoralty of Edward Halsal, in the year 1570, at which the Town Council, the organ of the former, gained a final triumph over the burgesses in common hall assembled.

In the earlier times, when the burgesses were few in numbers, they all met in common hall. Two such assemblies were required to be held yearly; but as the number of the burgesses increased this democratic form of government was supplanted by a common council, which soon became despotic, and ultimately absolute, self-elected and exclusive. As usual one extreme was followed by another.

The mayor and burgesses were authorized by their charters to act as a trading guild, and they did so as late as the reign of Charles the First. They claimed a right of buying, as town's bargains, whatever was brought into the port; and on one occasion they fined Gilbert Brooke, one of the principal burgesses, twenty marks, for buying a cargo of goods on which they had set their hearts. As no "foreigner" could buy or sell without their consent, except in the markets and at the yearly fairs; and as no

single burgess dared to bid against them, they had a monopoly of the market, no doubt to the great injury of the town and port.

Burgesses and freemen were originally the same class, that is, none were free except those who held burgage lands under the crown; but various classes of freemen were known in the Tudor times. Amongst them were freemen who were sons of burgesses, though not the possessors or even heirs of their burgage lands; freemen who had become so by serving an apprenticeship to parties who were themselves free; freemen by purchase; and a few freemen by gift. All freemen paid fines on admission, except the possessors of burgage tenures, and freemen by gift. The younger sons of burgesses and freemen by apprenticeship were expected to give a pot of ale on admission: those somewhat better off in the world gave "ale, wine, and cakes;" and one of them gave a small collation—*parvula collatio*—which cost 5s. The sums paid by strangers for admission to the freedom of the town depended on the mayor and burgesses, and long formed a principal source of their income. William Warrison, the first citizen of London who is known to have taken up his freedom in Liverpool, paid 54s.; and Dennis Kelling, the first Bristol freeman, paid 48s. Amongst the persons admitted as honorary freemen were most of the younger branches of the Stanley family; several of the Molyneuxes; Robert Blundell, of Ince; and Gilbert Ireland, of Hale.

The mayor, council, and assembly claimed and exercised the right of regulating the prices, quantities, and qualities of numerous articles sold in the town. Thus they decreed that ale and beer should be sold at 1d. a quart; and during a time of scarcity they ordered that ale and beer should be brewed only of moderate strength, on account of the high price of corn: bread was ordered to be viewed and weighed in the bakers' shops, once a month; to be made only into half-penny, penny, and three-penny loaves; and to be sold at the prices fixed by the mayor: bricks were to be sold at the rate of eight shillings the thousand, and the hundred of bricks was to consist of five score and twelve: corn was not to be sold any where but in public market, and there only by the Liverpool windle or measure, which was ordered to contain fifty-six quarts or fourteen gallons: no country person was allowed to buy more than four windles of corn in one day; no badger or retailer more than two windles; and no burgess more than from four to eight windles; no person was allowed to buy corn by a factor or agent: candles were ordered to be made and sold at the rate of sixteen to the pound; coals were not to be shipped

without license from the mayor; oranges "arrived from France" were to be sold at the rate of 120 for 1s.; geese for 8d., and woodcocks for 2d.; websters or weavers were to sell cloth at the rate of 19 lbs. to the stone; and wool, flocks, &c., were to be sold at the rate of 18 lbs.; a saltmaker was allowed to come to the town, and make salt, on condition of selling it at 12d. a bushel: post horses were to be supplied to the royal messengers at the rate of 1d. per mile; and soldiers billeted in the town were to be fed at the rate of 3d. per meal, and their horses at the rate of 4d. per day.

The police regulations, if not all very good, were at least sufficiently minute. Alehouses were ordered to be curtailed in number, and to be licensed; wine was only to be sold retail by licensed dealers, of whom there were two, each of whom paid £3 6s. 8d. for his license: bachelors were not allowed to walk out after nine o'clock, without lawful business: bowling alleys were voted immoral and put down; so were gaming houses, with more reason; two "honest men," afterwards increased to four, were appointed to keep order in the corn market; cudgels were not to be carried in the streets: chiders and scolders were to be fined and imprisoned, and if otherwise incurable, to be ducked; the side of a house built too slightly was to be pulled down, and "to be made lawful;" fire was not to be carried from house to house, except it was covered up; gorse stacks were not to be built near houses, for fear of fire; a man having married two wives was ordered to leave the town, and to take his second wife with him; some unlucky vagabonds, described as "the wanderers with the hobby-horse," were ordered to be put in the stocks at the high cross; no jugglers, players, nor showmen were to exhibit or perform without permission from the mayor; houses were not to be let to strangers without informing the mayor; watch and ward was to be kept from eight at night to four in the morning, and parties not keeping watch in their turn were to be fined; inmates or lodgers were not to be received, and no one was to lodge a stranger for more than one night, without giving notice to the mayor; strangers visited with pestilence were to avoid the town, and those suspected of having the plague, or any other dangerous disease, were removed to huts or cabins built on the common, where they were placed in quarantine, until they recovered, or died; all roads were ordered to be mended by statute labour, and the streets were to be cleaned once a week.

The following presentments of grand juries will further show what acts were regarded as nuisances, or as offences against the local laws. Parties were presented: For baking and brewing, not being free; for

keeping “an illegal instrument, called an oven;” for ploughing the town common; for forestalling; for turning a water-course; for washing wool, skins, and flax at the Fall-well, “the common well of the town,”—a fine spring which formerly burst from the hill-side, near the site of St. George’s Hall; “the whole tailors’ craft” was presented for licensing strangers to work, without liberty from the mayor; other parties were presented for lodging guests, “which do not go to church;” others “for receiving strangers, inmates, and poor people, to be a charge to the town;” others for refusing to sell a quart of ale for three halfpence; for selling salt and other merchandize, not being free; the people of Everton and Low Hill were presented for delving and floeing Liverpool Heath; one Torbuck for getting marl, which was not to be got in future without paying 20s. to the common purse; the bailiffs were presented for not causing the shooting butts to be kept up; (they stood on the heath near the London and North-Western Railway Station;) a shipper was presented for buying twenty-six loads of coal to load a barque, “contrary to the ancient orders of the town;” a woman was presented for being a common scold; a free-man for selling slates to foreigners; a dog-fancier for keeping an unlawful dog; a knave for using double measures, “a large one to buy, and a small one to sell with;” a ruffler, for walking at unlawful times of the night, with unlawful weapons; an engrosser for buying more corn than is appointed; a non-burgess for retailing timber, without any satisfaction to the town; and (by way of climax) a Paul Pry of Queen Elizabeth’s days “for listening under the church-wall to what the jury did say.”

During this period the modern system of poor-laws was founded, by the celebrated act of Queen Elizabeth. The following orders respecting the treatment of the poor occur in the records of the Corporation:—A begging woman with five children was to be hindred from wandering about during divine worship. Beggars were not to be permitted in the town, “except such as be licensed by the mayor”; all other beggars were to be expelled; a house of correction was to be built, in which “idle, lewd, and loitering people were to be set at work, according to Act of Parliament”; and again, “it was provided for the poor folke” by the overseers “according to the estatute of Parliament.” The house of correction was Mordyke or Pool-house, at the foot of Chapel-street, opposite St. Nicholas’s Church. It belonged to the More family; and was rented from them by the town for this purpose.

Liverpool was at this time merely a township or the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, and the Church of St. Nicholas was only a chapel of ease

under Walton. The following regulations occur respecting the church. All the inhabitants of the town were required to assist at church-work (1541 :) the mayor was required to survey the walls and windows of the church, and to see that they were kept in order ; service was then performed on week-days as well as on Sundays ; the churchwardens and sidesmen were chosen in Easter week, by the Council, or by the assembly of the burgesses, and one sidesman was publicly reprov'd for making a complaint against the clergyman, to the Bishop of Chester ; the church property consisted of a silver cup for the communion, a large book of service, organ pipes, copes, vestments, banners, candlesticks, and tapers.

The clergyman, or, as he is generally called, the minister, was elected at the common hall, by the burgesses ; he was paid, partly by a ley or rate on the inhabitants ; partly by the queen, out of the rents of the lands confiscated at the time of the Reformation ; partly by a yearly sum allowed by Mr. Alexander Molyneux. The portion of the stipend paid by the queen was payable at Halton Castle, by the steward of Halton ; and was not always forthcoming at the proper time. The stipend of the clergyman amounted to £25 a year ; and a part of the Old Hall was taken, at a rent of £4 13s. 4d. a year, as a residence for him. At one time the clergyman held his living at the pleasure of the burgesses ; but afterwards on his good behaviour (*quamdiu se bene gesserit.*)

Although good friends in the main, occasional differences took place between the clergyman and the Corporation. Thus, one minister was requested not to go so often to Chester, to see the bishop ; one was “ presented” by the grand jury for not wearing his surplice at funerals, and was requested always to wear it when he met a corpse, whether of the poor or rich ; one was requested to read a homily when there was no sermon ; one was desired to read both the chapters in the body of the church ; he was afterwards presented for not doing so, and the mayor was presented for not compelling him ; one clergyman was requested to “ cut his hair of a comely and seemly length, in fair and decent manner, as best becometh a man in his place” ; one was, very properly, presented for cutting down “ the great thorn” growing in the church-yard ; and one was so much dissatisfied, either with his living or his treatment, that it is recorded of him that “ he conveyed himself away without leave-taking !”

Liverpool contributed to the cost of a peal of bells at Walton ; and the bailiffs were ordered to be diligent in collecting all fines, to pay for a peal of bells in Liverpool.

That necessary appendage of the church, the clerk, was at one time

paid out of the tolls on eorn ; then he had to collect his fees from door to door ; he was required to ring the curfew bell at eight o'clock every evening ; and was ordered to be diligent in whipping dogs out of the church. The sum of 6s. 8d. was allowed to the clerk of Walton Church for his fees.

The schoolmaster was appointed at the discretion of the mayor. Like the clergyman he was paid partly by fees ; partly out of the revenue of the confiscated chantry estates. He had to go to Halton Castle for part of his salary, and often came empty away. A rent of 20s. a year was paid for the old school house. A new one, described a century after as " a famous piece of antiquity," was afterwards built at the corner of the old church-yard. There also stood a statue of St. Nicholas, which was much honoured in ancient times.

Auditors were appointed to examine the accounts of the mayor and bailiffs ; they were chosen by " the whole eomyn eonsent ;" and were fined 6s. 8d. for neglect of duty.

The following are a few of the orders and regulations made to ensure the payment of town dues, and to defend the rights leased by the Corporation from the crown, or its tenants-in-chief. All vessels and boats were required to be entered with the town's customer ; a beam and scales " of a large manner" were provided, in which all goods imported or exported were weighed ; all goods imported were lodged in the common warehouse of the town, whence they were delivered by billet or note, " according to use here" ; the boats of Wallasey, Formby, &c., were ordered to pay anchorage and customs ; Bootle, Eastham, Frodsham, and Warrington were declared to be in the port of Liverpool ; the merchants and chapmen of Manchester, Bolton, and Wigan, and " Mr. Boyes, a Yorkshireman," are mentioned by name as having been compelled to pay toll on their wares.

A great number of miscellaneous facts are mentioned in the records which do not admit of being classified, but which are worth mentioning, as illustrative of the manners and opinions of the age. Sunday was the day on which all town's meetings were held. All corn sown on the common was forfeited to the church. The cattle market was held, first in Chapel-street, and afterwards at the castle " outside the town." Otterspool is spoken of as a dock with ships lying in it. The herring fishery was carried on extensively in the river Mersey, and strangers frequented the town in the fishing season, who were ordered to leave it as soon as the fishery was over. A Mr. Bold, and some other wags, astonished the town by proposing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; which, however, (as the

recorder gravely informs us,) was not performed. A number of Irish masons, who had been employed by Queen Elizabeth in repairing the fortifications of Berwick and all the other places of strength within twenty miles of the Scottish border, passed through Liverpool, and spent their money freely, to the great content of the burgesses. Kenyon House, (afterwards Byrom's sugar-house,) in Dale-street, belonged to the Corporation in 1563. Privateering was a popular profession in the reign of Elizabeth. A privateer fitted out by Sir Thomas Stanley, of Hooton, brought a prize into the river Mersey. Another privateer, fitted out by the licensed victuallers of Chester, brought in two prizes, one of which was sold and the other ransomed. This privateer astonished the inhabitants by firing off broadsides of guns in a style which had never been heard before on the banks of the Mersey. Captain Cornwall, a Government messenger, complained that he had not been properly supplied with post horses at Liverpool, when travelling from Ireland on the Queen's business: ordered that post horses should be promptly furnished, and should be charged one penny a mile. The hire of a single horse from Liverpool to London and back was 13s. 4d. in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Lawyers' fees were not exorbitant. Edward Halsal, recorder, received 8d. for discharging a recognisance; and the amount paid to him in one year by the Corporation was £3. 6s. 8d., according to the bailiff's accounts. The number of streets in Liverpool at this time was seven: namely, Castle-street, Water-street, Dale-street, Chapel-street, Juggler-street; More-street, (now Tithebarn-street,) and Mylne-street, (now Old-hall-street.) The emblem on the arms of Liverpool was a sea bird, but it is called a cormorant, when first mentioned, not a liver; the liver is an invention of the Heralds'-office. A supply of warlike weapons was, or ought to have been kept up for the use of the burgesses. It was reported to the Council that "artillery was not kept as by statute it is provided;" and a man was set to take care of the arms. About the time of the sailing of the Spanish Armada the Council laid in 300 lbs. of gunpowder; and ordered "a gun" to be set up at Nabbe (afterwards Pluckington Point,) above the pool. It appears that Bibles were not so abundant as they happily are now, for mention is made of "the old Bible book." There was a public clock in the town in the reign of Elizabeth, but it was only an indifferent one, as there are seven orders for repairing it in the records. The price of grain is frequently mentioned. Barley sold for four shillings the windle of 14 gallons in the year 1578. The charters of the town are enumerated by Edward Halsal, the recorder, but not correctly. He

mentions charters of King John, of 1207 ; of Henry the Third, 1229 ; of Edward the Third, 1333 ; of Richard the Third, “ date uncertain, being worn out”—and the charter being really of Richard the Second, 1380—of Henry the Fourth, 1339 ; and of Philip and Mary, 1556. The public seal used at this time is called the crocket seal, being chiefly used for commercial purposes. A good horse, shod on all fours, after having been trotted three times round the High Cross, according to custom, was sold to the Earl of Derby’s steward, for forty shillings. The cost of several public banquets is mentioned : one cost twenty shillings ; another, to the Earl of Derby, the great patron of the town, when the civic hospitality displayed all its resources, cost twenty-four shillings—a sum quite large enough to give a noble dinner in those times. The inhabitants were frequently mustered for military display ; on one occasion by Lord Monteaule, the “ Stanley” of Flodden Field, or his son. There was no prison in Liverpool at this time, but persons were confined until they could be sent to Lancaster Castle in a place which is called, in one account, the Slaughter House, and in another, the Black Hole, “*edibus tenebrosis.*” The slighter offenders were confined in the Town-hall. The original Town-hall stood in High-street, where the police-office now stands. Our ancestors, who were good economists, compelled the mayor to mend the windows of the Town-hall at his own cost ; they also enfranchised a slater on condition that he would keep the roof in order as long as he lived ; and they turned an honest penny by letting out the building for dances and brydals, or weddings, at the rate of 5s. a time, “ to be paid beforehand.” Nevertheless, this building had many fine names. It was called the Guilde-hall, our Lady’s-hall, the Town-hall, Aula-communis, and even the Prætorium. Leys or rates were then imposed for the following purposes :—For furnishing soldiers ; for repairing the church, and church-walls ; for setting the poor and idle loitering people to work, according to act of Parliament ; to protect the trade of the town ; a ley of £5 was imposed in these primitive times “ to pay the debts owing by the town,” and afterwards another ley of £13 18s. 10d. for the same purpose ; leys were imposed for subsidies granted by Parliament, a fifteenth and a tenth producing 52s. 4d ; for repairs of the church and of the common hall, and for obtaining a new charter. A hogshead of wine, costing £3 6s. 8d., was voted to the Master of the Rolls, in consideration of his services, in assisting to open the trade with Spain and Portugal, which had been closed against Liverpool by the merchant adventurers of Chester. A race for a silver bell was run on the shore every Ascension Day.

The cup was given by Mr. Torbuck, town-clerk, and was not to be kept by the winner for more than a twelvemonth. Security was taken that it should be forthcoming at the next year's race. There was at this time a Webster or Weaver's Corporation in Liverpool, but the art never took much hold. It was formed with the whole assent of the town; and 5s. was paid to the brotherhood, by each person using the occupation. The tailors of Liverpool also formed a brotherhood; and the sum of 4s. 6d. was paid by each brother for permission to work. The town had at this time a stipendiary servant, to serve in and for all manner of business and affairs. He was elected at a common hall, at which 126 persons were present. Of these eighty-two voted for the appointment and forty-four against it. The events of national importance, mentioned in the records, in addition to those which I have spoken of elsewhere, are the death of Shane O'Neal; the execution of the Earl of Northumberland, at York; and the arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Carlisle.

Before taking leave of this portion of the records I must present my readers with a few specimens of the more laboured compositions of the writer of these records. They are curious as specimens of English provincial style in the reign of Elizabeth; and as illustrations of the manners of the time.

It has already been mentioned that the mayor and burgesses were troubled with so many patrons that they were not able to give the nomination of a member to each. In the year 1562 they were thus perplexed with the rival claims of the Chancellor of the Duchy, of Sir Richard Molyneux, and of the Earl of Derby. The Chancellor of the Duchy claimed the right to return both members, as the representative of the Queen, who was then Duchess of Lancaster. He had some foundation for his claim, in the fact that the grant of palatine rights to John of Gaunt authorized the duke and his successors to return two members for each borough in the county. For a considerable time Liverpool had returned no members whatever, probably considering the duke's nominees dear at 2s. a day, which was the sum then allowed to a borough member. Under the Tudors, however, the burgesses were compelled to return members, and as a great concession they were allowed to give away one seat themselves, on condition that they permitted the Chancellor of the Duchy to dispose of the other. Thus, in 1552, the town returned the Earl of Derby's steward as one of its members, and left a vacant place in the return, that the Chancellor of the Duchy might fill it up with any other name at his pleasure. In 1562 they were not able to

arrange matters so pleasantly. Policy induced them to elect Mr. Richard Molyneux, the son of the governor of the castle, and the lessee of the town dues, which they sub-leased, and on which they were making a pleasant little profit of cent. per cent. ; and a lively sense, both of past and future favours, induced them to give the filling up of the second seat to their powerful neighbour the Earl of Derby. Thus nothing was left for the Chancellor of the Duchy. The course and result of this first attempt to give away the borough, according to their own wishes and interests, is thus recorded in the corporation minutes:—

“ 1562.—Thos. Secum, mayor. In the beginning of this mayor's time, master mayor and the town were evil troubled about the election of the two burgesses for the parliament held at Westminster, beginning the 11th day of January, 1562—et an. 5to.—domæ Eliz. reginæ, &c. First, before Mr. chancellor sent to the town, for the nomination of a burgess to this parliamt., the town had granted & appointed Mr. Richd. Molyneux, younger son of sir Rd. Molyneux, kt. for the one burgess, & reserved the other for my lord, the earl of Derby, marvelling much that he sent not to the town, as he was wont to do, requiring the nomination of one burgess, which was a great stay, and caused the town to meet in the hall diverse times about the same ; and in one meeting, sitting in the hall, sir Thos. Hesketh, sheriff of Lanchshirè, sent his servant with letters from Mr. chancellor of this duchy, sir Ambrose Cave, directed to Mr. mayor and his brethren, for the nomination of a burgess, and the said servant was diligent expectant for an answer ; but master mayor & his brethren willed him to go to his dinner, and after he should be answered ; and it was thought good to take deliberation therein, and so shewed to the servant, and desired his master not to be displeased, for so much as one burgess was granted before Mr. chancellor's mind was known, and promised to send him answer after my l. the earl of Derby's pleasure were known to us, whom always we were most naturally beholden & bounden to, and in this doing Mr. Sekerston was appointed one day and disappointed another day, &c. so that then the town agreed that Mr. Sekerston should go up to London, and so he rode almost post & took the said certificate with him, and also to go to my lord the old earl of Derby, and show his lordship, that whereas he did not send to the town for a burgess, yet the town thought good his lordship do his pleasure therein, and my lord was well pleased with the town, giving us his thanks, and gave his election to Mr. Sekerston ; and he showed himself & kept time & hour, and was put back by the means

of Mr. chancellor. Yet he stuck to the matter still, & obtained his room & served there ; and, where other town burgesses had & did retain speakers for them in the parliament house, he retained none, but stood up after the manner there, & was speaker himself, to the great grief of Mr. chancellor,—so that in his fumes he caused privy seal made, and was ready directed to fetch master mayor up to appear in the duchy chamber, (but, as God would,) by the means of earl of Derby, &c. the privy seal was called in again, which, if it had not, the town would have been put to a great charge. In the mean time, a sess was laid for Mr. Sekerston giving his attendance in the parliament house, for the charges of him, after 2s. a day.”

In the year 1565 the recorder again found occasion for a considerable display of eloquence, in describing a dreadful storm at sea, which occurred immediately after the sailing of Sir Henry Sidney, the father of the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, for Ireland. In this storm several Liverpool vessels were lost, and the whole of the little navy of the port was greatly endangered ; indeed, the storm was so dreadful, that Sir Henry Sidney's escape from shipwreck in it is mentioned in Camden's *History of Queen Elizabeth*. The eloquent recorder thus describes it :—

“ Magister Johnes Crosse, ar : maior. This year the Saturday, being the 22 December, the Sacar, one of the queen's ships, William Peres, gentleman & captain of the same, departed forth of this port & haven with a merry wind for Dublin water, for the safe conducting of the queen's treasurer, sr. Henry Sidney, appointed & made lord high deputy of Ireland, then being in Beaumaris, there tarrying for the said captain Peres, one master Thwaytes of his counceill & his treasurer, & other of the worshipfuls & their ladies & their train, with my lord high deputy ; where Mr. Thwaytes fell sick and died there, after their departing ; and with the said captain & his company many fine trim & tall furnitures ; John Wynstanley mr. of the Sacar ; the George of Liverpool ; Thomas Uttyn & his bark ; Edward Nicholson and John Willmson & their bark ; William Walker & Thomas Mason & their bark, Mr. Corbet bark ; with Nicho. Ricson and that bark called Mr. Corbet's small bark ; Ratcliff of West Kirby & John Aynsdale's bark, all charged with great horses, all fine apparell & other treasure, besides the worshipfull company & servitors & all their costliness, to a great abundant treasure of riches. And Sunday morning then next after being windy, cold, frost & snow, misty, dark and dim, without ceasing the snow driving & warping to & fro, That all Christian people called & cryed, praying & making their most

humble prayers unto All Mighty to amend the weather, so fearfull & terrible, & to save the foresaid ships & barks with all the Christian people in them being, & all Christian people upon the seas elsewhere; but it continued all day & about sun setting it something calmed, and about 10 or 11 of the clock that Sunday at night, suddenly sprung & rose the marvellousest & terriblest storm of wind & weather that continued about six hours or little less, as well upon land as water, to the great hurt of the co'ialty & their houses, barns, with many windmills clean overthrown & all to broken, with great hurt upon churches & chapells, in which storm diverse pinnacles and borders of the chapell of this town of Liverpoole were blown down & with falling broken all to peeces, and other hurts of glass windows; but to say the truth further, in this night storm was a part of our chapell walls of this town, next the tall sea mark, bursten & washen out, & some of the greater stones moved—with the extremeness of the seas carried 6 or 7 yards out of —.”

Soon after the recorder becomes eloquent upon the weather, and thus expatiates:—

“This year was a pleasant seeding of all corn, and after such a fervent heat and drought succeeded that it was great plenty of all kind of fuel, especially turf and coal, and the market of all corn but wheat and rie did rise to a doubtful opinion of all people, so as all England over the people dreaded an excessive charge of hay and other fodder for the cattle of all the land. At Warrington this year was a load of hay sold for 15s., a mean market load; and as God Almighty, giver of all goodness, of his free mercy, of us undeserved and not looked for, about — day of July, sent us such plenty of pleasant weather with rain, and moderate rain continuing from day to day, and time to time, all August and after in September, that corn, hay, fuell, and all kind of victuals fell and came down to reasonable price, to the great laud and praise of God, the comfort of all faithful Christians, and to the distress of covetous farmers and avaricious storers of all towns and countries.”

Soon after this the recorder rises to a bolder strain, in describing a great act of municipal valour, namely, the offering battle by the mayor and burgesses to a company of disorderly and mutinous soldiers. These fellows formed a sort of rear guard of the army of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had passed through Liverpool a little before for Ulster, with a view not only of conquering but of colonizing, or, as it was then called, of planting, that province; a project which was not carried into effect successfully until the following reign, nor without an

eight years' war with the great O'Neal. The Earl of Essex had received a grant of the half of the district of Claneboy, in that province, from Queen Elizabeth, and besides mortgaging his own estates for £10,000, to raise funds for the enterprise, had induced numbers of other persons to advance large sums, and raise troops, in return for grants of land. The plan was to build three towns, and ten sconces or castles, and the invaders hoped to obtain a revenue of £7,000 from the country the second year; but they never obtained a shilling, for the Irish chieftains drove the cattle, of which one of them had no less than 30,000 head, into the forests and marshes, which then covered the greater part of Ulster; wore out the invaders with frequent skirmishes and long marches; and at length reduced them to such distress from disease, famine, and the sword, that they were only too glad to get back to England. The Earl of Essex never returned. He died at Dublin of mortification and disease. Those of his followers who were able to do so returned to Liverpool, where they had embarked. Many died there, and were buried at the public expense; and so great was the pressure on the town that an order was issued, that no more maimed or wounded soldiers should be landed, without the permission of the mayor. The misfortunes of this motley host were probably aggravated by their wretched want of discipline, to which the following extract from the Corporation Records bears witness:

“Mm. qd. 4th day of September, 1573, a greivouse contenton and discord sprang betwyxt these two, Bartley and Sydnam; and Sondag mornynge next aft., beyng 5 Sept. of same year, Roger Sydnam, levet'ant of the blue cotes, about 5 of the clock, at his uprisynge, walkynge and comynge forth of Roger Jameson's house, his hoost, wth. 3 or 4 of his soldeurs, and the sayd captayne Bartley comynge wth a more company of his motley cotes, drew theyr swords and set upon the sayd levet'ant, and forced hym and his men for saveguard of theyr lives to take in to the house and houses, where agt the ragiouse psecutne, and enterpse of the said Bartley, therein by the good p'vise and good fortune shyfte of the wyffe of the same house, the sayd Sydnam and his men, all but one, were conveyed in to an high loft chamber by the ladder, and soe they drawne up the ladder up to them in the sayd lofte, and so escap'd death, as pleased God; but that one soldieure wch was staid in the house, was to all much swynged and beatten, knylying upon his knyves bareheded, callyng and crying mostwoufullie for meie and pdon of lieffe. Rogr. Sidnam, pooregent., was in cover all the whiles aft. It is long to repete and more to reherse the riotiouse tumulte and disordre of the said captayne Bartley and

motly coots, and over tedious to wtc of the spoyles of booth motlies and blew coots, as well abroad in the countrie hereto adionyng as within this towne. Truth is, there was such surrecon styrred by the said captn. Bartley as the like was never seed in the towne and this countrie; for to be short, Mr. maior and all the towne sodynlie, as pleased God Almightye, were readie upon the heath of this towne, every man wth theyr best weapons, soe as by good chance everie householder beyng at home Sondaie mornyng, cgar as lions, made showe almost evyn lyke to the numbre of the sayd capitayns and all theyr soldeors, soe as the capte. and all theyre men beyng areyd and there upon the sayd heath, the sayde captayn Bartley and all his gentlemn moved Mr. maior to ordr all in good pt, and to thinke no other but all shall well and quiet, and soe prvd; and after the sayd battell arey Mr. capte. shewed all curtesie and gentleness to Mr. maior, and came up to the towne in friendship and amitie, and afr all this done the captys and theyr souldors were moor gentle to deal wth all whils they abode wthin towne."

The Protestant subjects of the queen made a great point of celebrating her accession to the throne, not merely from loyalty, but because some false prophet had put forth a prediction that she would never survive the twelfth year of her reign. This prophecy having proved false the well-wishers of the queen celebrated all succeeding anniversaries of her accession with redoubled triumph.

The following extract from the records will show that Liverpool was not behind the rest of the kingdom in loyal rejoicing:—

"Thys yeare the 17th daye of Novembre, 1576, and entering upon the 18th yeare of the raigne of our moste graciouss sovraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. &c., Mr. Thomas Bavande beinge mair of this her maties corporation and porte towne of Lirpole, in the countie of Laner. caused the same daye in the eveninge, a greate bone fyre to be made in the marquet place, near to ye Hye crosse of same towne, and an other anendest his owne dore, gyvinge warning yt everie householder should doe the lyke throughoute the towne, wch was done accordinglie. And immediatlie after caused to call together his brethren, the aldermen and divers others of the burgesses of ye same towne, and so went all together to the house of Mr. Raphe Burscough, alderman, where they banqueted a eteine tyme; wch done Mr. Mair deputed to his owne house, accompanied of the said aldermen and others, a great number, upon whom he did bestowe sacke and other whyte wyne & sugar lyberally,

standing all without ye dore, lawding & praising God for the moste prperouse raigne of oure said moste graciouse sovrainge ladie the quene's most excellent matie, whom God grant longe over us to raigne, wth greate tranquilitytie, and victoriouse successe over all her grace enemies. And so appointinge his bailiffe and other offier to see the fyres quenched, depted in, &c."

But the grand effusion of the recorder's eloquence and ink was on the occasion of a great triumph given to one of the Earls of Derby. The Stanley family were then the great patrons of the town; they saved it from the persecution of the Chancellor of the Duchy, as we have seen; they obtained for the burgesses the privilege of trading with Spain and Portugal, as we shall see in a succeeding chapter; they allowed them to graze their cattle in Toxteth-park; and when that park was disforested they offered them a hundred acres of it on very easy terms. In short they were good friends of the town, when it wanted a powerful friend, not merely to obtain for it favours but justice, which was often the greatest and rarest of favours. To show their sense of the good offices of Henry Earl of Derby, they determined to give him "a great triumph" on St. George's Day. Of this triumph the recorder has left the following flourishing account:—

"1577.—The ryght honorable Henrye, erle of Derbye, having lycence of the quene's moste excellent matie to goe over into the Isle of Mann, came to Lyrpole the 15th daye of Aprile, anno supdco, and there his honor stayed upon a wynd till the 28th of the same monethe, in wch tyme his l. did feaste Mr. Mair, his brethren, wth the bailiffe and others of the same towne. On Mondaye, beinge the 22th of Aprile aforesaid, his honoure came to the churche or chappell of Lirpole aforesaid to vewe and appointe oute a fyte place for the clothe of estate, wch was on the southe syde of the same churche or chappell, rychlie hanged wth costlie ornament and cloth of gold. And Mr. Thomas Bavande, beinge then mair of Lyrpole aforesaid, caused preparaton to be made for a greate tryumphe, to honr the said noble lord erle, at the said moste honourable feaste, appointinge Thomas Englefelde to be captaine and leader of a greate number of towne's men, burgeses of Lyrpole, & others, whome he caused his bayliffe, Roger Rose and Robert Baule to se furnished and trymlie sette fourthe as souldiers, in warre lyke mannre, to mche and skirmyshe before the said righte honorable erle, whoe did the same verie orderlie and right well at divrs & sundry convenient tymes duringe the said most honorable ffeaste, as hereafter is more at large declar'd. The

same said 22th daye of Ap'le aforesaid the said righte honourable erle came to eveninge prayer at fyve of the clocke in the after none, accompanied wth Mr. Mair, the aldermen, bailiffe, and others aforesaid, going in due order, that is to saye, the said twoe bailiffe formoste, and then the bailiffe peares, then afr theim the aldermen, then certaine of my l. his gentilmen, then the srjente, bearinge the mace before Mr. mair, and then nexte after Mr. maior my l. his honors ussher, and then the said right honourable erle in his robes of reade purple, his trayne beinge borne uppe by Mr. Lee, of Bagulaye, and then came after a greate numbere as well of his honors gentilmen as yeomen; and so his honor comynge to the churche, at that tyme ffirst of all he did marke him selfe unto God, and then triminge himsilfe, did his duetie in making obeysannce to the place of estate, and before his honr did take his owne place obeisannce againe to the said place of estate, and so sate downe. And afterwards, service beinge done, at his honors goine from church, there was (as Mr. maior hadde appointed) the said captaine Thomas Englefelde, with his souldiers readie, and there skirmished very bravelie and orderlie, shotinge of great store (not onlie) of culliver shotte, but also of great cast ordinance & chambers, being placed in the churche yaurde, according to Mr. maiors appointmt, besides shotinge of from the shippes rydinge in the river. Then after the same eveninge Mr. maior gave commandemt & warninge that all the said companie shoulde be in readiness the morninge next folowinge, wth theire furniture, & wch was done accordinlie, and mrched upon the warthe and skirmished againe before the said right honorable erle, in right good ordre, beinge Tewsdaye, St. George his daye, when his honor came to the churche very gorgiouslye, accompanied of Mr. maior and maine gentilmen more then on the daye before, & so came to the churche & there taried a certaine tyme, and after went in solemne procession aboute the churche yearde, & so entered again into ye churche, and there offered a peece of golde, wch was given to sr James Seddon, clarke, minister there. That beinge done Mr. Cadwall, his honors chaplaine, made a godly and learned sermon upon the Psalme, *Audi populus meus, et contes-tabor te Israell si audires, &c.* And at every tyme of my l. his honors departure from church there was greate triumphe as afore is said, bothe after morning & eveninge prayer. So that there was shotte at the leaste twelve hundred cullyver shotte duringe ye saide moste honorable feaste, beside the greate ordinance aforesaid. And the same evenning, at after supper, one Raphe Powell, gonner, by Mr. maior's appointmt being readie wth squybbes, to make pastyme, was commanded by my l. to staye tyll

yt was a litle darker, whoe afterwards, when yt was darke in ye eveninge, caste the said squibbe abroad very trymlie, whereat his honor toke greate pleasure. And on Wednesdaye his honor came to church, to morning prayer as aforesaid, but in changeable robes, at wch tyme Mr. Untter, her maiesties chaplen, batchler in divinitie & pson of Sefton & Aghton, made a passinge famouse learned sermon upon the 22th of the Apocalippo, *Ecce venio cito; et merces mea mecum*, &c., which sermon was lyked much above the other. There was manye thinge done & pastymes made, as a morres daunce over and besides the pmisses, wch were all so orderlye & trymlie handled, as was to the greate lykinge & pleasure of the said right honorable erle, the lyke whereof was never sene or knowen to be done in this said towne of Lirpole, for the wch his honor did not onlie gyve unto Mr. maior maniefolde thanke, but also constrained him to take his honors liberalitie, sore against Mr. maiors mynde, to bestowe upon the said companie. All these things being fynished in decent ordre, then on the Sondaye nexte followinge, God sending his honor a psperouse wynd & faire weather, his l. toke shippinge at Lirpole, in the Edward, mr Torbocke shippe, about foure of ye clocke in the after none, beinge accompanied wth the Michaell, of Lirpole, the Bee, of the same, the Elizabethe, of Aulte, and the Good Lucke, of Douglass. Grannte his honor a good & luckie psperouse voiage, wth the lyke retourne to his l. expectacon, wth pfecte health, and dailie encrease of honor, long to endure."

When the most eloquent of English topographers, William Camden, visited Liverpool in this reign, he found that it was the most commodious and the most frequented route to Ireland. He speaks of the town as more remarkable for its elegance and populousness than for its antiquity. This description was written near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it may satisfy us that it was already recovering from the depression into which it had sunk in the early part of the reign. It was afterwards severely tried, during the eight years' war which Hugh O'Neal, the great Earl of Tyrone, waged against the queen, in the course of which Ireland was utterly wasted, and all trade destroyed.* During this war the wages of the keeper of the Common Hall were reduced to 26s. 8d., "owing to the small trade that now is." Camden's account of Liverpool, written previous to the commencement of this war, which broke out in the year 1594, and was not ended until the year 1602, is as follows:—"Meanwhile, let us follow the course of the Mersey, which now is borne by Warrington, a town noted for its market and bustle; which

* Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 637.

having passed, after having spread itself out, and again suddenly narrowing its stream, it once more expands, and with a wide bosom, most convenient for commerce, enters the ocean, where Litherpoole flourishes, in the Saxon Lyferpole, vulgarly called Lirpoole, so named, as is supposed, from its water spread out in the form of a pool, which is the most commodious and most frequented passage to Ireland, a place more celebrated for its elegance and activity than for its antiquity. For its name does not occur amongst ancient writers otherwise than for the fact that Roger of Poictou, who was lord of the Honour of Lancaster (as it was then named) built here a castle, the keeping of which has been long held by the noble and knightly family of Molyneux, whose original seat is at Sefton, in this neighbourhood, which Roger of Poictou presented in the Norman times to Vivian de Molyneux."

This description proves that Liverpool had become a place of some consequence about the year 1590, when the first edition of Camden's Britannia was published; and although its commerce was destroyed for a time during the war with O'Neal, yet after the downfall of that great chief it again revived, and increased steadily during the whole of the succeeding century.

MAYORS AND BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE TUDORS.

MAYORS OF LIVERPOOL.

1503..19th Henry 7..David ap Griffiths.	1571..13th Eliz.	..Thomas Bavande.
1507..23d Henry 7..William More.	1572..14th Eliz.	..John Crosse.
1512..4th Henry 8..William More.	1573..15th Eliz.	..Robert Corbett.
1516..8th Henry 8..Robert Coudray.	1574..16th Eliz.	..John Manner.
1521..13th Henry 8..Edward Norris.	1575..17th Eliz.	..William Secum.
1523..15th Henry 8..William More.	1576..18th Eliz.	..Thomas Bavande.
1524..16th Henry 8..Thomas Houghton.	1577..19th Eliz.	..Sir T. Hesketh, Knt.
1529..21st Henry 8..Thomas Houghton.	1578..20th Eliz.	..William More.
1530..22d Henry 8..Roger Fazakerley.	1579..21st Eliz.	..Edward Halsall.
1539..31st Henry 8..Christopher Hoghe.	1580..22d Eliz.	..Robert More.
1540..32d Henry 8..Thomas Houghton.	1581..23d Eliz.	..John Crosse.
1544..36th Henry 8..Thomas Fayerclough.	1582..24th Eliz.	..William Secum.
1548..2d Edward 6..Edward Gee.	1583..25th Eliz.	..Ralph Bursecough.
1550..3d Edward 6..Ralph Sekerston.	1584..26th Eliz.	..Thomas Bavande.
1551..4th Edward 6..Thomas More.	1585..27th Eliz.	..Fred. Lord Strange.
1553..6th Edward 6..Roger Walker.	1586..28th Eliz.	..Edward Halsall.
1554..1st Mary 1..Sir Wm. Norris, Knt.	1587..29th Eliz.	..William More.
1556..3d Mary ..John More.	1588..30th Eliz.	..Sir R. Molyneux.
1557..5th Mary ..Thomas More.	1590..32d Eliz.	..John Byrde.
1558..6th Mary ..Robert Corbett.	1591..33d Eliz.	..Robert More.
1559..2d Elizabeth..Alexander Garnett.	1592..34th Eliz.	..Giles Brooke.
1560..3d Elizabeth..Ralph Sekerston.	1593..35th Eliz.	..Robert Barry.
1561..4th Elizabeth..Robert Corbett.	1594..36th Eliz.	..John Byrde.
1562..5th Elizabeth..Thomas Secum.	1595..37th Eliz.	..Robert More.
1563..6th Elizabeth..Robert Corbett.	1596..38th Eliz.	..William More.
1564..7th Elizabeth..Alexander Garnett.	1597..39th Eliz.	..Richard Hodgson.
1565..8th Elizabeth..John Crosse.	1598..40th Eliz.	..William Dixon.
1566..9th Elizabeth..Robert Corbett.	1599..41st Eliz.	..Robert More.
1567..10th Eliz.	1600..42d Eliz.	..John Byrde.
1568..11th Eliz.	1601..43d Eliz.	..Egidius Brooke.
1570..12th Eliz.	1602..44th Eliz.	..Ralph Secum.

BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL.

1507..23d Henry 7..	Thomas Barker, James Haydock.	1577..19th Eliz.	Robert More, James Chamber.
1540..32d Henry 8..	Ralph Sekerston.	1578..20th Eliz.	Anthony More, William Galbrond.
1550..3d Edward 6..	Richard Leay, Thomas Bolton.	1579..21st Eliz.	John Bryde, Peter Starkye.
1551..4th Edward 6..	Alexander Garnett, Robert Corbett.	1580..22d Eliz.	Roger More, Thomas Banastre.
1553..6th Edward 6..	Thomas Secum, John Winstanley.	1581..23d Eliz.	Edward Nicholson, Alexander Gogney.
1554..1st Mary	Robert Corbett, Martin Comberbach.	1582..24th Eliz.	William Galbrond, John Goare.
1556..3d Mary	Thomas Bostock, William Lawrence.	1583..25th Eliz.	Thomas Rose, John Byrde.
1557..5th Mary	Peter Rymer, George Assheton.	1584..26th Eliz.	Giles Brooke, Edward Erlome.
1558..6th Mary	George Assheton, William Seacombe.	1585..27th Eliz.	Thomas Hodgeson, Thomas Wycksted.
1559..2d Eliz.	Rauf Burscough, Humfrey Webster.	1586..28th Eliz.	William Parr, Robert Berry.
1560..3d Eliz.	William Rose, J. Maynering.	1587..29th Eliz.	John Smyth, William Galbrande.
1561..4th Eliz.	Thomas Bostock, Richard Abram. *	1588..30th Eliz.	Roger Rose, Robert Ball.
1562..5th Eliz.	Thomas Jamison, Thomas Roe.	1590..32d Eliz.	Robert Ball, Gilbert Formbie.
1563..6th Eliz.	Reginald Mellyng, Thomas Uttyn.	1591..33d Eliz.	John Wakefelde, Evan Richardson.
1564..7th Eliz.	Thomas Bavande, Thomas Wignall.	1592..34th Eliz.	Cuthbert Lawrence, John Sandeford.
1565..8th Eliz.	William Secum, Thomas Englefelde.	1593..35th Eliz.	Robert Ball, Richard Birde.
1566..9th Eliz.	Humfrey Webster, Robert Nicholson.	1594..36th Eliz.	Richard Hodgson, Gilbert Formbie.
1567..10th Eliz.	Reginald Mellyng, George Rayneforth.	1595..37th Eliz.	William Dixon, William Richardson.
1568..11th Eliz.	Ralph Burscough, Thomas Rowe.	1596..38th Eliz.	Christopher Holden, Thomas Tarlton.
1570..12th Eliz.	John Gilibronde, John Williamson.	1597..39th Eliz.	Ralph Secum, Thomas Hubberstey.
1571..13th Eliz.	John Englefelde, Edward Nicholson.	1598..40th Eliz.	Thomas Johnson, Evan Richardson.
1572..14th Eliz.	James Chamber, Augustine Turner.	1599..41st Eliz.	William Banastre, Henry Monely.
1573..15th Eliz.	Thomas Bastwisel, Robert Witter.	1600..42d Eliz.	Richard Rose, William Williamson.
1574..16th Eliz.	Thomas Mason, William Gellond.	1601..43d Eliz.	Robert Mather, Thomas Richardson.
1575..17th Eliz.	Robert Witter, James Chamber.	1602..44th Eliz.	William Formbie, Roger Hey.
1576..18th Eliz.	Thomas Bank, Roger Rose.		

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE CORPORATION OF LIVERPOOL
UNDER THE TUDORS.

INCOME.							EXPEND.							INCOME.							EXPEND.								
£. s. d.							£. s. d.							£. s. d.							£. s. d.								
1570...13th	Eliz.	...	20	14	8	...	23	11	8	1593...35th	Eliz.	...	66	10	2	...	49	17	6	1594...36th	Eliz.	...	92	13	10½	...	57	6	6
1581...23d	Eliz.	...	40	16	10	...	36	9	7	1595...37th	Eliz.	...	82	12	10½	...	77	13	4	1596...38th	Eliz.	...	48	19	3	...	44	0	4
1586...28th	Eliz.	...	46	9	6	...	36	15	1	1597...39th	Eliz.	...	56	0	6	...	51	6	10½	1598...40th	Eliz.	...	37	3	0	...	34	16	1
1587...29th	Eliz.	...	48	13	2	...	43	12	4½	1599...41st	Eliz.	...	66	5	2½	...	63	13	8	1600...42d	Eliz.	...	55	15	2	...	55	6	2½
1589...31st	Eliz.	...	43	10	5½	...	39	15	7																				
1590...32d	Eliz.	...	86	13	2	...	72	8	1																				
1591...33d	Eliz.	...	74	19	7	...	61	1	6																				
1592...34th	Eliz.	...	74	6	4	...	66	18	9																				

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

TRADE OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE TUDOR PRINCES.

RISE OF MANUFACTURES.—STATE OF IRELAND.—CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

When Leland visited Liverpool, near the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth, he found that Irish merchants came much there as to a good haven ; that there was good merchandise in Liverpool, consisting chiefly of Irish, that is, of linen yarn ; and that Manchester manufacturers were the principal buyers of it.* It thus appears that at that early period in the history of the national industry, Ireland was celebrated for its growth of flax and its production of linen yarn ; that the linen manufacture was carried on to a considerable extent at Manchester ; and that Liverpool was the port through which the ingenious artizans of that place obtained their supplies of raw or prepared materials. Flax and linen yarn were then the only materials of manufacture imported into England, to any great extent. Wool, the raw material of what was then the national manufacture, was produced in England in greater abundance and of better quality than in any other country in Europe, so that England exported it in large quantities instead of importing it. Both raw silk and cotton wool† were, however, imported into England by the Genoese and Venetians nearly a hundred years before this time, but in insignificant quantities, and for purposes of luxury and ornament, not of common use. The linen manufacture then ranked next to the woollen in extent and usefulness, but it was confined to a few districts, whilst the woollen manufacture was spread over the whole country.

Ireland has long been celebrated for its growth of flax. It owes its superiority as a flax-growing country to the openness of its soil, which is in general light and easily work, to the mildness of its climate, and to the abundance of its supplies of moisture in the seasons of spring and summer. These circumstances, whilst they injure it as a wheat-growing country, render it the first country in Europe for the growth of

* Leland's Itinerary, 7, 47.

† Libel of English Policy, in Hackluyt's Voyages.

flax, as well as of roots and all kinds of grasses. From the natural suitableness of the soil to the growth of flax, both the English settlers and the aboriginal inhabitants turned their attention to the growth of that most valuable plant, from the earliest periods of their history. A short robe of linen, dyed yellow, with an extract of the poplar tree, formed part of the dress of the Irish chiefs.* The spinning of linen yarn naturally followed the cultivation of flax; and as capital has increased in Ireland, and the textile art has improved, those districts of that country which have enjoyed the advantages of political tranquillity, have taken the lead of all other parts of the empire in the linen trade, nor is anything wanted, but equal tranquillity and equal industry, to render the south and west as prosperous as the north, and by the same means. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Ulster, which is now the chief seat of the Irish linen manufacture, was the wildest and most disturbed part of Ireland; and no part of that country enjoyed that settled tranquillity which is necessary for carrying on the more elaborate and costly processes of manufacturing industry. Hence a large portion of the linen yarn of Ireland spun at Dublin, Drogheda, Carlingford, Newry, Wexford, and Waterford, was sent to England, where it was woven, bleached, and made into linen cloth. Manchester, from its proximity to Liverpool, which was the place of import, had thus the means of obtaining linen yarn more easily and cheaply than any other town in England; for all attempts to establish the cultivation of flax in England failed. This circumstance gave to Manchester a variety of material; and naturally led to the production of a variety of fabrics. Hence its rise was rapid, in spite of an indifferent supply of home-grown materials. The south and west of England and the West Riding of Yorkshire were all of them better situated than Manchester, for obtaining wool and woollen yarn, from the fine sheep pastures by which they were surrounded, and have maintained a superiority in the manufacture of fine woollens; but for variety of materials and fabrics Manchester established a reputation at a very early period of its history, chiefly owing to its easy communication with the flax-growing districts of Ireland, and afterwards retained it, chiefly owing to the ease with which it communicated with the cotton-growing districts of the West Indies and America.

We have a fuller knowledge of the state of manufactures at Manchester in the reign of Henry the Eighth than of that of any other town in

* Hollinshead's Chronicles.

the kingdom. We owe this knowledge to the curious fact, that the Collegiate Church of Manchester was one of the places of sanctuary for offenders, which retained that privilege after the Reformation. At that time any delinquent who had not committed a capital offence was safe from justice, when once he had reached the sacred precincts of the Collegiate Church. This system, although it worked wonderfully well for those who did ill, worked just as ill for those who did well. It was soon found to be an intolerable nuisance to an industrious, thrifty, and "true-dealing" population. An act was, in consequence, introduced into Parliament, for the purpose of freeing Manchester from this dangerous honour of sanctuary. In the preamble to this act a full account is given of the various branches of industry carried on in the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of showing the unreasonableness of allowing such a place to be turned into a den of thieves. This preamble states that the town of Manchester is well inhabited, and distinguished for its trade both in linens and in woollens; that the inhabitants have obtained riches and wealthy livings, and employ many artificers and poor people; that by "their strict and true dealings" they have given rise "to the resort of many strangers from Ireland and elsewhere, with linen yarn, wool, and other necessary wares, for making of cloth to be sold there;" that in the course of the manufacture of linen, the flax and yarn have to lie out in the fields night and day, for half a year, to be whitened, before they can be made into cloth; and that the woollen cloth made in the town and neighbourhood must also hang on the tenters, to be dried before it can be dressed. It further states that Manchester, besides being a principal place for manufacturing linens and woollens, is also frequented by the manufacturers of the neighbouring towns and villages, who bring goods to be finished and sold. "Many strangers," says the act, "inhabiting other townships and places, have used customarily to resort to the said town, with a great number of cottons, to be uttered and sold by the inhabitants, whereby many poor people have been well set to work, as well with dressing and frizeing of the said cottons, as with putting to sale the same."* "All these processes," says the act, "are endangered

* Whereas, the said towne of Manchester is and hath of long tyme been a towne well inhabited, and the kinges subjectes inhabitauntes of the same towne are well set a worke in makinge of clothes, as well of linnen as of woollen, whereby the inhabitauntes of the saide towne haue obteyned gotten and come vnto riches and welthy lyuings, and haue kepte and set manye artificers and poore folkes to worke within the said towne, and by reason of the great occupieng good order straye and true dealing of the inhabitantes of the said towne, many strangers, as wel of Ireland as of other places within this realme, haue resorted to the saide towne with linnen yarne, woolles, and other necessary wares for making of clothes,

by the resort of light and evil-disposed persons to the town." For these reasons it was proposed and enacted that the right of sanctuary should be taken away from Manchester. That disagreeable honour was conferred on Chester, where there was no such "occupying of merchandise," and where it was hoped that the claimants of sanctuary would be less troublesome, and better looked after. Such was Manchester three hundred years ago. Already a flourishing manufacturing town, where the woollen and linen trades were carried on with spirit and success; the manufacturing capital of the towns and villages which were already springing up in the numerous valleys which meet or converge at Manchester; and the place to which the manufactures of other adjoining townships were brought to be finished and sold.

It will be seen in the course of this chapter that Bolton-on-the-Moors was the principal place at which the article (by a prophetic misnomer) called cottons, was produced. Camden informs us that the Manchester cottons of his day were in reality woollens. The name of cottons was probably given to them from some real or fancied resemblance to the fustians of Lombardy, or other strong cotton goods, which were known in England as early as the reign of Edward the First;* that is to say, nearly three hundred years before the fine fabrics called calicoes were imported, by the Portuguese, from Calicut in India; and probably long before the still finer fabrics called muslins (which were sometimes of cotton, sometimes of silk and gold thread) were imported by the Genoese and Venetians from Mosul, the successor of the ancient Nineveh, on the banks of the Tigris.

Camden, who visited Liverpool about forty years later than Leland, that is, near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, does not give us

to be sold there, and haue vsed to credit & truste the poore inhabitantes of the same towne, which were not able and had not redy money to pay in hande for the saide yarnes wolles and wares vnto such time the saide credites with their industry labour and peynes myght make clothes of the said wolles yarns and other necessary wares, and solde the same, to contente and paye their creditours, wherein hath consisted much of the common welth of the said towne, and many poore folkes had luyng, and children and seruants were vertuously brought up in honest and true labour, out of allydeness. And for as muche as of necessitie the said linnen yarne must lye without as well in the night as in the day continually for the space of one halfe yere to be whited, before it can be made clothe, and the wollen clothes there made must linge vpon the taynter, to be dried before it can be dressed up, and for the saulfe-garde therof it is and shal be expedient and necessary, that substanciall honest iuste true and credible persous be and shuld dwell in the sayd towne, and no maner of lyght persone or persons there to be inhabytautes. And where also many straungers inhabytinge in other towneshyps and places, haue vsed customably to resorte to the sayd towne of Mauchester with a great number of cottons, to be vttered & solde to the inhabitantes of the same towne, to the great profit of all the inhabitantes of the same and therby many poore people haue ben well set a worke, as wel with dressyng & frisyng of the sayd cottous, as with putting to sale the same," &c.—*Act 33d Henry Eighth.*

* Statutes at Large, i, 149.

any additional information as to the nature either of the exports or of the imports of the port. Fortunately, however, official returns still exist, which give us a very clear account of both; and which throw much light on the history of the manufactures of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Westmoreland, as well as on the various branches of industry pursued in Ireland. The return of which I propose to give an analysis relates to the year 1586. At that time the foreign trade of the kingdom was almost entirely suspended, by the violent quarrel with Spain, which led to the attack on England by the Invincible Armada. It therefore contains little information as to the foreign trade of the port. That shall be given subsequently, from another source. I may observe, in passing, however, that the foreign trade of Liverpool was then much less regular and extensive than its trade with Ireland. Ireland was then the main stay of the port of Liverpool.

Amongst the records of the Custom-house, preserved at the Branch Public Record Office, in which the accounts of the Customs are kept, is a series of returns, made by the Custom-house officers, at the different outports, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These returns were addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, who was at that time not only Secretary of State, but himself lessee of the great customs of the outports. These he held under the Queen, at a yearly rent of £11,250, for a term of six years.* This rent appears very small, and yet it was so much more than the customs of the outports produced, (after deducting the cost of collection,) that the secretary was very glad to give up his lease, at the end of the third year, and to pay the sum of £21,000, to be freed from his bargain. The following are the ports which were comprised in his lease:—Chester, which then included Liverpool, Exeter, Boston, Bridgewater, Bristol, Gloucester, Hull, Newcastle, Lynn, Plymouth, Milford, Fowey, Poole, Yarmouth, and Berwick. The gross revenue yielded by the port of Chester, including along with it the revenue of Liverpool, Beaumaris, and Conway, during the quarter of a year commencing on the 25th of March, and ending on the 25th of June, 1586, was £221. 5s. 4½d., or at the rate of £885. 1s. 6d.

* The following is the agreement:—"Her Majesty grantes to the said Sir Frances, all subsidies of poundage and other duties whatsoever of customs, etc., of vessels, which shall be laden or unladen within any of the ports here named, namely, Plymouth, Exeter, Poole, Bridgewater, Bristol, Gloucester, Milford, Cardiff, Chester, Berwick, Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, with the creeks thereunto belonging, except the creek of Woodbridge Inward, being a member of the port of Yarmouth, with all custom or subsidy of wines, etc., all customs of remnants and of lengths of woollen cloths, etc., with all forfeits, etc., to have, etc., the said subsidies, etc., except as above, from Michaelmas next, for a term of six years, yielding to her Majesty for the same £11,263. 8s., to be paid in the Exchequer by the first day of June and the 10th of January by even proportions, accounting the years aforesaid, from our lady's day next."

a year. From this was to be deducted the sum of £100 8s. 7½d. a quarter, or £401 14s. 5d. a year, for costs of collection, and for various exemptions from the customs' duties, leaving only £120 16s. 4d. as the neat customs for the quarter, and £483 7s. 8d. for the whole year. This does not differ materially, though it is somewhat higher, than the yearly average during a period of five years, that is, from 1580, the twenty-third of Elizabeth, to 1585, the twenty-eighth year of the same queen's reign. The average of each of the five years was £437 13s. 4½d.* Comparing this return with those of the other outports of the kingdom, we find that Chester and its associated ports occupied the seventh position, in point of rank, amongst the ports of England, in the reign of Elizabeth. The order of the ports, judging from the amount of revenue received in each, was London, Lynn, Hull, Exeter, Bristol, Yarmouth, and Chester.†

Again, comparing the receipts in the port of Liverpool for the quarter already mentioned, with the whole amount of the receipts of Chester, Liverpool, Conway, and Beaumaris, it appears that Liverpool then produced a neat customs' revenue of £68 0s. 9d. a quarter, or £272 3s. a year, leaving for Chester, Conway, and Beaumaris only a revenue of £52 16s. 2d., or £211 4s. 8d. It thus appears that Liverpool had already passed Chester, with its other ports, in point of commerce, although it was still greatly inferior to that venerable city in point of wealth, reputation, and dignity. This fact helps to account for the vehement resistance offered by Liverpool to the claim which Chester made to superiority, on the ground of its having been constituted the principal port, for custom-house purposes, in the north-west part of England. No such claim had ever been asserted against Liverpool during the first three hundred years of its existence as a port, when Chester was greatly superior to it in the extent of its commerce, as well as in all other respects, except the convenience of its port; and it was, therefore, strenuously resisted under the Tudors and Stuarts, when Liverpool had already surpassed it in commerce. A long and angry feud between Liverpool and Chester arose out of this claim, in the course of which the authorities and inhabitants of the two places became much exasperated, Liverpool indignantly denying the superiority of Chester, and Chester as indignantly asserting it. This quarrel continued for upwards of a century, and was only put an end to in the year 1660, soon after the restoration of Charles the

* Harleian MSS, 306. Art. 4.

† Ibid.

Second. At that time the customs' authorities in London interfered authoritatively, declaring that Liverpool possessed, and always had possessed, an independent authority, from the Red Stones at the point of Wirral to the River Mersey, and in all the creeks on both sides of the river, and positively forbidding the custom-house authorities at Chester to interfere beyond their own boundaries, at the mouth of the River Dee.*

To return, however, to the commerce of Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The following is an account of it, made out day by day, for a considerable period, from which a clearer notion of its nature and extent will be obtained than can be given in any other way :—

On the 28th March, 1586, two vessels entered the port of Liverpool and one sailed from it. The two which entered it were the *Trinitie*, of Marlinton, John Clarke, master, burthen 15 tons, from Dundalk; and the *Speedwell*, of Wallazie, Robert Ensall, master, burthen 16 tons, from Dublin. The vessel which left it was the *Trinitie*, of Marlinton, which returned to Dundalk. The cargo which the *Trinitie* brought into Liverpool consisted of 29 packages of yarn, consigned or sent to different parties; of 5 barrels of tallow; and of 600 sheep and brokefells. The cargo of the *Speedwell* consisted of 17 packages of yarn, sent to several persons; of 150 yards of linen cloth; and of 1,600 sheep, deer, and brokefells. The outward cargo taken to Dundalk by the *Trinitie* consisted of diverse sorts of smallwares, namely, 5 cwt. allum, 1 cwt. madder, 5 bales hops, 4 dozen yards broad Yorkshire red cloth, 14 dozen strait, 5 red Yorkshire frisedows, 2 dozen Manchester cottons, 12 dozen knives, and 1 dozen horse combs.

No other vessel entered the port until the 8th April, when the *Michael*,

* The following is the order which at length put an end to the quarrel of Chester and Liverpool:—"Custom-house, London, 12th December, 1660. After our hearty commendations, having by a former letter taken notice of the differences and disputes arisen betwixt some officers and other interested persons, within the port of West Chester and the town of Liverpool, concerning the bounds and limits of each port and place, and having declared our opinion and knowledge that Liverpool, however it may be accustomed a member of West Chester, yet in the execution of all custom affairs hath ever been distinct and absolute of itself, and that the whole river of Mersey, and the shores on both sides, was and ought to be under the care, privilege, and inspection of the officers of his Majesty's customs at Liverpool; but finding our letters either misunderstood or not regarded, and the same dispute and worse troubles prosecuted and fomented, as well against the merchants as officers there, which is a very great prejudice to his Majesty's service, we are again necessitated, for prevention of further inconvenience, to order and desire that what ships' goods or merchandize soever shall be exported or imported from or into the River Mersey, on either side the shore, beginning on Worrall side, at a place called the Red Stones, and not further southwards, be entered and accounted for at the custom-house at Liverpool, and to the officers there, without any your let or hindrance; and hereunto we do expect your ready compliance with, the quiet and welfare of his Majesty's service being very much concerned therein; and so we rest your very loving friends, Nicholas Crisp, John Shaw, John Harris, John Wolstenholme, John Jacob. To the customs' collector, and all his Majesty's officers in the port of West Chester."

of Liverpool, burthen 16 tons, Evan Thomason, master, arrived from Tredarth, or Drogheda, bringing 47 packages of linen yarn, consigned to several different persons, 1 barrel of tallow, and 1,400 skins of sheep, deer, &c. On the same day, the Marie, of Liverpool, Richard Johnson, master, 6 tons burthen, entered from Drogheda, bringing 1,200 hides and skins, and 3 barrels of tallow.

On the 12th April, the barque Strange, John Stronge, master, of 18 tons, entered from Carlingford, bringing 10 packages of linen yarn, and 2,200 skins and hides; and, on the same day, the Tobie, of Hilbrie, Richard Little, master, of 26 tons burthen, entered from Dublin, with 18 packages of linen yarn, and 3,700 skins and hides.

On the 13th April, the Tobie, of Hilbre, 15 tons, cleared out for Dublin, with a cargo consisting of divers sorts of smallwares (particulars not named) of the value of £9. 12s. 1d.

On the 16th April, the Elizabeth, of Liverpool, Robert Pemberton, master, burden 10 tons, cleared out for Dublin, with 10 tons of coal.

On the 18th April, the Hope, of Liverpool, Cuthbert Lawrence, master, burden 34 tons, cleared out for Dublin, with 28 tons of coal; and with 6 pieces of cotton, 5 pieces of housewives cloth, and 6 dozen Manchester checks. On the same day the Swallow, of Wallazie, Robert Williamson, master, burden 12 tons, cleared out for Drogheda, (Tredarth,) with 4 cwt. of madder, 2 cwt. of alum, and divers other smallwares, of the value of £12. 3s. 6d.

On the 22nd April, the Spedewell, of Wallazie, cleared out for Carigfargos, (Carrickfergus,) with 20 barrels of barley malt, and 12 barrels of wheat, "to be delivered to the Queen's Majesties Victualler, in the said town (and fortress) of Carigfargos, for her Majesties use, for provision."

And on the last day of April, the Golden Gray, of Liverpool, Robert Kettle, master, 19 tons burden, arrived from Dublin, bringing 22 packages of yarn, and 4,000 hides and skins.

In the month of May the entries inwards and outwards were as follow:—

On the 3rd of May, the Little Michael, of Liverpool, John Williamson, master, arrived from Drogheda, with 31 packages of linen yarn, and 1,412 hides and skins; and on the same day the Little Margaret, of Liverpool, Henry Shaw, master, burden 12 tons, cleared out for Dublin, with 70 Chester bushels of oat malt, to be delivered in Dublin, to her Majesty's use; and with 4 pieces of fustian and other smallwares, valued at £10.

On the 5th May, the *Peter*, of Wallazie, James Johnson, master, burthen 16 tons, entered from Carlingford, with 24 packages of linen yarn, and 1,100 hides and skins; and, on the same day, the *Edward*, of Liverpool, William Blackmore, master, burthen 10 tons, sailed for Carlingford with 140 windles of malt, and 40 windles of wheat, forwarded, by warrant from the Earl of Derby, to Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight, Marshal of Ireland; and also with divers sorts of smallwares, consisting of 4 barrels of Chester cups and trenchers, (of pewter, then used instead of earthenware,) 6 dozen coarse gloves, 6 dozen leather points, (strings, used instead of buttons,) 4 gross of knives, 2 dozen girths, 6,000 nails, 1 dozen shoeing horns, 2 dozen cans, 12lbs. glue, 6 short and 4 northern dozen, (cloth,) 1 piece Manchester cotton, and 3 pieces Kendal cotton.

On the 4th May, the *Great Margaret*, of Liverpool, John Robinson, master, burden 10 tons, cleared out for Drogheda, with the following cargo:—5 bags of hops, 2 cwt. anniseeds, 2 cwt. madder, 3 firkins of soap, 2 barrels black salt, 1 hhd. Chester cups and trenchers, 5 dozen woollen cards, 2 dozen scythes, 6 saddles, 3 cans, 6 bridles, and 3 packages of smallwares, of the value, respectively, of £15, £20, and £18.

On the 5th May, the *Michael*, of Liverpool, cleared out for Dublin, with a cargo of mercery wares, of the value of £180.

On the 6th May, the *Michael*, of Liverpool, Richard Gyneson, master, burden 16 tons, cleared out for Drogheda with 7 tons of coals, many packages of hops, 3 dozen hanging locks, 2 dozen knives, 2 gross tin spoons, and 2 dozen purses.

On the 16th May, the *Michael*, of Liverpool, John Williamson, master, burden 16 tons, brought from Dublin 5 packages of linen yarn, and a bundle of brass; and “from Nicholas Lewcar, of Waterford, merchant, one firkin, containing 18 pieces of callicow cloth,”—where obtained from is not stated.

On the 18th May, the *Margaret*, of Liverpool, arrived from Drogheda, brought 7 packages of linen yarn, and 1,146 skins and hides.

On the 26th May, the *Marygold*, of Liverpool, 20 tons, arrived from Dublin, with 500 sheep fells and 14 deer fells.

On the 29th May, arrived the *Margaret*, of Marlinton, Patrick Cosgrave, from Drogheda, with 23 packages of linen yarn, 2,800 skins and fells, and 1 cwt. of old brass.

On the last day of May, the *Fenex*, of London, James Covenant,

master, of 36 tons, sailed for Dublin with 1,400 tennis balls, 24 rackets, 1 ton of iron, 1 sack of hops, and 60,000 nails; and the Little Margaret sailed for Dundalk, with 7 Northern dozens, 4 Northern strait, 4 Kendal cottons, 7 Manchester cottons, diverse smallwares, valued at £13, and 1 ton of English iron.

On the 4th June, the Spedewell, of Wallazie, sailed for Dublin, with 12 tons of coals; and on the same day the Margaret, of Carlingford, sailed for Drogheda with a hogshead of Chester cups, 1 dozen woollen cards, 6 pieces Manchester cottons, 1 gross Hallamshire (Sheffield) knives, 1 dozen coarse stockings, and an assortment of other smallwares.

On the 8th June, the Golden Grey sailed for Dublin, with 3 pieces of poledavies, (a kind of sail cloth, manufactured about Warrington,) 4 pieces of Northern broad-cloth, 1 piece of red narrow cloth, smallwares of the value of £33, and 10 tons of coals; and, on the same day, the Michael, of Liverpool, sailed for Dublin, with 10 tons of coals.

On the 13th June, the Edward, William Blackmore, entered from Carlingford with 11 packages of linen yarn, 13 dickers of tanned hides, and 4 packages of salted hides; and, on the same day, the Blomeflower, of Dublin, 30 tons, entered from Dublin, with 4 packages of linen yarn, 40 cadows and blankets, a quantity of old pewter, and a number of fells and skins.

On the 15th June, the Ellen, of Liverpool, sailed for Dublin with 10 tons of coals.

On the 15th June, the John, of Drogheda, burden 12 tons, entered with 21 packages of linen yarn, 190 hides, and 3 barrels of tallow.

On the 17th June, the Swallow, of Wallazie, entered from Dublin, with 19 packages of linen yarn.

On the 22d June, the Spedewell, of Wallazie, 18 tons, entered, with 17 packages of linen yarn, and 140 lbs. of old brass. On the same day, the Michael, of Liverpool, entered, with 25 packages of linen yarn, and several parcels of skins and hides.

Such was the principal import and export trade of Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The foreign arrivals were few and far between; but still occasional arrivals took place, of cargoes of wine from Spain, Portugal, and France; of oranges and other fruits from Bordeaux; and of iron from Biscay. The rarity of these arrivals was partly the result of the superior capital of the merchants of other ports, which enabled them to risk more, and to wait longer for their returns; partly of the unsettled state of the foreign relations of England, which was more

or less openly at war with Spain, then the great naval power of Europe and America, during the whole of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and partly of the obstacles created in the smaller outports, by the extensive privileges conferred by the crown, on the great Association of Merchant Adventurers, in London; on the branches of that association at Chester, Bristol, and other wealthy places; and by the exclusive right of trading possessed by the companies formed to trade to the East Indies, to Muscovy or Russia, to the coast of Barbary, to Spain and Portugal, and to the Levant.

It was not until the year 1581 that the trade of Liverpool obtained relief from an intolerable grievance, to which it had been subjected in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, owing to the exclusive privileges of an incorporated trading company, which had been established at Chester in the reign of Queen Mary, and which had obtained a confirmation of its charter from Queen Elizabeth. This company had been formed for the purpose of trading with Spain and Portugal, which were then the most commercial countries in Europe, the channels through which the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, and the sugar of Brazil, were transmitted to all the other countries of Europe; and through which the manufactures of England were exported to all the richest countries of Europe and America. This company claimed a right to exclude all retailers from the trade, and to impose a duty of twenty-five per cent. on the goods of all persons trading to Spain and Portugal, from Chester or Liverpool, without its permission.* Liverpool, as I have already mentioned, was at that time subject to Chester for custom-house purposes. In this dilemma, the people of Liverpool appealed to the Earl of Derby for protection against this ruinous monopoly; and, by the good offices of the noble earl with Mr. Secretary Walsingham, they obtained permission to trade with Spain and Portugal at their own pleasure. This question was not settled until it had been referred to the Lord Chief-Justice of England and the Master of the Rolls, who decided that the Chester company had no right to make any such order; and gave it as their opinion, that if retailers “of such poor cities and towns, where small trade of navigation is used, should be put from their trade of shipping, it would be a great decay to the same poor cities and towns.”†

At this time, and for many years after, the foreign trade of England was carried on by great incorporated companies, whose policy was to

* Corporation Records.

+ Ibid.

treat all persons, not of their companies, as the merchant adventurers of Chester treated the retailers of Liverpool. These companies were not without their advantages, in securing respect to the mercantile body at home and abroad, and in opening new branches of trade, at a time when private capitals were comparatively small, and when the whole course of the commerce of the world was passing through a great revolution. Still they formed a very serious obstacle to the efforts of individual merchants in the smaller outports. Commerce was also greatly impeded, and without any countervailing advantage, by a multitude of monopolies or exclusive privileges of dealing in particular articles, some of them in great request, given or sold to court favourites. So far was this pernicious custom carried, that it at length produced an alarming difference between the queen and her parliament. This led to the abolition of the practice. The queen apologized for it openly in parliament, declaring that she had erred in ignorance; and adding, “I had rather my heart or hand should perish, than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists as may be prejudicial to my people.*

It will be seen from the account of the trade of Liverpool with Ireland, given above, that it did not extend to the whole island, but only to the ports between Carlingford and Waterford. The shipments to Carrickfergus, which is the only place mentioned north of Carlingford, were not made in course of trade, but consisted of provisions for the garrison of that fortress. Waterford was the furthest point to the south and west, with which any considerable trade was carried on at that time. The trade was thus limited to the province of Leinster, and one or two ports bordering upon it.

At this time the differences of race were much more strongly marked in Ireland than they are now. The English interest, as it was called, was then confined to the provinces of Leinster and Meath, which have been united to form the modern province of Leinster. The Irish interest prevailed almost without rival in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, although a few fortresses and ports were occupied by English garrisons or colonies. One of the most celebrated writers of Queen Elizabeth's reign speaks of Leinster, as a fertile and fruit-bearing region, with a mild climate, and inhabitants whose dispositions were not altogether hostile.† The same writer quotes with approbation the opinion of an older

* Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 635.

† Camden's Britannia, p. 694.

writer, who gives the following description of Meath :—" As for the soil it is fertile in corn, in pastures, and in herds of cattle. The province abounds in fish, flesh, and other articles, as butter, cheese, and milk ; and is watered by numerous rivers. It has a delightful aspect, and a salubrious air. The woods and marshes at its extremities render attack from without difficult ; and because, therefore, of the innumerable multitude of its people, and the strength of its towns and castles, it is called the Chamber (Camera) of Ireland, on account of its tranquillity." A large portion of both these provinces was included in the English pale, the only portion of Ireland in which the English language was spoken, English manners were cultivated, and the English Government was even moderately well obeyed. The account given by the same writer of the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster is very different. The English rule was little more than a name. They were in general governed by chiefs, who were nearly independent. Some of them were of the Irish, others of the Norman race. The Fitzgeralds, the O'Briens, the De Burghs, and the O'Neals were amongst the most powerful of them. These chiefs frequently waged war with each other, and as frequently with the lieutenants of the English Crown ; and these contests were the principal hindrance to the improvement of the country. Ulster was at that time the wildest part of Ireland, and the most hostile to the English rule. "The region is wide, (says Camden,) interspersed with many and vast marshes, and gloomy with dark woods. The soil is in some places barren, in others fertile ; but as the land lies wild, without cultivation, so are the minds of the inhabitants most averse to civilization."* This unfavourable description was written in the brief interval between the two desperate civil wars raised by Shane and by Hugh O'Neal, at a time when Ulster was wasted with the sword, and when the minds of men were too much exasperated to form just judgments. The general opinion, both of Ireland and of its inhabitants, expressed by this great writer, was juster and more favourable. "The island (says Camden, quoting Geraldus) is uneven, hilly, soft, moist, and woody, exposed to the winds, and so marshy that you see the waters stagnate on the tops of the mountains. The climate (as says Pomponius Mela) is unfavourable for maturing grain, but so abundant, not only in pleasant, but in nourishing herbage, that the cattle satisfy themselves by grazing a short part of the day, and sport the remainder." "Hence," adds Camden, "an infinite number of cattle,

* Camden, 706.

which are the first and the chief wealth of the inhabitants ; also many flocks of sheep, which are shorn twice a year, and from the wool of which they form rugs and mantles, which are exported to foreign nations. The horses are also excellent ; and the hawks are famed. These and all the other animals (except men and the hunting dogs called greyhounds) are less than those of England. But the moistness of the climate and soil is so great that diarrhæa and catarrhs abound ; towards curing which, however, they have the best *usquebagh* (*aqua vitæ*), which inflames less, and cherishes more, than ours. So great is the multitude of bees that they are found not only in hives, but in trunks of trees, and in caverns of the earth. Besides this, no snake nor venomous creature is found ; but the wolf still prowls around. To sum up in a few words, whether we look to the fruitfulness of the land, to the abundant yield of the sea, to the convenience of the ports, or to the inhabitants themselves, who are warlike, ingenious, finely formed, with wonderful softness of flesh, and incredible agility, from the suppleness of their members ; the island is endowed with so many good gifts, that Giraldus has well said of it, “ That nature has looked on this island of the west with her most benignant smile.”* It will be seen from what I have already stated, that Ireland furnished the greater part of the imports, and consumed the greater part of the exports of Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I shall show, in subsequent portions of this work, that this trade has since greatly increased, until Ireland has become the chief granary of Lancashire, and the pasture from which its crowded population draws its principal supplies of the necessaries of life. Hence the trade of Ireland has been one of the greatest sources of the wealth of modern, as it was of ancient, Liverpool.

The Irish ports which are mentioned as trading with Liverpool, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, and Waterford. Dublin was already a fine city, wanting nothing which could be desired to secure its prosperity except a harbour freer from sand, and a larger river to bring down the produce of the adjoining counties. The district of Fingal, north of Dublin, was the best cultivated part of the kingdom, and yielded so great a quantity of corn, as to be called the granary of Ireland. Waterford, built and colonized by the Norwegian sea kings, situated at the outlet of two fine rivers, the Barrow and the Suir, was the second city in Ireland, from the convenience

* Camden's *Britannia*, 680.

of its port, and the numbers and wealth of its population. It was then noted for its attachment to the English rule. Drogheda, the capital and outlet of the fine province of Meath, had been a flourishing city for many ages. Drogheda, Dublin, and Cork were the three Irish seats of the staple, in the reign of Edward the Third.* Camden speaks of it as an elegant and frequented place. Dundalk, Newry, and Carlingford were places of some trade, though not equal to Drogheda and Waterford. Cork and Limerick were at that time rather small English colonies than Irish cities. According to Camden, Cork was a crowded little emporium, but so besieged by seditious neighbours that its inhabitants were compelled to keep continual watch against surprise, and not daring to take their daughters into the country, they intermarried with one another, until they were all of one blood. Limerick, situated on the finest river in the British islands, capable of floating the largest ships, was the most celebrated emporium of Munster. Galway was also "an elegant and turreted city," which, from the advantage of the adjoining rivers and lakes, possessed great means of commerce. Wexford, though not a place of much commerce, was memorable amongst the first, for its loyalty and attachment to the English crown. Hence it was made a colony. The whole of the surrounding district was crowded with descendants of the English settlers. They used the ancient English dress and language, as many of them do to this day. It was and is cultivated like a garden.†

On examining the list of exports given above, it will be found that they consisted chiefly of manufactured articles. Amongst them were many materials of dress, as Manchester cottons and checks, Kendal cottons, Yorkshire broad and narrow cloths, friezes or friezedowns, canvas or poledavies, housewives' cloth, gloves, stockings, mercery, and smallwares; and of several articles of cutlery and hardware, as Hallamshire or Sheffield knives, scythes, locks, nails, cans, and spoons, and pewter cups and dishes, the last of which seem to have been made at Chester. There were also a number of substances used in the arts, as allum, madder, and anniseed; a quantity of grain and malt, for the use of the army in Ireland; several small cargoes of coals, and parcels of salt and iron. The imports consisted chiefly of linen yarn, hides and skins, and other raw materials. Thus both the export and import trades of Liverpool had already received the character which they have possessed ever since, that is, of an export of manufactures, and an import of raw materials.

* Statutes at Large, i.

† Camden's Britannia, 696.

The most valuable part of the export trade of the port was that of the materials of clothing, nearly all of which, whether described as woollens or cottons, were formed of wool. By this time the export of wool in an unmanufactured state, which formed the original commerce of the country, had greatly decreased, and that of manufactures of woollen and worsted had increased, in an equal degree. The manufacture of coarse woollens had always existed in England, but until the reigns of the latter princes of the House of Tudor, the English fabrics were too coarse and uneven to compete with the fine fabrics of Italy and Flanders. Florence was the original seat of the woollen manufacture in modern times. That beautiful city owed its wealth to the fine woollens which it then supplied to the whole of Europe;* and which were conveyed (along with other Italian manufactures) by the Genoese and Venetians, to every country from the Euxine to the Irish Sea. Flanders next took up the manufacture of fine woollens, and added to it that of linens.† It had long been the wish of the more intelligent and patriotic of the English kings to establish the manufacture of the fine, as well as that of the coarser, woollens in England. Many attempts were made to effect it, by encouraging the immigration of the artizans of Flanders, by granting privileges to the woollen manufacturers, and by discouraging the importation of foreign woollens. As early as the reign of Henry the First, the youngest son of the Conqueror, a number of Flemish or Belgian artizans, who had been driven from Flanders by an irruption of the ocean, took refuge in England, and were well received. An ancient writer, speaking of these Flemings, says, that they were a brave and robust race; most experienced in the woollen manufacture and in trade; everywhere seeking gain, whether by labour or by peril, on land or on the ocean. Unfortunately, the king settled them in Pembrokeshire, that “little England beyond Wales,” as it was called; a country where they found much more exercise for the sword, in daily battles with the Welsh, than for woollen-weaving. Many of their descendants afterwards followed Earl Strongbow to Ireland, and settled there. Henry the Second, another intelligent king, brought over a small body of Flemish weavers, and further encouraged the art by granting great privileges to the weavers of York and other cities. The weavers of York long possessed an exclusive right of making woollen coverlets.‡ But the age was too barbarous, the country too unsettled, for

* Quarterly Review, June, 1821, 296.

† Miller's History of the British Constitution.

‡ Statutes at Large, ii.

these early attempts to be attended with any great success. A much more successful effort to improve the English woollen manufacture was made by Edward the Third. In the tenth year of his reign he induced a number of Flemish weavers to settle in England, and granted them most extensive privileges. Some of these Flemings were established in London, which was then the first manufacturing city, as well as the first seaport, and the capital of the kingdom. Others were settled in Norfolk. But the principal colony was established at Tenterden, in Kent, and in the surrounding villages and towns. "Near Newenden (says Camden) in a woody district, are Cranbroke, Tenterden, Benenden, and other neighbouring towns, in which the glory of the woollen manufacture first flourished, in the time of Edward the Third, who brought the Belgians into England, by promises and many immunities, in the tenth year of his reign, who taught us the art of weaving woollen cloth, which is now justly regarded as one of the chief columns of the public strength."* After the confusion caused by the Wars of the Roses had passed away, Henry the Seventh greatly encouraged manufactures of all kinds,† and that of woollen cloth especially, which from that time spread so rapidly, that in the reign of Edward the Sixth, in the year 1550, it had extended to almost every county in England.‡ It continued still further to extend and improve during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who willingly received into the kingdom the thousands of ingenious artizans of France and Flanders, who were driven from their homes by civil war, and by the persecutions of Alva and the Guises. "The queen," says Camden, "entertained, with all kind of curtesey, such French people as fled into England : as also Netherlanders, of whom a great multitude had withdrawn themselves into England, as to a sanctuary, while the Duke of Alva breathed nothing but slaughter and blood against them. These, by the queen's permission, settled themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, to the great benefit and advantage of the English; for they were the first that brought into England the art of making those slight stuffs which are called bays and says, and other light stuffs of linen or woollen weaving."§

Although the woollen manufacture was spread over the whole kingdom, yet certain districts were already taking the lead of the rest. Amongst these were the valley of the Thames, and its tributaries, the

* Camden's *Britannia*: Kent.

† Statutes at Large, ii.

+ Lord Bacon's *History of Henry the Seventh*, 76.

§ Camden's *History of Queen Elizabeth*, 56.

Thame, the Isis, the Churn, and the Kennet, from the point where the streams which flow easterly descend from the Cotswold Hills, as far down as Reading, and even Windsor Forest ; the great valley of the Severn and its tributaries, from Shrewsbury to Frome, and from Kidderminster to Hereford ; the city of Norwich, and all the towns of East Norfolk ; the West Riding of Yorkshire ; South Lancashire ; and Kendal in Westmoreland.* Each of these districts possessed some especial advantages. The upper part of the valley of the Thames had abundant supplies of the finest wool from Cotswold and the Wiltshire Downs, as well as numerous running streams, and a greater command of capital, for manufacturing purposes, than any other part of the kingdom. The valley of the Severn was scarcely behind that of the Thames in any of these respects. The Ryeland wool of Herefordshire rivalled that of Cotswold ; and before the quality of both had been sacrificed to quantity, and to the rearing of larger animals, they were superior even to the wool of Spain, from which the finest Saxony and Australian wools are derived. Neither Norfolk nor the north of England could at all compare with the west of England in the quality of their woollen cloth. The reputation of Norfolk rested on its worsted goods, which were the best in England. This arose partly from the peculiar quality of its wools ; partly from the frequent influx of Flemish workmen. The West Riding of Yorkshire, a district of rivers and brooks, and abounding in fine pastures, possessed a good supply of materials for serviceable woollens, and the means of working them up into cloth. South Lancashire was behind most parts of the kingdom in its supplies of wool, both as relates to quantity and quality, but it had enough to manufacture the coarser kinds of woollens. As relates to the supply of linen yarn, it was before any other county in England ; and it possessed a greater amount of water-power than is to be found within an equal space, in any other part of the kingdom. Kendal resembled Lancashire in the abundance of its water-power and the purity of its streams, but surpassed it in its supplies of wool. The sheep pastures of Westmoreland and Cumberland are of great extent and good quality. The woollen manufactures of the valley of the Thames were the great means of sustaining and extending the commerce of London ; those of the valley of the Severn were the chief support of that of Bristol ; the worsted manufactures of Norwich rendered Lynn and Great Yarmouth two of the most flourishing ports in the kingdom ; the West Riding furnished Hull

* See Leland's *Itinerary* and Camden's *Britannia*.

with the greater part of its exports, and joined with South Lancashire and Kendal to create the early commerce of Liverpool.

The following is the account given by contemporary writers of the condition of the principal towns and districts from which Liverpool then obtained its supplies of woollen, linen, and cotton goods.

In South Lancashire, Manchester, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, and Blackburn were already manufacturing towns of some importance. Manchester was the best built, most active, and most populous town in Lancashire; with diverse fine mills on the river Irwell; two market places; several stone bridges over the three streams which unite there; and a handsome collegiate church. But the Irwell, its principal river, was not navigable, on account of rocks and shallows.* Bolton, the next in importance, then "stood" mostly by cottons and coarse yarn. Diverse villages in the moors about Bolton also made cottons. We have fewer particulars respecting Bury, Blackburn, and Rochdale; but their manufactures were of sufficient importance, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to employ a deputy alnager, or measurer of cloths.† Kendal, in Westmoreland, was a celebrated emporium of woollen cloths, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and in that of Elizabeth its inhabitants carried on an abundant trade in that article throughout all England. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, the manufacture of woollen cloths was carried on to a great extent, in the valleys of the Calder and the Aire, almost from their sources to the point where they fall into the Ouse. Wakefield, on the Calder, stood by clothing, and was the principal manufacturing town of the district. It was a very "quick" market town, tolerably large. Halifax, and the villages in the surrounding hills and valleys were also full of manufactures. "Forasmuch (says the preamble of an act of Parliament, of the reign of Philip and Mary) as the parish of Halifax and other places thereunto adjoining, being planted in great wastes and moors, where the fertility of the soil is not apt to bring forth common good grass, but in rare places, and by exceeding and great industry of the inhabitants, the inhabitants altogether do live by cloth making; and the greater part of them neither groweth corn, nor is able to keep a horse to carry wool, nor yet to buy much wool at once; but hath ever used only to repair to the town of Halifax, and some other nigh thereto, and there to buy upon (of) the wool driver, (dealer,) some a stone, some two, and some three or four, according to their ability, and

* Leland's Itinerary, v., 94.

† Statutes at Large, ii.

to carry the same to their houses, some three, four, five, or six miles off, upon their heads or backs; and so make and convert the same either into yarn or cloth, and to sell the same, and so buy more wool of the wool driver; by means of which industry the barren grounds in these parts are now much inhabited, and above five hundred households there newly increased, within these forty years past." For these reasons these industrious people were allowed to continue to buy wool in the same way, notwithstanding a recent act of Parliament regulating the mode of wool-buying. Lower down these vallies, on the junction of three streams, Bradford, a pretty quick market town, half the size of Wakefield, stood by clothing.* And about eight miles lower than Bradford, on the banks of the Aire, stood Leeds, which had been a clothing town from the reign of Edward the Third, when the fulling mills were let for 33s. 6d. a year;† and which has since become the capital of the woollen districts of England, although it was inferior to Bradford, when it was visited by Leland. "Leeds, (he says,) two miles lower then Kirkstall Abbey, on Aire river, is a pretty market, having one church, reasonably well builded, as large as Bradford, but not so quick as it."‡ Such was the condition of the districts from which Liverpool then drew its chief supplies of manufactures; and whose great increase in activity and wealth, in more recent times, has been the principal cause of the wonderful increase which has taken place in the commercial prosperity both of Liverpool and Hull. At the time of which I write, the north of England was still far behind Norfolk, and the vallies of the Thames and the Severn, in manufacturing wealth and resources; but it was steadily gaining on them, and has continued to advance, until it has greatly surpassed them all.

Next, perhaps, in importance to the woollen trade, was the manufacture of cutlery and hardware. Gloucester was the original seat of this great trade; but Sheffield and Rotherham, Birmingham and Walsall, were noted for their manufactures of knives, swords, bucklers, scythes, locks, nails, bits, and numerous other articles, as early as the reign of Henry the Eighth, and probably much earlier. Hallamshire, that is to say Sheffield, knives are mentioned amongst the exports of Liverpool, in the summary given above, as well as many articles of cutlery and hardware, some of which were probably obtained from that part of Yorkshire, others from Staffordshire and Warwickshire.

* Leland's Itinerary, vii., 45.

† Thoresby's Ducatus Leodensis, 82

‡ Leland's Itinerary, vii., 45.

The export of English iron was at that time very small. Biscay, then, as now, the most flourishing part of Spain, was the great iron country of those days. Considerable quantities of Biscayan iron were imported into Liverpool. The quality of the Spanish iron was much superior to that of the English. Camden, speaking of the iron made in the great forest of Andradswald, in Sussex, (then the greatest iron district in England,) says that it was less tenacious than the Spanish iron, either from nature or want of skill in the manufacture.* The forest of Deane was the second iron district in England in extent; and the manufacture was carried on in many parts of the kingdom, amongst others at Bury, and at Furness, in Lancashire. It ceased about Bury in the reign of Henry the Eighth, from want of wood for the furnaces.† It was also suspended in the rich mineral district of Furness, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the same reason. There the farm-tenants agreed to pay a bloomary rent to the lord of the soil, on condition that the furnaces should be blown out, and that the young trees, used in the iron manufacture, should be kept to feed their cattle, in the winter months. So general was the alarm caused by the wasting of the woods in the manufacture of iron, that an act‡ was passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, declaring that no timber, a foot square at the root, should be cut anywhere within fourteen miles of the sea, or of the rivers Thames, Severn, Wye, Humber, Dee, Tyne, Tees, Trent, or any other river, to be used in making iron, except in Sussex and in the Weald of Kent, where the forests were then considered inexhaustible. A further act was also passed at the same reign, in the year 1591, declaring that no iron works should be formed anywhere within twenty-two miles of London.§ The following are the places at which iron was produced during the reigns of the Tudors:—The Weald, or Wild of Sussex and Kent; the forest of Deane, in Gloucestershire; Bury,|| and Furness, in Lancashire;¶ Blomefield and Ruabon, in North Wales;** Walsall, in Staffordshire;†† and Lantrissant, in South Wales.‡‡

The trade in earthenware did not exist at the period of which I am writing. At that time pewter answered all the purposes which earthenware answers at the present time; and Chester seems to have had a good share of that useful manufacture. A writer of the age of Elizabeth notices the increased use of pewter vessels, in the place of treen or wooden ones, as one of the principal signs of improvement, in his times. “There

* Camden's *Britannia*, 226. + Leland's *Itinerary*, vii., 49. † Statutes at Large, ii., 528.

§ Statutes at Large, ii., 628. || Leland's *Itinerary*, iv., 83. ¶ Camden's *Britannia*, 273.

** Leland's *Itinerary*, v., 33.

†† Ibid, vii., 28.

‡‡ Ibid, iv., 41.

are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain (says Hollinshead) which have noted three things to be marvellously amended in England, within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected. * * The second is the great amendment of lodging. * * The third is the change of treene plates into pewter, and wood spoons into silver and tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house; and yet for all this frugality (if it may so be justly called) they were scarce able to live and pay their rents, in those days, without selling a cow, or a horse, or more, although they paid but four pounds, at the uttermost, by the year. * * Whereas, in my time, although peradventure four pound of old rent be improved to forty or fifty pounds, yet the farmer thinks his gains very small if, towards the middest (middle) of his term, he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, wherewith to purchase a new lease, besides a fair garnish of pewter for his cupboard, three or four feather beds, so many coverlets or carpets of tapestry, a silver salt, a bowl for wine (if not a whole nest), and a dozen of spoons, to furnish up the suit."*

The above must have been good times for farmers; and so they doubtless were. From the continued influx of silver and gold from the Spanish mines, and from the rapid increase of the population, the price of grain rose rapidly during the whole of the Tudor period; and though rents also rose considerably, yet they did not rise either so rapidly or to such a height as to deprive the farmers of very liberal profits. Camden says that the improvement of agriculture was greatly promoted by the removal of restrictions on grain, which had prevented the free transport of it. "The country people also (says he), when license was once granted to transport grain, began to ply their husbandry more diligently than before; yea and above that which the laws afterwards made required, by breaking up ground which had lain untilld beyond all memory of man."† Even this was not found sufficient to supply the wants of the country, and, in consequence, a bold scheme was formed for reclaiming the great marshes and wastes, in the eastern counties of England. In the year 1600, the forty-third Elizabeth, an act passed for reclaiming many hundred thousand acres of marshes and wastes, in Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, Kent, and Durham.‡ Under these circumstances the exports of

* Hollinshead's History of England.—*Book ii.*, 85.

+ Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 56. † Statutes at Large, A.D. 1600.

grain were naturally very small. Those sent from Liverpool consisted merely of supplies for the English garrisons in Ireland. In the year 1595 the home supply was found to be insufficient, and permission was given to import grain from abroad, without duty. "Great quantities of grain were brought into England from the Hanse towns, after that the queen had given leave to every one to bring it in without custom, which much abated the price of grain, which, by continual rains in summer, and private transportation of it, was grown to that high rate that some of the meaner sort of people in London began to raise tumults about it."*

The result of all these circumstances was, that England had become one of the first countries of Europe, in point of industry, in the reign of Elizabeth, both as to the extent and the variety of its products. With regard to variety it may be mentioned that nearly twenty different fabrics of woollen, linen, and, what were then called, cottons, are enumerated in an order sent to London for Santos, in Brazil, in the year 1578. This is probably the first order for a cargo of goods for the South American market. Most of these were evidently of English manufacture, from their names and descriptions, including a lot of 400 ells of Manchester cottons.† With regard to the extent and value of English commerce,

* Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 506.

† The following is the order, as given in the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages: It is contained in a letter written by John Whittal, a young Englishman, who settled in that country in the year 1578, where he married the daughter of a Genoese planter, of the name of Doria, who possessed an ingenio, or sugar manufactory, with sixty or seventy slaves. John Whittal addresses a letter, dated Santos, in Brazil, the 26th of June, 1578, to Mr. Richard Staper, an old friend in London, in which, after having given him the particulars of his marriage, and having informed him that certain mines of gold and silver had been discovered at a place called Saint Vincente, he informs him that a ship-load of goods from London would sell at a very great profit in Brazil, where a return cargo of sugar might be got very cheap. The outward cargo, he says, would yield a profit of three for one, and the proceeds might be invested in white sugar at 400 reis the roue (32lbs. for a ducat). He further says the voyage is as good as any voyage to Peru, and informs his friend that if he chooses to try the adventure, in a vessel of sixty or seventy tons, he will do well to follow his directions, by sending out the following goods:—First, he must load his ship partly with Hampshire and Devonshire carsies, with which he must proceed to the Canaries; there sell the said carsies, and, with the proceeds, load sixteen tons of wines that be perfect and good, and six dozen of cordovan skins, of these colours, orange tawney, red, and very fine black. As it may not be easy to find those colours, the captain is to take saffron with him to dye them. He is also to take on board, at the Canaries, three hogsheads of sweet oil. Also, in London, to load in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares:—First, 4 pieces Holland, of middle sort; 1 piece of fine Holland; 400 ells of Osenbridges (Osnaburghs), very fine; 4 dozen of scissors, of all sorts; 16 quintals of pitch, of the Canaries; 20 dozen of great knives, which be made in fardels of a low price; 4 dozen of small sort; 6 pieces of bays, of the lowest sort; 1 very fine piece of bays; 400 ells of Manchester cottons, most black green, some yellow; 8 or 10 dozen of hats, the one-half trimmed taffeta, the other plain, with the bands of cypress; 6 dozen of coarse shirts; 3 dozen of doublets of canvas; 3 dozen of doublets of stitched canvas; one piece of fine Milan fustian; 6 dozen of locks for doors and chests; 6,000 of all manner of fish hooks; 4 dozen reams of paper; 2 dozen of glasses of divers sorts; 2 dozen of Venice glasses, the one-half great, the other middle sort; 2 dozen of mantles of frize of the lowest price that can be; 3 dozen of frize gowns; 400 lbs. of tin of the use of Portugal, most small dishes and trenchers; 4 lbs. of silk of all colours; 21 lbs. of spices, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, and

in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Camden says, "Certainly in these our days (I speak it out of books of accounts,) the commerce betwixt the English and the Netherlanders hath amounted to twelve millions of ducats every year;* and the English cloths, to say nothing of lead, tin, &c., to five millions." This great trade was afterwards much injured, when "the most beautiful city of Antwerp, which did not yield to any of the most flourishing towns of Europe, was miserably sacked by the Spaniards."† But this was only one, though a very principal, branch of the foreign trade of England. A large trade also existed with Hamburg. Elbing, on the Baltic, owed a great part of its beauty and splendour, and of the great resort of people to it, to the commerce and trade of the English.‡ The trade with Muscovy, or Russia, was also extensive. At that time the English Muscovy Company had a monopoly of the foreign trade of Russia, which it carried on by way of Archangel. Not content with this, they penetrated to the centre of Asia. Ascending the Duina in canoes, they crossed from Wologda to Yaraslaw, and then by the Volga, and after a voyage of thirty days and as many nights, descended down the river to Astrakhan. From Astrakhan, where they built ships, they crossed the Caspian Sea many times, and pierced through the vast deserts of Hyrcania and Bactriana to Tenerin and Casbin, cities of Persia, "in hope to attain Cathay," that is, China. This bold enterprise, however, failed, "for the wars which shortly after grew hot between the Turks and Persians, and the robberies of the barbarians, interrupted the laudable enterprise of the Londoners."§ In addition of the above branches of commerce, a valuable trade existed with Portugal and its colonies, on the coast of Africa, that is, with Madeira and the Azores.|| The Turkey Company carried on a gainful trade with Constantinople, Scio, Angora, Petrazzo, Alexandria, Egypt, Cyprus, and elsewhere in Asia, for spices, cottons, raw silk, tapestries, Indian dyes,

saffron; 2 quintals of white soap; 3 lbs. of thread, white, black, and blue; 3 lbs. of fine white thread; $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen of northern carseys, of divers colours; 4 sorting cloths, blue, red, yellow, and green; 6 northern dozens of divers colours; 1 fine blue cloth of 8 lb.; one fine stannel of 10 or 12 lbs.; 1 fine sheep's colour cloth, of 12 lbs.; 1 fine black carsey; 1 fine stannel carsey; 6 yards of black velvet; 3 barrels of nails for chests; 3 barrels of nails for ships and barques; 6 quintals of oakum; 2 dozen of velvet girdles, without hangers; 400 yards of taffata, red, black, and blue, with some green; 2 dozen of leather girdles; 6 dozen of axes, hatchets, and small bills, to cut wood; 4 masses of gittern strings; 400 or 500 ells of some fine linen cloth that is of a low price, to make shirts and sheets; 4 tons of iron; 6 yards of crimson velvet; 6 yards of crimson satin; 12 yards of fine puce black; also, a dozen of shirts, and 6 or 8 dozen pieces of says for mantles.

* Hollinshead speaks of three ducats as about equal to one pound sterling.

+ History of Queen Elizabeth, Camden, 214.

† Ibid, 539.

§ Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 124.

|| Camden, 215.

grapes of Corinth (currants), soap, &c.* And at the close of Elizabeth's reign that greatest and most celebrated of trading companies, the English East India Company, was formed. "The queen," says the noble historian, whom I have so often quoted, "for the increase of navigation and the propagation of trade, about this time set up a company of East India merchants, with large privileges, who forthwith sent James Lancaster thither with three ships, the same man whom we mentioned in 1594 to have valiantly won Fernambuck (Pernambuco) in Brazil. And they have luckily despatched a fleet thither every year since, to their great profit and advantage; and, to the honour of the English nation, have placed factories in Surat, in the empire of the Great Mogul, in Musilipatam, Bantam, Patane, Siam, Seged, Macassar, and also in Japan; and have with happy victories repressed the insolence and Turkish treachery of their enemies; whether to the good of the commonwealth, so great a mass of silver being still exported from England, and such a multitude of seamen consumed in the voyage, let wise men speak and posterity judge."† Happily the evil of this export of silver, (if it ever was one,) gradually ceased to be felt, as silver accumulated in Europe; and in modern times the export itself has almost ceased, with the change in the balance of trade with the east. As for the mortality which Camden so justly lamented, that has also been greatly diminished, since the discovery of anti-scorbutic remedies has extirpated that dreadful scourge of long voyages—the scurvy—since improvements in the constructing, the victualling, and the management of ships, have guarded the sailor from so many of the evils to which he was formerly exposed, and since the improvements of navigation have shortened the duration of the voyage one-half.

In the fifth year of the reign of Philip and Mary, during the war with France, in which Mary had involved her kingdom to promote the schemes of Spain, the king and queen addressed a letter to "the mayor, customs-comptroller, and searcher, of the town and port of Liverpool, and to all other officers to whom it shall appertain," informing them that the French and Scotch were making great preparations for war; commanding that no vessels should leave the port of Liverpool until further orders; and requiring them to make a return of the number of ships and other vessels within the port, and the creeks belonging to the same; of the tonnage thereof; and likewise of the number of mariners and seafaring

* Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 596.

+ Camden, 237.

men within the port and creeks. This order bears date the 16th February, 1557. In answer to it, Thomas Moore, who was then mayor, reported that there were two ships, one of 100 tons and the other of 50 tons, and seven smaller vessels belonging to the town or creeks, which were then in port; that there were four abroad; and that the number of seamen belonging to the port was two hundred.

In the year 1565 an order was addressed to John Crosse, Esq., who was at that time Mayor of Liverpool, requiring information as to the number of vessels belonging to the port, and also as to the number of seamen by whom they were worked. From the return made to this order it appears, that the number of vessels belonging to the River Mersey was 15, the amount of their tonnage 268, and the number of seamen 80. It also appeared that no vessel of greater burden than 40 tons belonged to the town at that time, so that the two vessels, one of 100, and the other of 50 tons, mentioned in the previous return, made in the reign of Queen Mary, must have been lost, sold, or worn out. Although voyages of immense length were performed at that time in vessels of from 40 to 100 tons, (as will be seen in a succeeding chapter,) still this return shows how very small a portion of the shipping of England belonged to Liverpool at this time. According to the historian Hollinshead, the mercantile navy of England, in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, consisted of from 1,700 to 1,800 vessels, of the average value of £1,000, or 3,000 ducats. Supposing this estimate to have been near the truth, the shipping of Liverpool was humble indeed, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; but it began to increase about that time, and has advanced step by step, and without interruption, until it has attained to its present greatness.

The following official returns of the population and shipping of Liverpool in the year 1565, the seventh of Queen Elizabeth; and of the average yearly amount of customs' duties, paid at the principal outports of England, from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth years of the same reign, will complete this portion of the History of Liverpool:—

RETURN OF THE POPULATION AND SHIPPING OF LIVERPOOL IN THE MAYORALTY OF JOHN CROSSE, ESQ.:

“The sum and number of the householders and cottagers the 12th November, 1565, is 138, whereof are owners, masters, and mariners and fishers with their barks, great and small, to wit:

		Tons.	Men.
The Eagle.	Robert Corbett, owner	40	12 and 1 Boy.
The George.	John and Thomas Winstanley.	36	10
The Saviour	Thomas Uttyn.	30	8
The Bartholomew . . .	William Lawrence.	16	6
The Falcon	George Ashton.	16	6

		Tons.	Men.
The Mighhill	Edward Nicholson and John Williamson.	20	7 and Master.
The Sondaye	William Walker and Thomas Mason . .	15	3 „
The Maria George . . .	Thomas Fisher and Richard Barker . .	15	5 Men.
The Peter	Peter Starkie	12	5
The Swallow	Thomas Bastwysell	3	3
The Good Luck	Thomas Bradshaw	6	3
The Elizabeth	Nicholas Richardson	12	—
The Mygell, Wallazie .	Gilbert Dobb and Jas. Robinson	14	—
The John, Ditto	John Aynesdale	24	8
The Lark, Ditto	H. and R. Young	8	3
		268	80

AVERAGE RECEIPTS OF GREAT CUSTOMS AT THE PRINCIPAL OUTPORTS OF ENGLAND, FROM
20TH TO 25TH QUEEN ELIZABETH.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Chester, including Liverpool .	437	13	4½	Newcastle	229	8	3
Exeter	995	13	6½	Lynn	1,661	15	10
Boston	168	2	11½	Plymouth and Fowey	281	17	11
Bridgewater	87	5	11	Poole	751	2	9
Bristol	901	17	2½	Yarmouth	1,167	14	8
Gloucester	47	13	0				
Hull	1,515	18	2	Total	£6,195	3	7*

Before the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the customs' revenue from London and the outports had increased to about £50,000 a year.†

* Harleian MSS., 306. Art. 4.

† Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 446.

CHAPTER NINTH.

ON THE EFFECTS WHICH THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA AND OF THE NEW ROUTE TO INDIA PRODUCED ON THE COMMERCE OF EUROPE.

ALTHOUGH the reign of Henry the Seventh was as barren of local events as any period of equal extent in the annals of Liverpool, yet it was in that reign that those noble discoveries were made by Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and other navigators, which have had so great an influence on the commerce of the port in more recent times. It will therefore be convenient to give a brief sketch of the events which preceded and followed the discovery of America, and of the ocean passage to India, as an introduction to the history of the greatest branch of commerce now carried on from the port of Liverpool, which we shall thus be able to trace to its origin.

The first impulse given to maritime discovery in the middle ages was that communicated to it by the Portuguese, who were then amongst the most enterprising of the nations of Europe. The opening of the new route to India, by the southern point of Africa, was the crowning result of a succession of voyages of discovery along the coast of Africa, commenced under the patronage and direction of Don Henry, of Portugal, the fifth son of King John the First of that country. As early as the year 1418 the fine island of Madeira, then covered with thick woods, from which it takes its name,* was discovered by two gentlemen of the household of Don Henry, named John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristram Vaz Texeira; and about the same time the prince acquired the Canary Islands, by purchase from the heirs of John de Betancourt, a Norman baron, who had conquered them, under a patent of the King of Spain. In a few years these islands were settled and richly cultivated, and were covered with vineyards and sugar plantations,† the plants, both of the vines and canes, having been brought from Sicily. An active

* Madhiera, in Portuguese, a wood or forest.

† History of Maritime and Inland Discovery. Lardner's Cyclopædia.

commerce sprang up between those islands and the peninsula; and they became the starting points for numerous expeditions, by which the whole coast of Guinea was discovered, as far as the equator, and the way was prepared for still greater enterprises.

In the year 1486 the Cape of Good Hope was first doubled—the Indian Ocean first entered, from the south—by Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household of Portugal. From the violent storms which he encountered whilst sailing round it he gave it the name of Cabo Tormentoso, or the Cape of Storms; but, on his return, John the Second, his royal master, gave it the more encouraging and enduring name of the Cabo de Buena Esperanca—the Cape of Good Hope. In spite of the storms which he encountered Diaz sailed some distance along the coast of Africa, and found that it took a north-easterly course after the Cape was passed. He reached a large river, to which he gave the name of Rio do Infante. This is supposed to have been the Great Fish river, within the limits of the Cape colony, on whose banks a flourishing English settlement has been formed in modern times. The hopes of completing the circumnavigation of Africa, and of reaching India, founded on the discoveries of Diaz, were greatly strengthened by intelligence received from two Portuguese envoys, who had been sent down the Red Sea, to find out and open a communication with the Christian King of Abasynnia, the mysterious Prester John of Africa. In the year 1487, these envoys, Pedro de Cavilhem, and Alonzo de Payva, despatched two Jewish messengers from Cairo, to King John the Second of Portugal, informing him that there could be no doubt, from the reports brought by Indian pilots to Calicut, Goa, Aden, and Sofala, on the coast of Africa, that if the Portuguese prosecuted their voyages of discovery round the southern point of Africa, they would reach Zanzibar and Sofala, “rich in gold.”* In consequence of this intelligence; of the discoveries of Diaz; and still more of the wonderful impulse just given to maritime enterprise by the successful voyage of Columbus to America, (which was then believed to be a part of India.) Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon on the 8th of July, 1497, with a determination to reach India by passing round the Cape. After making his way from point to point, and struggling against winds and currents for eight months, he reached the channel of Mozambique. From that point Gama made his way to the Moorish city of Melinda, further north; and there taking an Indian pilot

* Humboldt's *Cosmos*, 2, 256.

he crossed the Indian Ocean in safety, and reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, about nine months after his departure from Europe.

Five years before Vasco de Gama opened this new route between the different quarters of the old world, Christopher Colon, or Columbus, had shown the way to the new world, which we call America, but which to the hour of his death he believed to be a portion of Asia. "Columbus," says the illustrious Humboldt, "sailing westward of the meridian of the Azores, through an entirely unexplored sea, and employing the newly-improved astralobe for the determination of his position, sought the east of Asia by a western route, not as an adventurer, but according to a preconceived and steadfastly pursued plan."* The course across the ocean which the imperfect science of that day induced Columbus to take would have conducted him to Florida, and probably thence to Virginia, but this was the region reserved by Providence for the seat of the Anglo-Saxon race.† On finding that he did not reach the coast of Japan, (the point which he sought,) as soon as he ought to have done, according to the geographical theories of his age, Columbus turned his course southward; and after overcoming all the difficulties caused by the fears of his companions, he at length reached the islands of the West Indies. Here he at once found himself amidst the beauties and wonders of tropical America. "The loveliness of this new land (says Columbus, in his journal of his first voyage to America) far surpasses that of the Campina de Cordoba. The trees are bright with ever-green foliage, and perpetually laden with fruit. The plants on the ground are tall and full of blossoms. The breezes are mild, like those of April in Castile, and nightingales sing more sweetly than I can describe. At night other small birds sing sweetly, and I also hear our grasshoppers and frogs. Once I came into a deeply enclosed harbour, and saw high mountains which no human eye had seen before, from which the lovely waters streamed down. The mountains were covered with firs, pines, and other trees of very various forms, and adorned with beautiful flowers. Ascending the river which poured itself into the bay, I was astonished at the cool shade, the crystal clear water, and the number of singing birds. It seemed to me as if I could never quit a spot so delightful; as if a thousand tongues would fail to describe it; as if the spell-bound hand would refuse to write." In his first voyage Columbus visited several of the most beautiful islands of the West Indies, and amongst them the large and fertile island of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo. After a stay of some months he

* Humboldt's *Cosmos*. ii., 263.

† *Ibid*, ii., 264.

returned to Europe, and on the 15th of March, 1493, reached Palos, the port from which he had sailed on the ever-memorable voyage, in which he first “unbarred the gates of the ocean” to mankind. He brought back with him a considerable quantity of gold and silver, a number of fine fabrics of native manufacture, and such reports of the beauty and wealth of the newly-discovered regions, as gave to the European nations that great impulse to western adventure which continues to this day, and which is now pouring hundreds of thousands of emigrants yearly from the shores of Europe to those of the new world.

As I have already mentioned, the glory of discovering the ocean passage to India belonged to the Portuguese alone. After the discovery of Diaz this great prize seemed almost within their grasp, and they had already secured exclusive possession of all their new possessions, and of those which they hoped to obtain, by a bull from the Pope, which possessed weight with all the nations of western Europe at that time. Hence, when the immortal Genoese offered to the King of Portugal, who was looked on as the hereditary patron of naval enterprise, to open a new route to India, by sailing to the west, his offer was coldly received, and ultimately rejected. Undeterred by this refusal, Christopher Columbus proceeded in person to Spain, where, after long delay and disappointment, he at length obtained the needful assistance from the sovereigns of that country, Ferdinand and Isabella. Whilst this was still doubtful, he sent his brother Bartholomew to London, to solicit the assistance of King Henry the Seventh, in the great enterprise on which he had fixed his soul.* He had the more reason to expect assistance from the King of England, from the fact that the English were already known as daring navigators. Fifteen years before Christopher Columbus discovered America, in the year 1477, he had visited the distant island of Iceland, and when there had found that many Bristol ships frequented its distant and inhospitable coasts, to carry on the trade in stockfish or dried cod.† Unhappily, or happily, (who shall presume to say which?) Bartholomew Columbus met with delays which deprived England of the honour of furnishing the means for the great enterprise of his immortal brother. On his voyage to England he fell amongst pirates, who plundered him of everything that he possessed, so that when he reached England he was in a state of utter destitution.‡ Being a man

* Lord Bacon's History of Henry the Seventh, 189.

+ Humboldt's Cosmos, ii.

‡ Hakluyt's Voyages, iii., 2.

of prudence, he resolved to postpone his application to the king until he could apply in a more influential character than that of a penniless adventurer; being also a man of resources, he succeeded, after a time, in obtaining a respectable position, by making and selling sea cards, or charts, on which "the burning zone", discovered by the Portuguese, was depicted, along with all the other portions of the world described by the older geographers.* After having obtained a position of moderate prosperity, he brought the great project of his brother before the English king, and succeeded in obtaining an offer of assistance. He immediately proceeded to Spain, to bring his brother to England, but, on arriving there, he found that he had obtained aid from the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, and had sailed in search of the world which he discovered.

The news of the discovery of America soon spread throughout the whole of Europe. It produced an immense excitement everywhere, and nowhere greater than in England. Happily, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian navigator, only second in fame to the great Genoese, was then in England, and possessed the confidence of the king and of the merchants of London and Bristol.† The desire of following up, if not of rivalling the discoveries of Columbus, took possession of his mind, and he soon succeeded in communicating his confidence and his enthusiasm, both to the king and the people. "In that time," says Sebastian Cabot, "when news was brought that Don Christopher Colonus, a Genoese, had discovered the coast of India, whereof was great talk in all the Court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men, with great admiration, found it to be more divine than human, to sail by the west unto the east, where spices grow, by a way that was never known before; by this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing."‡ The same desire, if not of attempting, at least of assisting in some notable thing, in the way of discovery, had spread to the hearts of many in England, and gave rise to a long succession of voyages of discovery. These were all unsuccessful in their immediate object, which was to find a passage to a land of gold and spices, supposed to be a part of India, by sailing to the north-west, or afterwards to the north-east; but they were successful in opening many new branches of trade, in greatly extending the knowledge of navigation, and in strength-

* Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii., 6.

† There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristow, a man seen and expert, in cosmography and navigation.—*Lord Bacon's Life of Henry the Seventh*, 187.

‡ Hakluyt, iii., 7.

ening that spirit of enterprise and self-reliance, which has since rendered the English the most distinguished colonizers and merchants of modern times.

The first expedition which sailed from England was fitted out under authority of a charter granted to John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and his sons Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, by Henry the Seventh. This charter, which bears the date of the 5th March, 1495, authorized them to sail under the banners and ensigns of the King of England, in search of new countries, unknown to Christians, in the seas of the east, the west, and the north. These countries they were authorized to subdue and to occupy, on condition of paying to the king a fifth part of their gains.* As a further encouragement to the adventurers it was agreed that all goods which they might import from the new countries should be free from customs ; and to encourage the merchants of Bristol to advance their money freely for the enterprise, it was stipulated that Bristol should have an exclusive privilege of receiving the articles imported from the newly-discovered countries.† Owing either to the difficulty of raising funds, or some other cause, the expedition did not sail until the month of May, 1497. The ships which composed it were manned and victualled at the cost of the king : several merchants of London sent small stocks of goods in them ; and they were accompanied by three or four small Bristol ships, loaded with “ slight and gross merchandizes, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, and points.” The expedition sailed from Bristol, and, crossing the Atlantic at a higher latitude than that followed by Columbus, reached the island called *Prima Vista* by the Italian Commanders, and *Newfoundland* by the English, about five o’clock, on the morning of the 24th of June, 1497. Of course the commanders and seamen in this voyage neither found gold nor silver ; neither a soft climate, nor a fertile soil, nor a passage to India : but instead of what they sought they found a sea swarming with seals, and with fish of many kinds, especially with the fish which the natives called *baccalaos*, and the English codfish.‡ After examining the coast of Newfoundland, the Cabots proceeded with their voyage. In the course of it they discovered the Continent of America. Sebastian Cabot landed upon the iron-bound coast of Labrador, between 56 and 58 degrees of north latitude,§ seventeen months before Columbus saw the Delta of Oronoco, in his third voyage, on the 1st of August, 1498.|| After the discovery of Labrador he sailed along the

* Hakluyt’s Voyages, iii., 5.

+ Ibid.

‡ Ibid, iii., 6.

§ Humboldt’s Cosmos, ii., 266.

|| Ibid.

coast of North America as far as Florida, thus passing along the shores of that great territory, which was settled a hundred years later by English colonists, and which now contains twenty millions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Three years after the English expedition under Sebastian Cabot had landed on the coast of Labrador, and seven years after Columbus had discovered the West India Islands, in the year 1500, the coast of Brazil was discovered by a Portuguese navigator, Vincent Pinzon, and also by Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who was driven upon it by a violent storm, whilst on a voyage to the East Indies.

Some years later—in 1534—the French sent out an expedition under the command of the gallant Jaques Cartier, which explored the coast of New Brunswick, and sailed many hundred miles up that magnificent river, the St. Lawrence.*

Although the English followed the Spaniards at a very short distance as explorers of America, and preceded the Portuguese, yet they were left far behind both, as settlers of that country. This arose from the difference of the natural productions, and of the character of the inhabitants, in the districts of America explored by the three nations.

The Spaniards landed in the West Indies, an open and beautiful country, abounding in wealth, and whose inhabitants were unable to resist their power, and feared to disobey their commands. These unfortunate creatures the successors of Columbus, (for he was himself unstained by cruelty and injustice,) first plundered of all that they possessed, and then turned into slaves. The whole race soon perished in swelling the wealth of their conquerors, in the field and the mine; but its place was at once supplied with a hardier race of slaves, brought from the coast of Africa. Thus the wealth of Spanish America continued to pour into Europe in an uninterrupted stream, and Spanish settlers spread themselves rapidly over all the central regions of America, prolific in gold, silver, and tropical produce, or stretching out into great savannahs, swarming with herds of cattle. When Robert Tomson, an English merchant, visited the Spanish West Indies, in the year 1555, he found in the island of St. Domingo great stores of sugar, ginger, and sarsaparilla.† There were at that time four hundred Spanish households in the city of St. Domingo. At a somewhat later period, as Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, states in his account of the West Indies, the chief wealth of the island was in its sugar. He adds, that

* Hakluyt's Voyages, iii., 212.

† Ibid, iii., 419.

there were many “ingenios,” or sugar manufactories ; that the island had been entirely laid bare of its native inhabitants, who had perished in the mines, or who had been cruelly butchered ; that the Spaniards, lacking men for their ingenios, had been obliged to bring negroes from the coast of Guinea, who had so increased, that the island was as full of them as it had been of the natural inhabitants, so that the Spaniards carried negroes from the island to the main land, and sold them there.* The splendid vice-royalty of Mexico was conquered by the Spaniards about the year 1519 ; that of Peru in the year 1531 ; and the fine regions of Chili in 1538. The rivers Amazons and Plate were also explored ; and a great and most profitable trade was established across the continent. These countries were soon colonized by settlers eagerly seeking for gold, silver, and tropical produce. When the English traveller, who has been mentioned above, landed at Vera Cruz, in Mexico, he found that it contained three hundred Spanish households. At Puebla de los Angeles he found six hundred Spanish households. In the great and splendid city of Mexico there were fifteen hundred of those households, and three hundred thousand native inhabitants. In the country he found rich mines of silver, and large supplies of silk, cotton, indigo, cochineal, sugar, and many other valuable articles. Mr. Henry Hawks, who travelled in Mexico in the year 1572, found a great store of cotton wool, “with which they make a manner of linen cloth”—plain cottons like linen. This served for shirts and all other kinds of garments, both for the natives and the poorer class of the Spaniards. “Were it not for this,” adds Mr. Hawks, “all manner of cloth that goeth out of Spain—I say, linen cloth—would be sold out of all measure.”† He further states that the pomp and splendour of the owners of the mines were like that of noblemen. Each owner of a mine also required to have at least a hundred slaves to carry and stamp his metals, together with numerous mules, and oxen, and wains to carry the ores, the wood, and the quicksilver, which was then beginning to be used. Some of the mines were even then falling into decay for want of hands to work them ; but still the country was full of wealth, and a constant stream of gold and silver flowed from it to the mother country. The wealth of Peru was even more wonderful. The plunder of the treasures of Atahualpa, the last of the Incas, yielded 1,326,500 pieces of gold, and that of his subjects much more ; and the numerous silver mines furnished unnumbered treasures.‡ In Peru a Negro

* Hakluyt's Voyages, iii., 783.

† Ibid, iii., 466.

‡ Ibid, iii., 635.

slave was worth 400 ducats.* The profit on European goods sent across from Brazil by the River Plate was 1200 per cent.† The American variety of cotton was found growing on the coast of Peru by the English navigators, who entered these seas. “In the Isle of Puna” (near Guayaquil, says Cavendish, the English navigator) “we found trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner. The tops of the trees grow full of pods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seed, the size of a pease, and in every pod there are seven or eight of the seeds, and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seeds fall from it, and spring again.”‡ Lima, built by Pizarro, contained two thousand households, and had more commerce than all other places on the western coast united. St. Jago, in Chili, contained eight hundred houses.

The Portuguese, who landed on a fine and healthy coast, were less successful than the Spaniards in the search for gold and silver, but more successful in raising sugar and other tropical produce. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Pernambuco was the most flourishing place on the coast of Brazil. It contained three thousand houses.§ Around it were seventy ingenios, or sugar manufactories, all worked by slaves; and the port supplied plenty of Brazil wood and cotton. Bahia contained one thousand houses; and there were forty ingenios for sugar, and much cotton in the neighbourhood. Rio de Janeiro had not then more than three hundred houses, and three ingenios; and Santos contained four hundred houses and also three ingenios. When Captain Lancaster took the city of Pernambuco, in the year 1594, he found the following articles:—Brazil wood, sugar, calico-cloth, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, mace, and nutmegs. Several of these were probably products of the Indian possessions of Portugal. He also found the root which has since become so noted—the potato. For many years the Portuguese supplied sugar to all the principal nations of Europe. As old Hollinshead says, “the sweet hand of the Portugall” was seen in their dishes. They furnished sugar wholesale at Santos, at the price of 32 lbs. of the “whitest dry sugar” for the ducat, that is, at less than 3d. a lb. The price seems to have varied greatly in Europe, ranging from sixpence up to half-a-crown a pound. In the year 1580, a set of copper and iron caldrons for boiling sugar was sent out from London to Santos, in the English ship *Minion*.||

During the whole of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, besides dividing the trade of America with the Spaniards, possessed almost

* Hakluyt, iii., 771. † Ibid, iii., 707. ‡ Ibid, iii., 801. § Ibid, iii., 787. || Ibid, iii., 703.

exclusively, the commerce and government of Africa and Asia. They first reached India in the year 1498, and from that time until the year 1582 they encountered no European rivals in the Indian seas, except in the extreme east, where the Spaniards formed colonies in the Philippine Islands, then called the Islands of China, about the year 1570, to which they sent four or five ships yearly, from the west coast of Mexico, and from which they obtained gold, much cinnamon, cloves, dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine that they were considered worth their weight in silver.* With this exception, the Portuguese had the exclusive possession of the commerce of the east, from the time of the discovery of the ocean route to India, until the time when Portugal and all its foreign possessions fell into the hands of Spain, which thus united the empire of the east to that of the west. In the east the Portuguese traded in gold, in silk and cotton goods, and in spices ; and, from their possessions on the coast of Guinea, they supplied negroes, for the sugar plantations of Brazil. They also maintained large fleets of ships, with which they plundered the coasts of India, Ceylon, and other rich kingdoms of the east ; and carried on frequent wars with the Mahomedan princes of India, the pirates of the Eastern Archipelago, and the Turks, who built a fleet at Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, to dispute the empire of the eastern seas with them. They also encircled the coasts of Africa and Asia with a line of fortified settlements, extending from Madeira to Macao, in China. Of these the most celebrated were their settlements on the Guinea Coast ; Fernando Po ; Congo and Loango ; Mozambique ; Ormus, in the Persian Gulph ; Bombay, Goa, and Macao. The English flag was rarely seen in the eastern seas, until about the year 1600, when the English East India Company began to despatch vessels to India, China, and Japan.

The discovery and colonization of the magnificent regions of tropical America, and the opening of the ocean route to India, immediately produced an important change in the course of the trade of Europe, as well as a great increase in its magnitude. Previous to those discoveries the Mediterranean was the medium, by which the nations of western Europe communicated with the regions, from which they obtained gold, silver, sugar, cotton, the delicate fabrics of India and Persia, spices, and all the products of tropical climates. The commerce in those articles was in the hands of the Genoese and Venetians. The Genoese were at that time the boldest navigators, and the best sailors, in southern Europe ; and

* Hakluyt, iii., 467.

the Venetians were little inferior to them. After contending with each other for many years, with a preponderance of success on the side of Genoa, though not without some victories on the part of Venice, they divided the trade of the east between them. The Genoese retained the trade with the Black Sea and Asia Minor; the Venetians that with Syria, Egypt, the Morea, and the fine islands of Cyprus and Candia, both of which were then subject to Venice. At that time the nations of southern Europe obtained from the Ukraine, by means of the Genoese, grain; timber, flax, tallow, hides, and nearly all those products of the forest and the wild, which they now obtain from the Baltic, the White Sea, the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the plains of South America, South Africa, and Australia. They also obtained large supplies of salt fish from the fisheries of the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the immense rivers which discharge their waters into those seas. In addition to these coarser articles, they received gold from the mines of the Caucasus, and probably from the washings of the Ural mountains; together with fine cottons, silks, and spices, brought from Armenia, Persia, India, and China. This was the trade which the Londoners endeavoured to revive, when they had reached the Caspian Sea, through Russia. In the latter years of the Greek empire the Genoese were only one degree less powerful at Constantinople, and in the Greek empire, than the English are at Delhi and throughout India. They collected the public revenues, and retained nearly three-fourths of them, either as interest of loans, as the price of protecting the empire, or as costs of collection. The suburb of Pera, adjoining to Constantinople, was a Genoese fortress, as well as a factory; and they founded a city at Caffa, in the Crimea, which rivalled Genoa itself, and one, only second to Caffa, at Tana, on the Tanais or Don. "Europe," says Sismondi, "communicated with Asia, by means of the Genoese at Caffa. The stuffs of silk and cotton manufactured in Persia; the spices and the rich products of India arrived there by Astrakhan; and the mines of the Caucasus were worked for the profit of the Genoese."* They also traded with Armenia, and the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, by way of Trebizonde and Sinope, on the southern shore of the Euxine.

Whilst the Genoese thus conducted the trade with the north-east of Asia, and the caravan and river trade with the interior of the continents of Europe and Asia, the Venetians almost monopolized the trade with the East, which was carried on through Syria and the Persian Gulph, and

* Sismondi: *Republiques Italiennes*, vi., 38.

through Egypt and the Red Sea. By means of this trade they obtained considerable supplies of gold and silver from Africa and Asia, as well as of spices and fine stuffs from India and China. This was one of the greatest sources of the wealth of Venice.* So completely was the trade in the most precious of metals, gold, in the hands of the Italians, previous to the discovery of America, that they only are mentioned in an English act of Parliament, of the year 1487, for regulating the sale of that valuable commodity. "If any person," says that act, "put to sale any gold of Venice, Florence, or Gean (Genoa) for a pound weight, which does not contain twelve ounces, he shall forfeit the same, or the value thereof."†

But the trade of Venice and Genoa did not consist merely in supplying western Europe with articles brought from distant regions, but also in furnishing them with the rich products of the shores of the Mediterranean, such as sugar and cotton. Sugar, which was only known to the ancients, as the product of a cane growing in India, was grown in all the hotter countries, on the shores of the Mediterranean, previous to the discovery of the West Indies. As early as the year 1108 it was cultivated in Syria. "The Crusaders, (says an ancient historian of the Crusades,) found sweet-honeyed reeds in great quantity, in the meadows, about Tripoli, (in Syria,) which reed was called zucra. These they sucked, and were much pleased with the sweet taste of them, with which they could scarcely be satisfied. This plant is cultivated with great labour of the husbandman, every year. At the time of harvest they bruise it when ripe in mortars, and set by the strained juice in vessels, till it is concreted into the form of snow, or white salt. This, when scraped, they mix with water, or rub it with bread, and eat it as pottage, and it is then more useful and pleasing than the honey of bees. The people who were engaged at the sieges of Albaria, Marra, and Archas, and suffered dreadful hunger, were much refreshed thereby."‡ The same writer mentions the capture of eleven camel loads of sugar, from the Saracens. Another historian of the Crusades, speaking of the events of 1306, says, that sugar was produced in large quantities, in the Mahomedan countries round the Mediterranean, and that it was also made in Cyprus, Rhodes, the Morea, Malta, Sicily, and other places belonging to the Christians. The Mahomedans, who at this time inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean, from the Orontes to the Straits of Gibraltar, were of the Arabian

* Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici. + Statutes at Large, ii., 79. ‡ Albertus Agnensis, 270.

race, and inherited much of the civilization, by which the Syrians, the Egyptians, and the Moors of that race had long been distinguished. They followed the arts of commerce, and of manufacturing and agricultural industry, with vigour and success.* The sugar of Barbary was well known in England and the west of Europe. Cotton was also extensively cultivated on the shores of the Mediterranean, at the time when America was discovered. It was imported into England by the Genoese; and the first purchases of cotton, which are known to have been made by the manufacturers of Manchester, were obtained from the Levant.† Speaking of the commerce of the Italian republics, and of the nations surrounding the Mediterranean, at this time, an eloquent writer says, “The Mediterranean alone was furrowed without ceasing with galleys or merchant ships. America did not exist as yet for the European nations, and the route to India round Africa was unknown. The ocean lay desert and unfrequented; and the kingdoms of the west communicated by land, rather than by sea, with the most fertile and industrious countries. But the two greatest and richest trades of the world, those which in all times have given prosperity to all the rest, the commerce of the north-east, and that of the Indies, were carried on by the Mediterranean; the one by the ports of the Black Sea, and at the mouths of the rivers of Russia; the other by means of the Armenians, or by that of the Arabs, in the ports of Greece, Syria, or Egypt.”

Even if no political events had occurred to blast the prosperity of the countries around the Mediterranean, and to stop the intercourse with the East, the discovery of America, and of the ocean-route to India, would have exposed Venice and Genoa to a dangerous competition, on the part of Spain and Portugal. The Spaniards at once seized on all the gold and silver which the American nations had been accumulating for ages, and poured it into the markets of Europe: they then seized on the wretched inhabitants, and compelled them to toil for more in the mines, until multitudes of them perished; and when that race of slaves was destroyed, they brought a hardier race from the coast of Africa. The effect of the great increase in the supply of the precious metals was to diminish their exchangeable value to a fourth or a fifth of its previous amount, and to render all gold and silver mines, which had not been unusually profitable, entirely worthless. The sugar growers of the Mediterranean were also exposed to a similar competition, with the slave-grown

* Sismondi: *Republiques Italiennes*.

+ Baines's *History of the Cotton Trade*.

produce of Hispaniola and Brazil. They had to contend against unlimited supplies of slaves, against a rich virgin soil, and against a climate even finer than their own, for the production of tropical produce. As relates to articles brought from India, up the Red Sea, and by long journeys on the backs of camels, to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the difference in the cost must soon have proved fatal to the old route, and decisive in favour of the new. In the time of Pliny the cost of bringing produce from India to Rome is said to have added a hundred-fold to the cost at the place of production; and even supposing this to have been an exaggerated estimate, yet the cost of conveying goods up the Red Sea and along the Mediterranean, and of transporting them across the desert, must have been enormous. No periodical winds blow nor currents run in those narrow seas, which can be rendered available for the purposes of commerce, like the currents and the prevailing winds of the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. From these causes the New World and the new route to the East must have triumphed under any circumstances; but their triumph was rendered much more rapid and complete by the ravages of that great storm of fanaticism and barbarism, which spread over the finest countries of the Mediterranean, about the time when America and the ocean route to India were discovered.

For some time before the discovery of America, the beautiful shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, had been threatened with that inroad of Turkish barbarism, which has laid them waste for upwards of three centuries. In the year 1453, that is forty-six years before Columbus discovered America, and fifty-three years before Gama reached India by the Cape, the Sultan Mohamed the Second besieged, stormed, plundered, and enslaved the great city of Constantinople. Constantinople was then the centre of the commerce of the world; the great market of the East, and the key of the Black Sea. This great blow to the commerce of Genoa, and of all Europe, was followed up, in the year 1475, by the siege and conquest of Caffa, in the Crimea, the great centre of the trade with Northern Asia and Russia, with which the Genoese had still kept up an imperfect communication through Hungary.* In the year 1461 Trebizonde, and all the other cities through which the Genoese and Venetians had traded with Armenia and Persia, fell into the hands of the Turks. Thus the dominion and trade of the Genoese in the Black Sea were destroyed, and the intercourse of European nations, with the countries on

* Sismondi's *Republiques Italiennes*, vi., 93.

its shores, fell under the control of a fanatical, and anti-commercial race. The ruin of the industry and commerce of the nations on the shores of the Black Sea was rapid and complete. In the year 1470 a Turkish fleet first sailed from the Dardanelles, and soon the Christians on the shores of the Mediterranean had to fight for their independence, by sea and land.

The ruin of the trade of Venice with the East was brought about in the same manner. Twenty-three years after the return of Columbus, Syria and Egypt, the richest countries of the East, and those through which the Venetians traded with India, were overrun and conquered, by the Sultan, Selim the First. Their descent to poverty and degradation was rapid. The beautiful island of Cyprus, the finest of the Venetian possessions, was conquered by the Turks in 1571; and the island of Rhodes in 1522. In a short time the Turkish fleets threatened the coasts of Italy, and about the same time large bodies of Turkish pirates obtained possession of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and organized that system of ferocious piracy which, for three hundred years, rendered the southern shores of the Mediterranean dens of thieves and murderers, and completed the ruin of the commerce of Italy. The utter desolation which fell on the shores of the Mediterranean, and the closing of all the overland routes to the East, contributed almost as much as the discovery of America, to that great revolution in the commerce of the world, under which Venice, Genoa, Florence, Caffa, Alexandria, and Constantinople declined; whilst Cadiz, Lisbon, London, Bristol, and, in a later age, Liverpool, rose from their decay.

The ability of Italy to struggle against these frightful evils was greatly diminished, by the dreadful state of internal discord, into which nearly all the Italian States fell, at the time when their utmost energies were required to resist the inroads of the Turks. No internal union existed, whilst foreign nations, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, and the Swiss fought out their own battles, on the soil of Italy. In those struggles the freedom, independence, and prosperity of Italy perished.

“The greatest misfortune, (says the eloquent historian of the Italian Republics,)* of this constant state of foreign war, was the continuance of military rule, the sojourn or the passage of Spanish troops through the different provinces (of Italy), and, above all, the intolerable burdens with which the Court of Madrid overwhelmed the people. The ignorance of those ministers, who knew nothing of the principles of

* Sismondi's *Republiques Italiennes*, xvi., 158.

political economy, was even more destructive than their rapacity or their dilapidations. They did not impose a single tax which did not seem to be intended to crush industry and ruin agriculture: manufactures fell into decay, commerce disappeared, the fields lay untilled, and the inhabitants, reduced to despair, were forced at length to adopt robbery as a profession. Chiefs, distinguished by their birth and their talents, put themselves at the head of bands of assassins, which were formed at the close of this age, in the kingdom of Naples and the States of the Church; and this war of brigands even endangered the sovereign authority itself. During these times the provinces remained without soldiers, the coasts without vessels of war, fortresses without garrisons. There was nothing to check the ravages of the Corsairs of Barbary, who, not content with the prizes which they seized at sea, made descents on every coast in its turn, burnt the villages, and often the towns, and carried all their inhabitants into slavery. All the horrors which the slave trade has inflicted on Africa during the last two centuries, were practised during the sixteenth by the Mahomedans, in Italy. In the same manner the rapacious slave-merchants employed traitors on the coasts of Italy, to point out and to deliver to them their wretched countrymen; in the same manner recompence was always given to crime; and in the same manner the extremest misery threatened without ceasing the family which had the greatest reason to hope for safety from its innocence and its obscurity. Such were the calamities under the pressure of which Italy deplored, at the end of the sixteenth century, the loss of its independence." Under the pressure of these intolerable evils, the manufactures of Italy, which had been the finest in Europe, rapidly gave place to those of Flanders, and other northern countries; as those of Flanders, which was soon after oppressed by civil war and foreign tyranny, passed in their turn, to the happier shores of England and Holland. At the same time the commerce of Genoa and Venice gave way to that of Spain, Portugal, England, and Holland; and the great trade which had flowed through the Mediterranean, for two thousand years, passed over to the West Indies and the Continent of America, to which multitudes of settlers speedily followed, seeking a refuge from the intolerable evils which then afflicted the countries of Europe.

The English attempts to settle in America were very unsuccessful, during the reigns of the Tudors. A profitable trade in salt fish was the consequence of the discovery of Newfoundland; but the report of the immense wealth which was poured into Spain and Portugal by their rich

and splendid settlements, rendered the English dissatisfied with their barren discoveries, and continually urged them to try to reach the spice islands, and the land of gold, by voyages to the north-west and the north-east, round the northern points of America or Asia. So long as they were deluded by this hope they neglected the fine regions of North America, which had been discovered by Sebastian Cabot; and it was not until repeated failures had at length induced them to abandon the search for gold, that they began to direct their energies, to the great and practicable object of colonizing the coast of Virginia.

The observations made during the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to Newfoundland, having shown that the passage, which he and all other voyagers sought, to the tropical regions of Asia, was not to be found in that direction, without sailing very far to the north-west, it was determined to seek it by sailing to the northeast, round the northern shores of Europe and Asia. In the year 1555, a great expedition was fitted out in London, with that intention, under the superintendence of Sebastian Cabot, who at that time held the office of Grand Pilot of England, under the youthful king, Edward the Sixth. The capital expended in fitting it out was £6,000, which was raised in shares of £25 each. The expedition consisted of three vessels, all expressly prepared for the navigation of the northern seas, and fitted out with so much care, that Cabot declared, that the like had never been seen or known in any other realm. The brave but unfortunate Sir Hugh Willoughby acted as commander-in-chief; and Richard Chancellor, a friend of Sir Henry Sidney, acted as second in command, in another ship. Little was known at that time, either of the form or size of the continent of Asia, and still less of the real nature of the difficulties created by the shortness of the summers, the intolerable cold of the winters, and the impenetrable accumulations of ice. The expedition of course failed in discovering a north-east passage to India, and it was attended with dreadful disasters, the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and all the officers and seamen of two of the three ships, composing the expedition, having perished from hunger, disease, or the intolerable severity of a Polar winter. Richard Chancellor, and his companions in the first ship, were more fortunate. After escaping many dangers, they found their way into the White Sea, to the city of Archangel, then the only seaport of the Russian empire, which was at that time only known by report to the nations of western Europe. There they were most hospitably received by the Czar and his subjects, and succeeded in opening a valuable trade with Russia.

In the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, many other voyages were made, in the hope of discovering a northern passage "to the isles of Moluccas and the coast of China," before the attempt was abandoned as hopeless. That brave sea captain, Martin Frobisher made three voyages, all directed to this object, in the years 1576, 7, and 8; and in the years 1585, 6, and 7, John Davis, an equally resolute seaman, renewed the attempt. They failed, as all their successors have done: yet their voyages were not without results, for they created the whale fishery, which has proved a source of wealth to England, and an admirable nursery for seamen. In these unsuccessful, but resolute and glorious struggles, to open a new passage to the east, many of the brave captains and seamen were trained, who afterwards defeated and dispersed the Spanish Armada.

Although the famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake, round the globe, was undertaken, rather for purposes of war and plunder than of discovery, or commerce, yet it was attended by the discovery of a region which has become very celebrated during the last few years,—the gold yielding region of Upper California. It is a curious historical fact, that this modern El Dorado was discovered, was taken possession of in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and was "everywhere found to present a likelihood of gold", before a single English colonist had been planted on the eastern coast of America. In Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, published in London in the year 1600, there is an account of all the incidents of Drake's voyage, which was alike remarkable, for the immense amount of treasure taken from the Spaniards, the circumnavigation of the globe, and the discovery of the gold region of California.*

On the 15th November, in the year 1577, Captain Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth with five ships, carrying 164 men and officers, professedly on a voyage to Alexandria, in Egypt, but really with the intention of sailing into the Pacific Ocean, where the English flag had never been seen before. After passing the Cape de Verde Islands, he sailed during fifty-four days without sight of land, and then entered the River Plate. After supplying his vessels with water, from that great river, Drake sailed southwards, and passing through the straits named after the only circumnavigator of the globe, who had preceded him—the Straits of Magellan—he entered the Pacific Ocean, on the 6th of September. He arrived off Valparaiso on the 29th of November. He plundered the town

* Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii., 742.

of St. Jago, where he took a booty of 25,000 piezos of very pure and fine gold.* Proceeding thence to a certain port named Tarapaca, he landed and found a Spaniard sleeping by the seaside, with thirteen bars of silver lying by him, of the value of 4,000 ducats. He took the silver, and left the owner to finish his nap. Not far from thence, going inland for water, his men met a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight llamas, or sheep of Peru, "which are as big as asses," every one of which had on its back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lbs. weight of fine silver. Bringing the llamas and their burdens to the ship, they found in all eight cwts. of silver. Thence they proceeded to Arica, where they plundered a vessel containing fifty-seven wedges of silver, each weighing 20 lbs. On the 13th of February they arrived at Lima, where they plundered all the ships in the harbour, in one of which they found a chest full of rials of silver, and good store of silks and linen cloth. Here they heard of a rich treasure-ship named the Cacafuego, which had sailed to Paita. They immediately gave chase, but on arriving at Paita, found that the Cacafuego had sailed for Panama. They at once renewed the chase, and in the course of it they picked up a vessel which contained 80 lbs. weight of gold, and a crucifix of the same metal, with "goodly great emeralds set in it." Continuing the pursuit, they at last came up with the Cacafuego, which well repaid them for the trouble that it had given them. Besides precious stones, they found thirteen chests of rials of silver, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of uncoined silver.† This rich capture was made off Cape St. Francisco, about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama. From this point they proceeded to Guatulco, and thence to Ceno, where they careened their ships. On leaving the island of Ceno, "which is in eight degrees north latitude," Drake resumed his cruise, and took another rich ship; and being now satisfied with his booty, he determined to return home by the islands of the Malucos, and "thence to sail by the course of the Portugals, by the Cape of Bona Esperanca." For this purpose he ran northward for 800 leagues, to get a favourable wind, and on the 5th day of June, "being in 43 degrees towards the Pole Arctic. being speedily come out of extreme heat," Drake found the air so cold, that his men, being pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof, and the further they went, the more the cold increased upon them. Whereupon they thought it best to seek land, which they found to be not mountainous, but low plain land.

* Hakluyt. iii., 735.

† Ibid, iii., 736.

“ We drew back again (says the historian of the voyage) without landing, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same.”*

This country was no doubt the country which has recently become so famous under the name of California, and this bay was probably the great bay of San Francisco. The inhabitants came down to the shore, gave Drake a very friendly reception, and the king offered him the Government of the country. “ Wherefore, in the name and to the use of her Majesty, (Queen Elizabeth,) he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasures thereof might so conveniently be transported, to the enriching of her kingdom, as it aboundeth in the same.” “ There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver.” At his departure from the country Drake set up, as a monument of his having been there, as also of her Majesty’s right and title to the same, “ a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraven her Majesty’s (Queen Elizabeth’s) name; the day and year of our arrival there; with the free giving up of the province into her Majesty’s hands, together with her highness’s picture and arms, and a piece of sixpence of current English money;” under the plate also was written the name of Drake. “ It seemeth (says the historian of the voyage) that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country; neither did ever discover the land, by many degrees to the southwards of this place.” Such was the account of this land of gold, published in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It certainly is one of the curiosities of history, that the first land ever taken possession of by the English, on the continent of America, should have been the now famous California, and that it should have been occupied some years before the first attempt was made to colonize the provinces, which have since grown to be the United States of America.

Amongst the articles described in the early account of Drake’s voyage round the world, were the cocoa-nut tree, the fine earthenware and silks of China, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, and sago, and all the spices grown in the East India Islands.†

The first act towards the colonizing of the continent of America, by the Anglo-Saxon race, was the granting of letters patent to Sir Humphry Gilbert, knight, of Compton, in the county of Devon, by Queen Elizabeth,

* Hakluyt, iii., 442.

† Ibid, iii., 731, 736, 741.

“for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.”* These letters were granted in the year 1578. It appears from the account of this unfortunate attempt, that the object was to “discover and to plant Christian inhabitants, in places convenient, upon those large and ample countries, extending northward from the Cape of Florida, lying under very temperate climates, extremely fertile, and rich in minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince.” It also appears, from the narrative written by “Mr. Edward Hayes, gentleman, and principal actor in the same voyage; who alone continued until the end, and by God’s special assistance, returned home with his retinue, safe and entire,” that the expedition sailed from Plymouth, on Tuesday, the 11th of June, 1583. It consisted of the following vessels:—The *Delight*, 120 tons, Sir Humphry Gilbert, general (or commander-in-chief,) Mr. Winter, captain; the *Raleigh*, vice-admiral, fitted out by “Mr.” Walter Raleigh, 200 tons, Mr. Butler captain, and Mr. Robert Davies, of Bristol, master; the *Golden Hind*, of 40 tons, Mr. Edward Hayes, captain and owner, William Cox, of Lime-house, master; the *Swallow*, of 40 tons, Captain Morris Brown; the *Squirrel*, of 10 tons, Captain William Andrews, and one *Cade*, master. These vessels carried about two hundred and sixty men; they went by the trade way to Newfoundland, where they arrived on the 30th of July, seven weeks after sailing. They took formal possession of the island, and then proceeded towards the continent of America, passing the islands of Sable and Cape Breton. Unhappily they here met with great misfortunes. The *Delight*, the admiral’s ship, was lost, on the night of the 29th of August. After enduring many hardships, they determined to return to England. On the voyage Sir Humphry Gilbert sailed in the *Squirrel*, a mere boat of ten tons, and in her he was lost. Mr. Hayes thus describes the last hours of this noble hero: “The general (commander) sitting abaft, with a book in his hand, cried out unto us, in the *Hind*, as oft as we did approach within hearing, ‘We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land,’ reiterating the speech, well becoming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.”† Thus terminated the first attempt to colonize America. The merchants of Bristol, with the liberality which distinguished them, during the whole of these stirring times, subscribed one thousand marks towards the enterprise.‡

Unfavourable as was the result of the first attempt to colonize America, the spirit of colonization had taken too firm a hold to be eradicated,

* Hakluyt, iii., 135.

+ Ibid. iii., 160.

‡ Ibid. iii., 182.

either by one, or by many failures; and, in the year 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained other letters patent from the queen, for the discovery and planting of new lands and countries on the coast of America.

In the year in which these letters patent were granted, 1584, Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow were sent out to explore the coast of America.* They made a report on their return, which greatly increased the desire to settle in the country. They started from England on the 27th of April, 1584, and, instead of proceeding to the northward, as Sir Humphry Gilbert had done, sailed southward, to the Canaries. Then, crossing the Atlantic, they reached the West India Islands, and, after crossing the Gulph of Mexico, between the Cape of Florida and Havana, they reached the coast of North America, on the 2d of July. "On that day, (says their report of the voyage,) we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers; by which we were assured, that the land could not be far distant; and, keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent, and firm land, and we sailed along the same one hundred and twenty miles, before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebuss shots within the haven's mouth, on the left hand side of the same; and, after thanksgiving to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same; and after delivered the same to your (Sir Walter Raleigh's) use, according to her Majesty's grant and letters patent, under her highness's great seal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, as where we first landed, sandy and low towards the water side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found; and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such

* Hakluyt, iii., 246.

difference as were incredible to be written." This pleasant country they found to be an island, called Wokoken by the natives ; and here they met with the inhabitants, whom they found to be " a very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as manly and civil as any in Europe." The name of the country they found to be Wingandacoa, changed by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth to Virginia. They traded with these people in the most friendly manner, and afterwards sailed along the coast. After sailing past the islands, they entered a splendid bay on the coast of Virginia. " When we first had sight of this country," say they, " some thought the first land we saw to be the continent ; but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long sea ; for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands, two hundred miles in length, adjoining the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When you are entered between them, these islands, being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some less, in few more, then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places forty, and in some fifty, and in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent, and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands, of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many more, as I have said ; some of two, of three, of four, or five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in great abundance."

This account of Virginia produced an ardent desire to settle there, and in the following year a party of Englishmen proceeded to Virginia, with Sir Richard Grenville, in order to see the country, and to settle, if it answered their expectations. They were nearly a hundred in number. They were placed under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, and remained there upwards of twelve months. The governor, in a letter to Mr. Richard Hakluyt, says, " We have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweet trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gums, grapes of such greatness, yet wilde, as France, Spain, nor Italy have no greater ; so many sorts of apothecary drugs, and several kinds of flax, and one kind like silk they gathered, of a grass as common there as grass is here. And now, within these few days

we have found here maize, or guinea wheat, which here yieldeth corn for bread, four hundred upon one car, and the cane maketh very good and perfect sugar; also terra samia, otherwise terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely; and the climate so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine, in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it. For this we already find, what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the East do yield unto us, in wines of all sorts, in oils, in flax, in rosins, pitch, frankincence, currants, sugars, and such like, these parts do abound with the growth of them all; but being savages that possess the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no other parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here we find in great abundance. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have cloths, but especially of coarse cloth, rather than silk; coarse canvas they also like well of; but copper carrieth the prize of all, so it be made red." Unfortunately, all the hopes expressed in the above letter were defeated, by a quarrel with the natives, in the course of which several of the Indians were slain. This happened on the 4th June, 1586, about which time Sir Francis Drake arrived off the coast, when the colonists, not thinking themselves strong enough to maintain themselves against the Indians, abandoned the country, and returned to England.

In the following year another attempt was made to colonize Virginia, and in this case with better prospect of success, as several of the colonists were accompanied by their wives. John White was appointed governor of the colony, and Ananias Dare the deputy-governor. Unfortunately this expedition failed also. Having arrived at an unfavourable season of the year, and having again become involved in quarrels with the natives, the settlers were ultimately compelled to leave the country. During their stay in the colony, Eleanor Dare, daughter of the governor, and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter, in Roanoak, "and the same christened there the Sunday following; and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia."

Another attempt to colonize Virginia was made in the year 1590, but

that also failed. It was not until a few years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, that the successful effort was at length made, by a body of colonists, who landed on the banks of James's River, and laid the foundation of the old dominion of Virginia, the original seat of the Anglo-American race. The settlement of Virginia was retarded for a few years, by the rumour of the existence of the golden empire of Guiana, in the vain pursuit of which the efforts and fortunes of Sir Walter Raleigh and his brave associates were wasted, in three unsuccessful voyages, made in the years 1595, 6, and 7.* The failure of these expeditions ruined the principal patrons of colonization, and the events of one of them cost that gallant enthusiast, Sir Walter Raleigh, his liberty, and ultimately his life. After the total failure of all hopes of reaching the promised El Dorado, the great enterprise of colonizing Virginia was resumed, and was at length brought to a successful issue. I shall trace the growth of the American and West Indian colonies in another chapter.

Amongst a variety of articles which were brought from Virginia by the early colonists, one took especial hold on the taste of the public, and had almost as much influence in promoting the peopling of that fine province as the gold of Mexico, the silver of Peru, and the sugar of Brazil and the West Indies, had in peopling those vast regions. This was the much-admired, much-abused American plant, tobacco. Camden, after speaking of the early attempts to colonize Virginia, says, "And these men, who were thus brought back, were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca, or Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at a high rate, whilst in a short time men everywhere, some for health's sake, others from wantonness, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoak thereof, through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils; insomuch that tobacco shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, seem, as it were, to be degenerated into the nature of barbarians, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured with the same things which the barbarians use."†

Tobacco continued to triumph in defiance of Camden's sarcasm, and in spite of an affecting anecdote which he tells of "Richard Fletcher,

* Hakluyt's Voyages, iii., 631, 72, 92,

† Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth, 324.

Bishop of London, a courtly prelate, who while by immoderate taking of tobacco, he sought to smother the cares he had by his unfortunate marriage, and disliked by the Queen (who did not approve of married bishops,) he breathed out his soul."*

Neither this case of an unfortunate bishop killed by too much tobacco, (aided by a bad wife, and an angry Queen,) nor the fierce counterblast of that northern Solomon, King James, availed anything against the deluding and soothing weed. It made its way in spite of wit, wisdom, and royal authority, to the great advantage of the Virginian settlers; and has held it, to the great improvement of the national revenue, which still draws its millions from tobacco smoke. It will be seen in a subsequent chapter that tobacco was the first article of American growth imported into Liverpool.

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* Camden's Elizabeth, 528.



Carcas

Shire

Fac-simile of Plan
of
PROPOSED ROYALIST FORTIFICATIONS

IN THE YEAR 1644

B. DE GOMMEZ,

Officer of Engineers to Prince Rupert.

25 January 1644

The castle was begun
in 1644 and 1645

CHAPTER TENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF STUART,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

The improvement of agriculture and manufactures and the extension of commerce, described in the preceding chapters, were attended with a rapid increase of population, both in town and country. It was during this period that the middle class of the English people grew into importance. This class sprang in part from the younger sons of the landed gentry, in part from men who had raised themselves from the ranks of the labouring population by superior talents and industry. Whilst neat villages, good farm-houses, the comfortable residences of substantial yeomen, and the handsome abodes of gentlemen sprang up in all parts of the country, the cities, towns, and seaports of the kingdom increased still more rapidly, in population and wealth. Thus, in Liverpool, the number of burgesses or freemen nearly doubled itself between the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the end of the reign of James the First. A still more rapid increase took place in the large towns of the south and west of England. Nor was it in numbers only that the population increased. Many circumstances concurred to rouse its mental activity and increase its political power. The Reformation had given an impulse to the spirit of inquiry, which soon extended from questions of religious faith and discipline, to all other questions which affect the higher interests of society. The discovery of a new world awakened interest and inquiry, and added greatly to the amount of knowledge. The wars of Queen Elizabeth, which were wars of principle and opinion, waged for the purpose of resisting not merely religious but civil tyranny, and which ended in the establishing of a free and popular government in Holland, gave additional strength to that love of free government which has always characterized the Anglo-Saxon race. As the interest of the middle classes in questions of religion and politics increased, their power of expressing and giving weight to their opinions increased in an equal proportion. By the reduction of the value of gold and silver, which followed the discovery of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as great a change took place in the county franchise, as if it had been reduced from £20

of our money to 40s. Hence the number of enfranchised freeholders increased rapidly in the counties. As the town population increased the town constituencies became more numerous, and less under the influence of the crown. The burgesses in the various boroughs of the kingdom generally refused to allow strangers to carry on business within their liberties, without taking up their freedom, but were quite willing to admit them to all the privileges of freemen, including that of voting for members of parliament, on the payment of moderate fines. The result was, that the town constituencies were rapidly increased by purchase, as well as by birth and apprenticeship. Owing to the depreciation in the currency, and the decline in the value of the precious metals, the fixed burgage rents became of less value in every reign, even in those boroughs in which the crown did not sell its rights. Those, however, were very few, for the necessities of James and Charles the First compelled them to part with everything that was saleable.* Hence the borough franchise ceased to be a property qualification; and the burgesses passed entirely out of the control of the crown. Unfortunately for the princes of the house of Stuart, they could never be induced to admit nor feel the change which had taken place in the power of the electors and the elected, but insisted on governing according to the precedents of a different age and state of society. The result was that parliament, in its turn, began to look for precedents in those ages in which a fierce and turbulent aristocracy had dethroned and even murdered kings. This irreconcilable difference of opinion continued during the greater part of the period which I am about to trace, and tinged the whole local, as well as national, history of that period. In no part of the kingdom was the battle between the crown and the parliament fought with greater fierceness or obstinacy than in Lancashire. We find strong traces of this difference soon after the accession of James the First. When the quarrel was at its height, it exposed the town of Liverpool to three sieges, in two of which it was taken by storm, in the third reduced by blockade: nor do the traces of this quarrel entirely disappear until some years after the accession of the house of Hanover.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, the royal estates in Liverpool and the neighbourhood passed into the hands of her successor, James the First; who, in the second year of his reign, granted a new lease of the fee farm of the town to Sir Richard Molyneux, at the same rent which

* "He (King James) broke the power of the crown by selling the quit-rent of vast possessions, and thus lost influence over many tenants of the crown and over many boroughs." — *Burnet: Own Times*, i., 28.

he had previously paid.* Sir Richard, being better acquainted with the value of the property than the officers of the crown, declined to sublet it to the corporation on the same terms on which it had previously held it. He separated the ferry from the rest of the fee farm, let it for £8 a year, and required from the corporation the same rent for the remainder of the estate which it had previously paid for the whole. As the corporation was making twice as much by the fee farm as it paid for it, it consented to pay the increased rent rather than lose a good bargain, or allow the collecting of the local dues to pass into other hands.

In the same year in which Sir Richard Molyneux obtained this renewal of his lease of Liverpool from the crown, he purchased the adjoining estate of Toxteth-park from William, Earl of Derby, for the sum of eleven hundred pounds. It has since proved a mine of wealth to his descendants. The park had been disforested in the year 1596, the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth, and soon after sold to Edward Smolte and William Aspinwall, by the Earl of Derby; but they were unable to fulfil the terms of the purchase. It was in consequence resold to Sir Richard Molyneux, under a deed which bears date the 21st May, in the second year of King James the First. Great progress had been made in cultivating the park between the thirty-eighth of Elizabeth and the second of James the First. It appears, from a return made on the 2d of June, 1604, by John Ireland, John Crosse, and Edmund Molyneux, Esquires, who had been appointed Commissioners of Inquiry by the Duchy-office, that they had surveyed the said ground of Toxteth; that they found that it was disparked; that there was not a single deer left in it; that it had been divided into several farms, on which farm-houses had been built; that the ground was, for the most part, converted into arable and pasture land; and that there were no woods nor underwood remaining, save the hedge-rows and orchards. It is a remarkable proof of the antiquity and stability of what Camden calls "the noble and knightly house of Molyneux," that it possessed Toxteth before it was converted into a royal park by King John; purchased it when it was disparked, after an interval of four hundred years; and retains great part of it to the present day.

At the time of which I am writing, the members of the House of Commons were still paid for their services, by their constituents. On the

* See copy of lease, which was for forty-one years, in Report of Trial of the Corporation of Liverpool *v.* Bolton and others, p. XIX.

18th February, 1610, the two members for Liverpool, Mr. Brooke and Mr. Riding gave in their accounts, for their attendance in Parliament, which were examined and passed. The sum paid to Mr. Brooke for his services was £28 14s. ; and that paid to Mr. Riding £27.*

A very different arrangement was made with the town-clerk and other corporate officials. They were compelled to buy their offices ; and as those who buy generally think that they have a right both to govern and to sell, the corporation sometimes found that they had made very bad bargains. Amongst the officers who bought their places, in the reign of King James, were Mr. Peter Torbuck, who was appointed town-clerk on the 20th of August, 1611, and who gave £50 worth of plate, “ marked with a cormorant—the arms of the town,” for his place ; Mr. Robert Brooke, who was appointed to the same office two years after, on the death of Mr. Torbuck, and who also gave £50 worth of plate ; and Mr. Robert Dobson, who was appointed town-clerk in the year 1623, on the death of Mr. Brooke. He gave £70 worth of plate for his place, but soon proved himself to be a very bad bargain, even at that price. For some years after Dobson had been appointed to office, the corporation records are full of entries, as to his offences against the purse and the dignity of the corporation. Soon after he had entered office, he was presented by the grand jury, for the three offences of not entering the records ; of taking precedence of the bailiffs, contrary to order ; and of demanding excessive fees. He was tried by a Liverpool jury, and found guilty of all the three offences ; but he afterwards removed the case into a higher court, and defeated the corporation. Emboldened by this victory, he did not hesitate to defy and insult the mayor and burgesses. Again he was presented, for saying that whoever was mayor of Liverpool he would be town-clerk ; for escaping out of the custody of the bailiffs, to which he had been committed for that act of municipal sedition ; and for describing the whole body of burgesses as a set of “ bashragges.” He was about to be tried again in Liverpool for these enormities, when he removed the case, by writ of certiorari, into another court. He was again presented for this impeachment of Liverpool justice ; was summoned to deliver up all records in his possession ; and was suspended until he did so. He refused to deliver up the records, on which he was committed to the custody of the bailiffs, from which he again escaped. On this renewed defiance of the corporation, he was

* Corporation Records, ii, 740.

dismissed from the council ; and was summoned to surrender the seal of the statute merchant and the book of entry, under penalty of £40. In the hope of escaping from Dobson for ever, the corporation passed “ a perpetual inhibition ” against him, with penalties of £100 against any mayor who should re-appoint him to office, and of £20 against any councillor who should vote for his re-appointment. But Dobson was not yet conquered. He now became plaintiff, and compelled the mayor and corporation to appear before the judges of assize at Lancaster. There the battle was fought once more. At last it was left to four of the first men in the county to decide all points in dispute, the principal one being, whether Dobson was a much injured individual or a public pest. After a full hearing, the referees decided—if not in words, in effect—that Dobson was a nuisance, and that the corporation had served him right. Then at length the attorney owned himself vanquished ; and the great Dobson controversy was ended. As a security against future Dobsons, the practice of selling the office of town-clerk for a round sum was abolished, though a yearly payment of £6 13s. 4d. was still exacted from the holder of it, towards the repairs of the church and school, and a formal resolution was passed, declaring the office to be held during good behaviour, and not for life.*

It appears from an entry in the corporation records, of the date of June 18, 1620, that the number of the burgesses of Liverpool was at that time two hundred and forty-five. At the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the number had been only one hundred and thirty-eight.

On the death of James the First the lordship of Liverpool passed into the hands of his unfortunate son and successor, who was the last of the English kings by whom it was held. He sold it, along with many hundred other manors or lordships, to raise money, during his quarrels with his parliament.

In the second year of his reign, (and previous to the sale,) King Charles granted a charter to the borough, in which all the rights claimed by the corporation were recited and confirmed. This charter opens with a statement that Liverpool is “ an ancient and populous town, and the ancient and only port of the county palatine of Lancaster.” It then proceeds to state that the mayors, bailiffs, and burgesses have enjoyed divers liberties, franchises, immunities, and pre-eminencies, either under

* Corporation Records.

former grants from the crown, or by prescription and usage from time immemorial; that they have besought the king that he would exhibit and extend his royal favour and munificence to them, by making, reducing, creating, and confirming them into one body corporate and politic, whether that had or had not been done by their previous charters; that the king, willing that thenceforward and for ever there should be one manner of authority, for the keeping of the peace and the rule and government of the people in the town of Liverpool, in order that the town might be a place of peace and quiet, for the terror of evil-doers and the reward of the good; and that the mayors, bailiffs, and burgesses, enjoying greater liberties and privileges than their predecessors, might feel themselves more strongly bound to the service of the king, has willed, appointed, and declared that the town of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, is, and shall be for ever, a free town, and that there shall be there a body corporate and politic, known by the name of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Liverpool; that they shall have perpetual succession; the right of holding and demising lands and tenements; of pleading and being impleaded; of having a common seal, and of changing that seal at their pleasure; of electing a mayor and two bailiffs; that the mayor, bailiff, and burgesses, or the greater part of them, "upon public summons thereof, to be given for that purpose, assembled," shall have power of making reasonable laws, "for the good rule and government of the town aforesaid, and of all and singular the officers, ministers, and artificers, inhabitants and residents whatsoever within the town aforesaid, and the liberties thereof for the time being;" and of declaring "in what manner and order the said mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, and all and singular the officers, ministers, burgesses, artificers, inhabitants, and residents of the town aforesaid should behave and conduct themselves, for the further public good, common advantage, and good rule of the said town, and the victualling of the same, and for all other things and causes whatsoever touching, or in any manner concerning, the town aforesaid." For the better carrying out of these objects the charter proceeds to appoint James Stanley, Lord Strange, son and heir of "our beloved and faithful cousin William, Earl of Derby," to be the first and modern mayor (*esse primum et modernum majorem*) of Liverpool; and Richard Tarlton and James Sotherne to be the first bailiffs.* According to this charter the constitution of the local government was at least sufficiently democratic, and its powers sufficiently

* See a copy of the charter, which is excessively long and wordy, in the Appendix to the Municipal Inquiry, xiii.

extensive, for the governing body was the mayor, the bailiffs, and the whole body of the burgesses, in public meeting assembled, and the only limit to their power was that none of their acts should be contrary to the laws of the land. Liverpool may be justly proud of having had for its first modern mayor so great and good a man as James Lord Strange, the “great Lord Derby” of the civil war, the husband of Charlotte de Tremouille, the heroine of Lathom. Lord Strange was also member for the borough of Liverpool, in the parliament of 1625.

Two years subsequent to the granting of the charter, the necessities of the king compelled him to sell the royal estates in Liverpool, together with upwards of three hundred other manors belonging to the crown. At that time the unfortunate, ill-advised, and headstrong king had quarrelled with his parliament, beyond hope of reconciliation, and had entered on the desperate enterprise of governing without a parliament, which he continued for twelve years, and which in the end cost him both his crown and his life. During this time the taxes of tonnage and poundage, together with ship money, were raised without any legal authority, and were consequently collected with great difficulty. Numerous monopolies of the right of dealing in articles of commerce were sold to private persons, to the great injury of commerce. Immense and ruinous fines were imposed on the most frivolous pretences, for the purpose of raising money. These and all other means of meeting the expenses of the government being insufficient, it was found necessary to sell nearly all that remained of the crown lands, and all the royal estates both in town and country. A sale of several hundred manors, of which Liverpool was one, took place in the fourth year of Charles’s reign, the particulars of which are recorded in a deed in the Rolls Chapel, as follows :

The deed recites a loan of £222,897. 2s. made by the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London to Lord James, the then late king of England; it then recites a contract between King Charles and the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, for a further loan of £120,000, for which the king had granted certain manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the yearly value of £12,496. 6s. 6d. ; and it also recites a contract for a further sum of £25,000 by the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens, in consideration of all which the king makes over to trustees appointed by the citizens, namely, Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, their heirs and assigns for ever, nearly three hundred manors and estates, and amongst

them "all that our town and lordship of Litherpoll, parcel of the honor of Lancaster, in the aforesaid county of Lancaster, with every of their rights, members, and appurtenances." Amongst the articles enumerated, as included in the sale of Liverpool, by the crown, are the ferry across the Mersey; the market tolls; the perquisites of the courts; all customs, anchorage, and keytoll of the water of Mersey aforesaid, and within the aforesaid town and lordship of Litherpoll," and all manorial, seignorial, and regal rights then existing. The only thing reserved to the crown was a yearly sum of £14. 6s. 8d., which was at that time payable by Sir Richard Molyneux, as the rent of the fee-farm.*

* SALE OF THE LORDSHIP OF LIVERPOOL TO THE LORD MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF LONDON.

—The following is a fuller abstract of this important sale:—"The King to all to whom, &c., greeting. Reciting a loan, by the mayor and commonalty and citizens of London, to Lord James, the then late king, and also to King Charles, after his coming to the crown, of £229,897. 2s. And reciting a contract, between King Charles and the mayor and commonalty and citizens of London, for a further loan of £120,000, and for which the king had granted certain manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of the yearly value of £12,496. 6s. 6d. And also reciting a contract for a further sum of £25,000, by the mayor and commonalty and citizens, the said King Charles, in further fulfilment of the agreements and premises in the said several contracts specified, and at the humble petition, nomination, and requisition of the said mayor and commonalty and citizens of London, did give and grant to Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, their heirs and assigns, for ever, with other manors, lands, &c. All that our town and lordship of Litherpoll, parcel of the honor of Lancaster, in the aforesaid county of Lancaster, with every of their rights, members, and appurtenances. And all that boat and passage over the water of Mersey there, and the butchers' shambles in the said town of Litherpoll. And also all stallage and tolls of the market and fairs, with the perquisites of courts in Litherpoll aforesaid. And all customs, anchorage, and keytowl, of the water of Mersey aforesaid, and within the aforesaid town, or lordship of Litherpoll aforesaid, then or late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Molyneux, knight, or his assigns, by a particular thereof mentioned to have been of the yearly rent or value of £14. 6s. 8d., and to have been parcel of the lands and possessions of the ancient duchy of Lancaster. And also all and singular farms, messuages, cottages, mills, houses, edifices, &c., &c., rivers, rivulets, waters, watercourses, fisheries, fishings, stallage, tolls, suit, soc, mulets, fines, amerciaments, courts' leet, and views of frankpledge, hundred courts and leets, perquisites and profits, and all things which to courts of hundred, leet, and view of frankpledge, pertain, goods and chattles, waived goods and chattles of felons, &c., &c., fairs and markets, issues of courts of piepowder, stallage, tolls, customs, pickage, emoluments, immunities, acquittances and hereditaments whatsoever, with all and singular their rights, members, and appurtenances, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, &c., &c. And the said King Charles did further grant to the aforementioned Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, their heirs and assigns, that they, their heirs and assigns, should henceforth for ever have, hold, and enjoy, So many such like the same such and the like courts leet, views of frankpledge, law days, assize and assay of bread and wine, and all goods and chattles, waived estrays, goods and chattles of felons and fugitives, felons, of themselves, and put in execution, outlaws and convicts, and other felons whatsoever, deodands, escheats, reliefs, heriots, free warren, hawking, hunting, and all other rights, jurisdictions, franchises, liberties, privileges, customs, immunities, acquittances, profits, commodities, advantages, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever, so many as much as the like, and which, and as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample a manner and form as any duke of Lancaster, or any abbot or prior, abbess or prioress, of any then late monastery, abbey, priory, or hospital, or any other, or any others, the aforesaid castles, lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and other the premises by the now abstracting indenture of grant before granted, or mentioned to be granted, or in any parcel thereof ever having, possessing, or, being seized thereof, ever had held, used, or enjoyed, in the premises by the now abstracting indenture of grant before granted, or mentioned to be granted, or in any parcel thereof, by reason or pretext of any charter, gift, grant, or confirmation, or by reason of any letters patent by the said King Charles, or by

The object of the Londoners, in accepting of this mass of landed property in payment of their loans to the king, was to turn it into money. This they did, so far as Liverpool was concerned, about four years afterwards, by selling the town, manor, and lordship to the Right Hon. Richard Lord Molyneux, Viscount Maryborough, the representative of the family which had held the fee farm under the crown since the reign of Henry the Eighth. The deed of sale to Lord Molyneux was enrolled in Chancery, on the 29th of January, 1635. By this purchase the Molyneuxes became possessors of all the manorial, seignorial, and regal rights in the borough of Liverpool, subject only to a fixed yearly payment of £14. 6s. 8d. to the crown. That reserved rent they also subsequently bought, and thus became absolute possessors of the freehold estate.* The price paid to the Londoners by Lord Molyneux was four hundred and fifty pounds.

any of his progenitors or ancestors, then late kings or queens of England, theretofore had made, granted, or confirmed, by reason or by pretext of any act or acts of parliament, or by reason or by pretext of any lawful prescription, use, or custom theretofore had, or used, or otherwise, by any lawful manner, right, or title, and as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample manner and form as the said King Charles, or any of his progenitors or ancestors, then late kings or queens of England, the premises, by the now abstracting indenture of grant before granted, or any parcel thereof, had used or enjoyed, or ought to have had, used, or enjoyed. And the said King Charles, for his heirs and successors, did further grant to the aforesaid Edward Ditchfield and John Heighlond, Humphrey Clarke and Francis Mosse, their heirs and assigns, All and singular the aforesaid lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and other the premises by the now abstracting indenture of grant, before granted or mentioned to be granted, and every parcel thereof, with every their rights, members, and appurtenances, as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample manner and form as all and singular the same premises, and every parcel thereof, to the said King Charles' hands, or to the hands of any of his progenitors or ancestors, then late kings or queens of England, or to the hands of any or either of them by reason or pretext of any dissolution, suppression, surrender, or release of any late monastery, abbey, or priory, or by reason of any act of parliament, or acts of parliament, or by reason of any exchange or acquirement, or of any surrender, gift, or grant, or by reason of any attainder or forfeiture, or by reason of escheat, or by any other lawful manner, right or title, coming, or ought to have come, or in the said King Charles' hands then being or ought to have been, except, however, always and out of the now abstracting indenture of grant to the said King Charles, his heirs and successors, always reserved all forests, and chaces, and parks, then used and filled with deer, and all knights' fees, wards, and marriages, and all advowsons, donations, free dispositions, and rights of patronage, of all and singular rectories, churches, and vicarages, chapels, and ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever within the premises before granted, or any parcel thereof, or to the premises, or any or either of them, belonging, pertaining, incident, appendant, or incumbent; Also, except all mines of gold and silver within or upon the premises, being or to be found, and all prerogatives, to the same mines belonging. To hold the aforesaid town of Litherpooll by the now abstracting indenture of grant, before granted, as parcel of the aforesaid duchy of Lancaster, or to the same duchy mentioned to be annexed, with every their rights, members, and appurtenances, to the said King Charles, his heirs or successors, as of the manor of Enfield, in the county of Middlesex, by fealty only, in free and common socage, and not in capite nor by military service, in fee farm for ever. By and under payment of the yearly rent to the said King Charles, his heirs and successors, for and on account of the aforesaid lordship and town of Litherpoole, in the same county, with the appurtenances of £14. 6s. 8d., to be paid at the times and in the manner therein-mentioned. Executed by King Charles at Canterbury."

* **SALE BY THE LONDONERS TO LORD MOLYNEUX.**—The following is an abstract of the deed of conveyance to Lord Molyneux:—"By indenture of bargain and sale made between the said Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlond, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, of the one part, and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Molyneux, Viscount Maryborough, Sir Thomas

In the year 1635 the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of Liverpool received a writ ordering them to raise a certain sum towards the tax of ship-money. Similar demands were made in all parts of the kingdom, one of which led to the memorable trial, in which John Hampden resisted the claims of the crown. In Liverpool many of the inhabitants refused to pay this illegal tax, but only two of the leading men in the town supported them. These two were John Moore, of Bank Hall, afterwards Colonel Moore, in the civil war, and one of the judges of the king; and Edward Nicholson. The following account of the transaction is taken from the Corporation Records for the year 1634 :

“Robt. Williamson, gent., maior, 1634. Febr. the 2^{do} 1634. It is consented, ordered and agreed upon, by Robt. Willmson, gen., maior, John Moore, esq., Raph Seacome, Willm Banister, John Walker, and John Willmson, ald^r, the bailives, and the most pte of the comonalty of this town, That, whereas by virtue of his writt for levyinge of a certaine some of money, towards the erectinge and furnishinge of a ship of 400 tuns, for his maties' service, the said mr maior, with the assente of the aldermen and others of the same towne, hath assessed and imposed a competent some of money for that purpose, upon sevrall inhabitants and others with in the p'cinte aforesaid, and for that purpose hath directed

Walmesley, of Dukenagh, in the county of Lancaster, knight, William Fazakerley, of Kirby, in the said county of Lancaster, gentleman, and John Nutter, of Pendle, in the said county of Lancaster, of the other part. It is witnessed that the aforesaid Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, by the appointment and direction of the aldermen and commonalty of the city of London, as well in consideration of 10s. to the said John Humphrey and Francis, by the aforesaid Thomas Walmesley, William Fazakerley, and Thomas Nutter, paid, as in consideration of four hundred and fifty pounds by the said Richard Lord Molyneux, paid to the hands of Robert Bateman, then chamberlain of the said city of London, to the use of the said mayor, commonalty, and citizens, did grant, bargain, sell, and confirm to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Walmesley, William Fazakerley, and John Nutter, their heirs and assigns, All that the town and lordship of Litherpoole, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster, with all their rights, members, and appurtenances. And all that ferry and passage over the water of Mersey there. And the butchers' shambles in the said town of Litherpoole. And also all the stallage and tolls of the markets and fairs, and perquisites of courts in Litherpoole aforesaid. And all customs, anchorage, and keytowle of the water of Mersey aforesaid, and within the aforesaid town or lordship of Litherpoole aforesaid, then or late in the tenure or occupation of Sir Richard Molyneux, knight, or his assigns, by the particular thereof mentioned to be of the yearly rent or value of £14. 6s. 8d., and to be parcel of the ancient lands and possessions of the duchy of Lancaster, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, and the rents and yearly profits of all and singular the same premises and of every parcel thereof, as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample manner and form as the said King Charles, by his letters patent, sealed as well with his great seal of England as the seal of the duchy of Lancaster, and the seal of the county palatine of Lancaster, bearing date the 9th day of September, 1629, gave and granted the premises, or any of them, to the aforesaid Edward Ditchfield, John Heighlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse, and their heirs, in fee farm, except as in the said letters patent is excepted. To hold unto and to the only and proper use of the said Sir Thomas Walmesley, William Fazakerley, and John Nutter, their heirs and assigns, in fee farm for ever, subject to the yearly rent of £14. 6s. 8d., which, by the aforesaid letters patent, was reserved for the aforesaid town and lordship of Litherpoole, with the appurtenances at the time and in the manner therein mentioned. Duly executed. Inrolled in Chancery, twenty-ninth day of January, 1635.”

sevrall warrantes to the bailives and other offic^s of this town, for the levyinge and collectinge the sevrall somes, upon the sevrall prtyes assessed upon them, and that sevrall of the pties aforesaid assessed doe refuse to pay the moneys imposed upon them, or suffer distresse against them, but doth menace the said bailives with suite, if they levy the same, It is, therefore, ordered and concluded by the house aforesaid, that if any suite or trouble bee brought against the said maior, or any other officer, by executing his warrant, that defence thereof shall bee made at the genrall cost of the whole towne, as well for the fees and chardges in suite, as other necessary chardges in goinge or rydeing thereabout. All the house consented, the aforesaid John Moore, esquire, and Edward Nicolson, excepted.”*

In 1638 the determination of Archbishop Laud to force the episcopal form of church government on the people of Scotland led to an insurrection in that country, which was soon followed by an invasion of the northern counties of England. There was nothing to resist it except a mutinous militia, which sympathized with the Scots; and even that force the king had no means of paying. In this dilemma he was again compelled to call his parliament together, after a twelve years' cessation of parliamentary government. It would have been well for him if he had acted on the advice of that parliament, for it was composed of moderate men, disposed to forgive the past, if rendered secure for the future. The members returned to the short parliament, from Liverpool, were Lord Cranfield and John Holcroft, both decided opponents of the court, yet not altogether implacable against it. The parliament only lasted a few months, having been hastily dissolved, to the unfeigned regret of moderate men, and the undisguised satisfaction of sterner and more hostile spirits. Another election took place in the same year, when John Moore was returned for Liverpool, on the parliamentary interest; and Sir Richard Wynn, on that of the court. No two men could be more opposed than these. Moore was a bold, stern, and bitter enemy of the court, and willing to go all lengths in his opposition to it. Wynn was easy, complying, and timid, opposed in his heart to the fiercer opinions of his colleague, but never (except in the case of Strafford's trial) daring to beak with the

* 1639.—The following rates show the proportion which Liverpool bore at this time to “the severall towns in the parish:—“Lancashire. Hereafter followeth the calender for muster and makinge of souldiers, eyther men or money wthin the countie of Lanc^r. When the countie makes their number, men or money, 200, then Darbie makes their same men or money £48 or men. Then Walton prish payes £4 or men. Then the severall townes in the prish paie as followeth: Walton and Fazakerly, 13s. 4d.; Kirkby and Formbie, 13s. 4d.; Darbie, 2s. 8d.; Liverpoole, 17s. 9d.; Kirkdale, 3s. 4d.; Bootle and Lineker, 3s. 4d.; Everton, 2s. 2d.”

majority. Possibly his zeal for the crown may have been cooled by the fact of his having been summoned to advance a sum of £3,000 to the king, as portion of a forced loan raised in the year in which the long parliament assembled.*

In the spring of 1642 both the king and the parliament came to the conclusion that the sword alone could decide the controversy between them, and from that time both of them began to prepare for the conflict. The king had left London on the 10th of January, never to return, except as a prisoner.† Early in March he proceeded northwards, and reached York, the northern capital of the kingdom, on the 19th day of that month. He there called together the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the royalist party, amongst whom were James Stanley, Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, the Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, and the wealthiest and most powerful noblemen in the kingdom; Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, then the possessor of those great estates in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which have since descended to the Dukes of Devonshire, and the Earls of Thanet; William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, afterwards the commander of the king's northern army; and Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsay, a Lincolnshire nobleman of great influence and courage, to whom the king entrusted the nominal command of the army which fought at Edge-hill. With the assistance of these and other counsellors he arranged his plans of resistance to the parliament, and issued commissions of array, calling on his loyal subjects, in all parts of the kingdom, to join the royal standard. Armed with this authority, Lord Strange returned to Lancashire, and began to arm the tenants on his great estates, in defence of the crown. His neighbours and friends, Richard, Lord Molyneux, and Caryl Molyneux, who succeeded his brother, were equally zealous in the same cause, and each raised a regiment, which he commanded in person. Animated by the example of these noblemen, a large portion of the Lancashire gentry also prepared to risk everything for the royal cause. Amongst them were Colonel Tyldesley, of Myerscough, afterwards Sir Thomas Tyldesley, an officer equally distinguished for his skill and courage, who defended Liverpool in the first siege which it sustained during this war; and also the heads of the old Lancashire families of Blundell, of Crosby; Chisenhale, of Chisenhale; De Trafford, of Trafford; Ratcliffe, of

* The Fairfax Correspondence, i. 402.

+ Guizot's History of the English Revolution, 137.

Ordsall; Gerard, of Bryn; Talbot, of Salusbury; and Gridlington, of Thurland Castle. By the united influence of these families so strong a force was organized in the four western hundreds of Lancashire, that Lord Strange was induced to urge the king to set up the royal standard at Warrington, within fifteen miles of Liverpool; but this advice, like much other excellent advice from the same quarter, was rejected.*

No sooner had Charles left London than the parliament, which had previously endeavoured to obtain the command of the militia, with the assent of the king, passed an ordinance, by which it assumed the command of that force on its own authority.† It had previously dismissed the lord-lieutenants of counties who were supposed to be favourable to the king, and had appointed others in their places who were known to be favourable to the parliament. One of the first persons dismissed by parliament was Lord Strange; and immediately afterwards the parliament appointed Philip Lord Wharton to the lord-lieutenancy of Lancashire.‡ The new lord-lieutenant was more remarkable for his zeal, which had exposed him to be tried by court-martial, by order of Lord Strafford, in the Scottish war, than for his courage and influence.§ Nevertheless his appointment was eagerly accepted by the parliamentary party in Lancashire, the leading men of which received commissions of deputy-lieutenants and commands of regiments, on the authority of Lord Wharton, and soon succeeded in bringing together a large force for the Parliament. Amongst the deputy-lieutenants thus appointed were John Moore, of Bank Hall, Kirkdale, and of the Old Hall, Liverpool, one of the members for that town, who has been already mentioned as having refused to pay ship-money; Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, one of the members for the county; Alexander Rigby, one of the members for Wigan; Richard Shuttleworth, one of the members for Preston; Sir Ralph Ashton, of Whalley; Sir William Breton, of Honford, Cheshire; Sir George Booth, of Dunham Massey and Warrington; Sir Thomas Stanley, of Bickerstaff; John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw; Thomas Bireh, of Bireh; Thomas Standish, of Duxbury;

* "Warrington was, unfortunately for the king, also rejected."—*Eliot Warburton's Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, i. 316.

+ Guizot's *History of the English Revolution*, 148.

‡ Dr. Ormrod's *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, vol. 2 of Chetham Society's publications, 2.

§ "Petitions from several counties soon arrived, entreating the king to conclude a peace. Lords Wharton and Howard ventured to present one themselves. Strafford caused them to be arrested, convoked a court-martial, and demanded that they should be shot at the head of the army, as abettors of revolt. The court remained silent; at length Hamilton spoke: 'My lord,' said he to Strafford, 'when this sentence of yours is pronounced, are you sure of the soldiers?' Strafford, as if struck by a sudden revelation, turned away his head shudderingly, and made no reply."—*Guizot's History of the English Revolution*, 82.

Nicholas Starkie, of Huntroyd; Edward Hopwood, of Hopwood; Peter Egerton, of Shaw, in Flixton; Robert Hide, of Denton; and John Holland, of Heaton. Amongst those who were appointed colonels of regiments, by Lord Wharton, were Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, afterwards colonel-general or commander of the Lancashire forces, who besieged Liverpool in the year 1643; John Moore, who defended the town against Prince Rupert in the following year, and afterwards assisted to blockade it for the parliament; John Holland, of Heaton, who commanded the garrison of Manchester; Thomas Birch, of Birch, who held the office of governor of Liverpool under the parliament; Alexander Rigby, who defended Bolton against Prince Rupert; and Richard, Uctred, Nicholas, and William Shuttleworth, four brothers, who commanded in the district about Preston, and all proved themselves good soldiers. It will be seen that the landed gentry of the county were greatly divided in opinion. The mass of the population was equally so. In the four western hundreds of West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, and Lonsdale, which were chiefly agricultural, the royalists had the preponderance, and hence Liverpool (which was encircled by the Stanley and Molyneux estates) fell into the hands of the royalists at the beginning of the war, as did also Warrington, Wigan, Preston, and Lancaster. In the two eastern hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, in which a large portion of the population was already engaged in manufactures, the parliamentary preponderance was equally decided. Manchester, which was never taken by the royalists during the whole course of the war, was the head-quarters of the party; "the London of the north."* There the war began; there the whole population of the surrounding districts assembled, whenever the tocsin—the church-bells rung backward†—gave notice of the approach of the enemy; and thence issued those hardy bands, which not only overran and conquered the four western hundreds of the county, but which more than once pushed into Yorkshire and Cheshire, assisting Sir Thomas Fairfax in the West Riding, and Sir William Brereton in the valley of the Weaver.

The first trial of the strength of the partizans of the royal and the parliamentary lieutenantancies, in Lancashire, took place on Preston Moor, on the 26th June, 1642.‡ On that day Sir John Gridlington, the high

* "Manchester is the very London of these parts, the liver that sends blood into all the countries thereabouts, and until it be cleansed or obstructed, I cannot imagine there can be any safety in this neighbourhood.—*Letter of Arthur Trevor to the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, December 21, 1642.*

+ Civil War Tracts, 221.

‡ Letter of Alexander Rigby to the Speaker, in Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 325.

sheriff of the county, acting under instructions from Lord Strange, and also under direct orders from the king at York, called the county together, for the purpose of opening the royal commission of array. Hearing of his intention, two of the parliamentary colonels, Alexander Rigby and Richard Shuttleworth, proceeded to the moor, and warned the multitude that the array was unlawful, according to the ordinance of parliament. On this a violent scene of confusion arose. The royalist leaders called on all who were for the king to join them, and rode round the moor, with loud shouts of "For the king, for the king!" The partizans of the parliament also gathered round Rigby and Shuttleworth, in great strength. The assembly broke up in much confusion, but without bloodshed. Each party considering this an open challenge, began to prepare for the coming civil war with redoubled earnestness. Lord Strange, in a short time, got together 3,000 men, and occupied and fortified Liverpool, Warrington, Wigan, Preston, and Lancaster. He also seized on the magazines of powder and arms in those places.* That of Liverpool contained thirty barrels of gunpowder and a large quantity of match—for as yet matchlocks, not firelocks, were commonly used. Having thus secured the hundreds of West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, and Lonsdale, he called together the array at Bury, in Salford hundred, and having made a considerable display of strength, proceeded to Manchester, to demand the surrender of the parliamentary magazine in that town.† The people of Manchester were much divided. There was a strong royalist party in the town, but the parliamentary party was bolder, if not more numerous, and refused to give up the magazine. Whilst matters were protracted by discussion, Lord Strange was invited to a public dinner in the town, by his friends there. He went, accompanied by a considerable number of his armed followers. Scarcely was he seated at table when the drums of the parliamentary party began to sound. Lord Strange and his followers succeeded in getting on horseback with some difficulty; and, when mounted, made so formidable an appearance, that Colonel Birch, the parliamentary commander, was compelled to retire, though his party soon rallied. As Lord Strange was leaving the town, an affray took place, in which Richard Percival, "a linen-webster," was killed by one of his armed followers. This unfortunate weaver is supposed to have been one of the first, if not the

* Letters from the Committees in several Counties to the Hon. William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, read in both Houses of Parliament, June 27, 1642.—*Civil War Tracts*, xvi.

† Ibid.

first man killed in this war, in which tens of thousands of lives were afterwards sacrificed, and by which a king was brought to the block.* This affray occurred on the evening of the 15th July, 1642. In consequence of these transactions, the House of Commons ordered Lord Strange to be impeached for high treason. It also ordered the sum of £16,000 to be raised on the public faith; and commanded that Sir John Seaton, a Scotch officer of merit, should go down to strengthen the Manchester garrison.† But men and money came in very slowly, and Seaton did not reach Manchester until the town had passed through a much more serious trial.

On the 25th September Lord Strange again appeared before Manchester, but this time at the head of an army of 2,000 or 3,000 men, and with six or seven pieces of cannon. In the interval between Lord Strange's first and second visit the town had been fortified against a sudden assault, chiefly by the exertions of a German engineer, named Rosworm. These fortifications were not very formidable, consisting chiefly of chains and posts at the ends of the streets; but the town was full of armed men, headed by the parliamentary commanders, Holland, Ashton, Egerton, Duckinfield, Arden, Butterworth, Booth, Hide, and Bradshaw. On the 26th Lord Strange began to cannonade the town, but his guns were ill served, and the only result of his firing was the death of a boy, who was killed as he was looking at the action from a stile. The parliamentary soldiers became bolder every day. The tenants of Colonel Ashton were especially remarkable for their courage; and those of Captain Bradshaw, when summoned to give up their arms, set up a general shout, that they would only part with their arms together with their lives.† During the siege, on the 30th September, Lord Strange became Earl of Derby, by the death of his father, Earl William. All his efforts to take the town failed, and the king having determined to march southwards, to fight the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Derby received positive orders to join him with all his forces. On this the earl broke up the siege on the 1st of October, and joined the king at Shrewsbury, where he made over his forces to the king, namely, three regiments of infantry,

* "It is a difficult and unprofitable task to discover where the first blood was shed. By some it was said to have been in Somersetshire, by Sir John Stowell; by others, in Manchester, by Lord Strange, where one Richard Percival, a linen-webster, was killed; by others to have been in Yorkshire, by a body of Northumberland Royal Horse,—*Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, by Eliot Warburton, i., 293.

† Parliamentary Commission for raising money for defence of Lancashire, and sending down Colonel John Seaton.—*Civil War Tracts*, 41.

‡ Siege of Manchester. *Civil War Tracts*, 333.

and three squadrons of cavalry.* These forces were incorporated with the royal army, marched with the king, and on the 23rd of the same month took part in the battle of Edge-hill, after which they advanced towards London.

The Earl of Derby, who was no favourite with the courtiers of the king, nor with the king himself, was sent back to Lancashire, to raise fresh forces, and to carry on the war against the Lancashire parliamentary party as he best could. He immediately set about raising another army, but before he could give his new levies any organization, he was defeated at Chowbent, and afterwards at Lowton Common, near Leigh, by the Manchester bands, on the 27th of November.† About the same time the royalists of the Blackburn hundred were defeated by the clubmen of the district;‡ and Sir Gilbert Hoghton, of Hoghton, was also defeated by Colonels Shuttleworth and Starkie, on Hinfield Moor.§ Emboldened by these successes, the parliamentary forces advanced into the West Derby hundred; but they had miscalculated their strength, for the Earl of Derby's forces at Wigan fell suddenly upon them at Hindley,|| put them to the route, and drove them back to Manchester. On the 10th of December the royalists of the county assembled at Preston, and formed a council of royalist gentlemen, to assist the Earl of Derby in carrying on the war. At the close of the year the four western hundreds, including the towns of Liverpool, Warrington, Wigan, Preston, and Lancaster, were still in the hands of the royalists; whilst the two eastern hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, with the towns of Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, and Rochdale, were in the hands of the parliamentary forces.

In the course of the winter the parliamentary forces at Manchester were reinforced by a regiment under the command of Sir John Seaton; and the Earl of Derby was reinforced by Lord Molyneux and his gallant regiment, which had distinguished itself at the siege of Reading and the storming of Brentford. The parliamentary forces were the first to take the field. On the 9th of February they appeared before Preston, and falling boldly on the works of the royalists, they carried them, and captured the town.¶ Five days afterwards Captain Starkie captured Hoghton Tower, where he and nearly a hundred of his men were killed by the blowing up of the powder magazine.** On the 17th Colonel Birch took Lancaster Castle,†† with twenty-four pieces of brass cannon, which had

* Statement of the Earl of Derby, in Peck's *Curiosa Desiderata*.

+ Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 65 and 125.

‡ Ibid, 125. § Ibid, 66. || Ibid, 63. ¶ Ibid, 71, 76. ** Ibid, 80. †† Ibid, 8.

been seized on board a Spanish ship. On the 16th of February the Earl of Derby took the field. Appearing suddenly before Bolton, he attempted to take the town by assault; but the garrison and inhabitants were ready to receive him, and he was repulsed with loss.* On the 18th of March he appeared before Lancaster, stormed and captured the town, but could not get possession of the castle.† On the 21st of the same month Lord Derby captured Preston, and took the parliamentary magazine; and about the same time the royalist cavalry gained a victory over the parliamentary dragoons.‡ Whilst the Earl of Derby was thus rapidly retrieving the royal affairs, Lord Molyneux received positive orders from the king to join the royal head-quarters with his regiment. Having no choice in the matter he obeyed, and thus the Earl of Derby was deprived of his best forces, and left to fight out the battle with his raw levies. From this time he lost ground rapidly. On the 22d of March he was repulsed in another attack on Bolton:§ and on the Easter eve, April 1, the royalist garrison of Wigan was surprised, and that “impregnable piece” was taken.|| A few days afterwards the royalists had a momentary gleam of success, having repulsed the Lancashire and the Cheshire forces, under Sir William Brereton, in an attack on Warrington.¶ Fifteen days later the Earl of Derby in person was defeated by Colonel-General Ashton, at Whalley,** and two days after that defeat Tyldesley and the royalists were repulsed from Wigan, by the same officer. On this the Earl of Derby retired to Lathom-house; and Colonel Tyldesley fell back, with 1,600 men, on Liverpool. Colonel Ashton followed on the heels of Col. Tyldesley, stormed the outworks, got possession of the principal street and the church, and shut up the royalists in the castle. The royalists, finding that the town was lost, and that they were about to be cannonaded from the tower of the church, proposed the following terms:—1st, That the town should be surrendered to Colonel Ashton. 2d, That the royalists should be allowed to carry away their arms, ammunition, and baggage. And 3d, That, without pursuit or interruption of the parlia-

* Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 81. + Ibid, 81. † Ibid, 85, 86. § Ibid, 133.

|| The following letter from the noble-spirited Charlotte de Tremouille, Countess of Derby, to Prince Rupert, announces this misfortune:

“THE COUNTESS OF DERBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.—My Lord,—I have just received the disastrous news of the loss of Wigan, six miles from this place. It has held out only two hours, having been panic-struck. My husband was twelve miles off, and before he was ready to succour it, it was surrendered. In the name of God, my lord, take pity on us; and if you appear you can conquer it easily, and with much honour to your highness. I do not know what I say; but have pity on my husband, my children, and me, who are lost for ever, if God and your highness do not take pity on us. I am, my lord, your very humble and obedient servant,
C. DE LA TREMAILLE.

“At Lathom, April 1, 1643.”

¶ Civil War Tracts, 95.

** Ibid. 95.

mentary forces, they should march to Wigan, or any other place in the county. These terms were instantly rejected by Colonel Ashton, who at once assaulted the royalists, put them to the route, and drove them out of town, with a loss of 300 prisoners, 80 killed, and 10 guns. Thus, for the first time from the commencement of the civil war, Liverpool passed into the hands of the parliamentary forces. Colonel John Moore was appointed commander of the town, and new and stronger works were constructed, under the superintendence of Colonel Rosworm, the German engineer who had fortified Manchester.* About the 20th June Colonel Ashton captured the castles of Hornby and Thurland, in the north of Lancashire, and drove the scattered remnants of the royalists out of the county.† They proceeded to join the queen at York, and accompanied her to the king, in Warwickshire. Colonel Tyldesley headed the desperate charge of cavalry across the bridge of thirty-six arches, at Burton-on-Trent, by which the passage was opened to the queen. He was knighted for his bravery. He was the chevalier without fear and without reproach, of the Lancashire royalists. Thus for the time the royal cause was entirely lost in Lancashire.

The parliamentary forces of Lancashire, having gained complete possession of the county, proceeded to render assistance to the Yorkshire forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax. At this time they were contending with great courage but with indifferent success, against the army of the northern royalists, eight thousand strong, commanded by the Marquis of Newcastle. They were drawn chiefly from the towns of Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, and the manufacturing villages around them.‡ A large body of Lancashire musqueteers were present with the Fairfaxes at the battle of Adwalton Moor, but, in spite of their assistance, they were thoroughly beaten by Newcastle, and Lord Fairfax and his son were compelled to take refuge within the walls of Hull. The marquis followed the Lancashire troops as far as Bradford, from which town he sent a summons to the garrison of Manchester, to surrender.§ This summons was indignantly rejected, and Colonel Rosworm was ordered to fortify the heights of Blackstone Edge. This he did so effectually that the marquis's troops were defeated in an attempt to pass the hills.|| Newcastle, whose command extended from the Scotch borders to the Trent, was soon after drawn

* Rosworm's "Good service hitherto ill rewarded," in *Civil War Tracts*, 228.

† *Civil War Tracts*, 99.

‡ "The parishes of Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, and some other small clothing towns adjacent, being the only well affected people of the county."—*Letter of Lord Fairfax, in Bell's Fairfax Correspondence*, i., 28., *Civil Wars*.

§ *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, 143

|| *Ibid*, 145.

away, by the hope of capturing the rich and populous town and port of Hull. Thus Lancashire was freed from all danger of attack from that quarter.

The capture of Liverpool by the parliamentary forces was a serious blow to the royal cause, as it gave parliament and its partizans the power of fitting out vessels of war in the Mersey, and of thus interrupting the communication with Ireland, whence the lord-lieutenant of the king, the Marquis of Ormonde, was preparing to send supplies and reinforcements to the royal party. Several frigates, or small vessels, were fitted out at Liverpool, one of them by Colonel John Moore. A number of Liverpool frigates, under the command of Captain Danks, cruized in the Irish Channel, sometimes blockading Dublin, and cutting off the supplies of provisions, coals, and other necessities, which that city previously obtained from England.* These cruizers also added much to the difficulty of sending over reinforcements to England. So great was the inconvenience produced by the Liverpool squadron that the Marquis of Ormonde strongly urged the royalists in Chester to attack Liverpool by sea.† Exactly the same advice was given to the marquis himself by Dr. Williams, Archbishop of York, who, in that warlike age, garrisoned Conway for the king; and by Orlando Bridgeman, a royalist gentleman, whom the Marquis of Ormonde appointed to arrange the landing of the Irish reinforcements in England.‡ This advice, however, was much more easily given than acted upon, and in the end the forces sent by the marquis landed near Chester, without making any attempt upon Liverpool. On their arrival the fortifications of Liverpool were immediately strengthened.§

From the commencement of the civil war in England, it had been the wish of the king to put an end to the war in Ireland, and to bring over to England the army which had been employed there. With this view the lord-lieutenant (the Marquis of Ormonde) concluded a peace with the Irish insurgents, and at once sent over an army of 3,000 or 4,000 men to England. This force landed at Chester in the month of November, 1643, and joined the brave and numerous garrison of that loyal and devoted city, in the first great effort to re-establish the royal power in the north. Within a few weeks after the landing of this army, Lord Byron had regained nearly the whole of Cheshire. Hawarden Castle, then a fortified

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, iii, 190.

+ The marquis, writing to Lord Byron, January 16, 1643, says, "When they (the royal fleet) are gone it is too probable the Liverpool ships will look out again, if that town be not in the mean time reduced, which I most earnestly recommend your lordship to think of and attempt as soon as you possibly can, there being no service that to my apprehension can at once so much advantage this place (Dublin) and Chester, and make them so useful to each other."—*Carte's Ormonde*, iii., 229.

‡ *Ibid*, iii, 212.

§ Corporation Records.

house belonging to the Earl of Derby, was surrendered by the parliamentary garrison, after a feeble defence. Holt Castle, commanding the principal bridge across the river Dee, was freed from blockade. Wrexham, whose beautiful church had been turned into a prison and fortress, was also retaken, and the Manchester bands which had overrun that rich district were overthrown at Booth-lane, near Sandbach, and a second time at Middlewich. The royal army, proceeding in its course of victory, took Crewe-house and Acton Church by storm, and surprised Beeston Castle, in a night attack. By the month of December Nantwich was the only place in Cheshire which remained in the hands of the parliament, and that was closely besieged by Lord Byron. On the 26th December, 1643, Lord Byron wrote a letter to the Marquis of Newcastle, the commander of the northern royalists, informing him that he had driven Sir William Brereton and the Lancashire forces out of Cheshire, and urging him to cross the hills to Stopford (Stockport) and to join him in an attack on Lancashire.* Unfortunately for the royal cause Lord Newcastle rather required assistance than was in a position to render it. One strong division of his army, which had advanced in Lincolnshire, after the defeat of the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor, had been totally routed by Oliver Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax at Horncastle;† the marquis himself had been driven from before Hull; and Col. Lambert (afterwards General Lambert,) had defeated another party of royalists in the West Riding. Under these circumstances the marquis was not only unable to join Lord Byron, but was unable to prevent the march of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, on hearing of the danger of Sir William Brereton, crossed the hills with a strong force to Manchester, to render assistance. He was there joined by the Lancashire regiments of Ashton, Holland, and Booth, as well as by Sir William Brereton, and at the head of these united forces he advanced into the valley of the Weaver, to attack Lord Byron and his Irish army. The victorious career of that army had been arrested before Nantwich, then the principal town of the salt district, where Col. George Booth, the son of Sir George Booth, had been left in command by his brother-in-law Sir William Brereton. After firing upon the town for some days, Lord Byron made an assault upon it, but was repulsed, with the loss of four hundred men. Before his army had recovered from its discouragement, news was received that Sir Thomas Fairfax was advancing at the head of the Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire forces. On his arrival a desperate and decisive battle took place, in which Lord Byron was defeated, and his army

* Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 154. † Rushworth's Historical Collection, vi., 300.

destroyed or taken.* He escaped with the wreck of his forces to Chester. Thus terminated the first attempt of the royalists to regain their power in the north, and with it all the hopes founded on the Irish army.

At the commencement of the year 1644 it appeared as if the royal cause was again entirely lost in Lancashire. Lathom-house was then the only place in the county where the authority of the parliament was not fully recognized; but it was scarcely suspected that the Countess of Derby, who then resided there, would venture to offer any resistance, if summoned to surrender the house. She was, accordingly, summoned to do so by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, though nothing could be further from the intention of that noble-spirited woman than to comply with the summons, she skilfully contrived to obtain much time for preparation, before she gave a positive refusal. At length, being ready for the struggle, she boldly defied Fairfax to do his worst. On this he began the siege, early in March, and remained before the house for a month, assailing it as hotly as his means would allow. At length, his services being urgently required in Yorkshire,† and being somewhat ashamed of his occupation, he took his departure, leaving Colonel Alexander Rigby and Colonel John Moore to continue the siege. They were even more unsuccessful than Fairfax. They not only failed to take the castle, but they were repeatedly defeated by the sallies of the garrison, and the mortar, or genadoc, with which they attempted to destroy the house was captured, and taken within the walls in triumph. They, nevertheless, continued the siege until June, when news was received that Prince Rupert was advancing at the head of ten thousand men, to the assistance of the garrison. On this Colonel Rigby retired to Bolton, and Colonel Moore to Liverpool, leaving the countess triumphant.‡

From the time of the defeat of the Irish army, under Lord Byron, at Nantwich, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, it had become clear that nothing could save the royal cause in the north except the advance of a large portion of the royal army, and Prince Rupert was regarded as the fittest man to make the attempt. Early in the year the Scottish army had marched into England, to the assistance of parliament, and had gradually pressed southward, driving the Marquis of Newcastle before it, until it had reached the gates of York. At the same time the army of the eastern counties, nominally commanded by Montague, Earl of Manchester, but really directed by his lieutenant, Oliver Cromwell, had reached the same city from

* Rushworth's Historical Collection, vi., 302. + Ibid, v., 617. † Civil War Tracts, 183.

the south. Sir Thomas Fairfax, after having gained another victory over Colonel Ballasis at Selby, had also reduced all the rest of Yorkshire. At this time all the royal forces north of the Trent were besieged. Those in Newark Castle by Sir John Meldrum, who afterwards besieged Liverpool; those of Cheshire in the city of Chester; those of Lancashire in Lathom-house, and those of Yorkshire, and all the other northern counties, in York. Nothing could save the royal cause except the raising of several of these sieges; and with this object Prince Rupert left the royal head-quarters in the month of May, 1644. Previous to his departure he received the following letters, soliciting his assistance for the Countess of Derby; the one written by the brave cavaliers who were shut up in Chester, the other by the Earl of Derby himself:

“ From the Cavaliers keeping garrison at Chester to Prince Rupert. May it please your highness,—We have thought it worth your highness’s knowledge and this express, to inform you that since your highness’s departure from these parts, the house of Lathom (wherein your very heroic kinswoman, the Countess of Derby, is) hath, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, (who is yet there,) been very straitly besieged, and as we hear assaulted, (notwithstanding any rumours which were to the contrary,) yet so defended by her admirable courage, as from the house there hath been killed divers of the assailants, some prisoners taken, and many arms. By these means she hath occasioned the enemy to strengthen the leager, and exasperated their malice. But she hath wasted much of her ammunition and victual, which must needs hasten the sadness of her ladyship’s condition, or render her captive to a barbarous enemy, if your highness’s forces do not speedily release her; in contemplation whereof, as also of the happy effects of her gallantry, who, by this defence, hath not only diverted a strong party of the Lancashire forces from joining with those who would endeavour to interrupt your highness’s march and retreat, or otherwise might have joined in one body to have annoyed us here in the division of our forces, we are, therefore, bold (with an humble representation) to become suitors to your highness, for your princely consideration of the noble lady’s seasonable and speedy relief, in which (besides her particular) we conceive the infinite good of all these northern parts will be most concerned, and his majesty’s service very much advanced. The happy success of your highness is now our principal hope and prayer, which, and all your highness’s designs, shall be promoted with the lives and utmost services of your highness’s most faithful servants, Caryll Molyneux, Thomas Tyldesley, Robert Grosvenor, Henry Leigh, Richard Molyneux, A. Shipman,

J. Mainwaring, Richard Greene, James Anderton, Will Walton, John Benningham." Chester, March the 22d, 1643.*

THE EARL OF DERBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"Sir,—I have followed your highness's commands in serving this worthy bearer, Sir William Neale, concerning his government of Harden (Hawarden) Castle ; but he finds a gentleman already in it, pretending your highness's warrant for his dwelling there, with a lady and many of her family, which were so unexpected by him and me, that both think good to acquaint your highness therewith, and desire your further pleasure.

"Sir,—I have received many advertisements from my wife of her imminent danger unless she be relieved by your highness, on whom she doth more rely than any other whatsoever, and all of us consider well she hath chief reason so to do. I was in hope to have seen your highness here yesterday, seeing you were so resolved when last I had the honour to wait upon you ; but not now knowing any certainty of your coming hither, and my Lord Byron and others most unwilling to stir hence with any forces towards her, without your highness's special direction, I do take the boldness to present you again my most humble and earnest request in her behalf, that I may be able to give her some comfort in my next. I would have waited on your highness this time, but that I hourly receive little letters from her, who haply, a few days hence, may never send me more.

"There is now an opportunity, in my opinion, to take the town of Liverpool, which your highness took notice of in the map the last evening I was with you, for there is not at this time fifty men in the garrison, neither are there many more in Warrington ; also divers be drawn forth of Manchester, most to Lathom ; so that if any small force be showed before any of these towns it is thought very possible to raise the siege (of Lathom-house) or so weaken it that it may be much easier to relieve the house with such things as it may want.

"Your highness, doubtless, knows that men are newly landed here from Ireland ; but all these and twice so many are not considerable in comparison of your own appearing, which strikes a terror to that wicked party and gives life to the half-dead true ones that are banished so long from their counties. Sir, though it becometh me to be earnest for her that is so dear to me, and for one whose great honour is to be so near to you, yet I humbly lay before you, also, the great advantage of her Majesty's service, if that family be preserved, and a certain inconvenience when, with

* Eliot Warburton's Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, i., 364.

that, all the county, and so many well affected, will utterly be lost, and not likely regained, but with too dear a purchase. But lest I be judged too importunate, I will only ask God to put into your heart how to help that poor soul, which deserves your favour, and so commit your highness to the Almighty's protection, and rest,*

"Your highness's most humble and faithful servant,

"Chester, March 7, 1644."

"DERBY.

Urged by many reasons of policy, and by a generous feeling of sympathy for the Countess of Derby, Prince Rupert began his march northwards. He arrived before Newark early in May, 1644, where his approach raised the siege. In the middle of the same month he was at Chester, which city was also freed by his approach, and allowed to enjoy a short interval of rest between its first and second sieges. On the 25th he forced the pass at Stockport, "the second key of the county",† and entered Lancashire. On hearing of his approach Colonels Rigby and Moore raised the siege of Lathom-house, and retired, the former to Bolton, the latter to Liverpool. The force under Colonel Rigby has been variously estimated at 2,000, 3,000, and 4,000 men; that under Prince Rupert was nearly 10,000. About two o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 28th of May, the royal army was discovered about a mile from Bolton. "They appeared at first like a wood or cloud", says an eye-witness, "and presently were cast into several bodies." Not expecting any very serious resistance they advanced at once to the attack; but Rigby was a resolute man, his soldiers were as good as any in England, and they received the prince so warmly that he was compelled to draw off, with a loss of two hundred men. "In their retreat they (the garrison) cut them down before them in great abundance, and they fell like leaves from the trees on a winter's morning." According to the royalist account Rigby's soldiers murdered their prisoners in cold blood: a similar charge was made against the Earl of Derby; but there is no evidence of any value in support of either of these charges. It being absolutely necessary to obtain possession of the town at any cost, another attack was decided upon. This desperate assault was led by the Earl of Derby in person, at the head of a large body of his friends, tenants, and retainers, and was attended with complete success. Bolton was carried, about 1,700 of Rigby's soldiers, and of the armed inhabitants, were killed, and the town was plundered without mercy. Rigby and a few of

* Eliot Warburton's Rupert and the Cavaliers.

† Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 182.

his soldiers escaped. Upwards of twenty stand of colours were taken, and were sent as a present to the Countess of Derby, at Lathom-house, at which place it was hoped that they would remain, as a "perpetual" memorial of the prince's estimation of the valour and constancy of the heroine of Lathom.

Having revenged the Countess of Derby on one of her enemies, Prince Rupert immediately directed his forces against another of them, Colonel Moore, the Governor of Liverpool. It appears from the Earl of Derby's letter, given above, that the prince had long had his eye on Liverpool; and we learn from letters of Daniel O'Neale and Arthur Trevor, and from other evidence, that it was his intention to fortify the town strongly, and to keep it as a point of communication with the royalists of Ireland. The attack had been expected for some time, and, in the interval, the town had been fortified with a mud wall, and a deep ditch running from the pool, at the east end of Dale-street, to the river. The ditch was twelve yards wide and three deep; but, from the nature of the land, it must have been dry on the higher ground near Oldhall-street, from which point the ground falls rapidly to the river. At that time the town did not approach the pool at any other points than the end of Dale-street and Pool-lane. An orchard belonging to the castle then covered the slope on which Lord-street now stands, and fields extended from the east side of Castle-street to the pool. A strong fortification was formed along this slope, extending from the castle to the end of Dale-street, where it joined the northern wall. The ends of the two streets facing the pool were built up. Numerous cannon were mounted on the castle; and the entrance to the harbour, which then was where the Custom-house now is, was defended by a powerful battery. At that time besieging artillery was clumsily constructed and slowly worked, so that the effect of its fire was slight, in comparison with that produced by the terrible instruments of destruction used in modern warfare. The town, though everywhere commanded by the fire from the surrounding hills, was very defensible against assault, being protected by the river and the pool on three sides, and well fortified on the fourth. According to Seacome, the historian of the House of Stanley, Prince Rupert considered the place indefensible, and expected to obtain possession of it in a few hours. He compared it to a crow's nest, and said that a parcel of boys might take it. He soon found his error. Colonel Moore and his brave garrison held out for eighteen days, defied the prince's cannonade, and repulsed his army in at least two general assaults. It was not until

the prince had expended a hundred barrels of powder in an incessant cannonade, and had lost 1,500 of his men in attempts to storm the town, that he succeeded in taking it, by a night attack.* Caryl, afterwards Viscount Molyneux, a native of the district, and well acquainted with the ground, either led or directed this attack, and is said to have killed several of the garrison in the assault. The town was entered near the north end of Oldhall-street, where the ditch was probably dry, and where the approach of the attacking party would be covered by the wood which formerly extended from the north side of the town into Kirkdale. All the accounts agree that the slaughter was very great, but that it ceased when the garrison of the castle advanced to the White Cross, and laid down their arms. The prince seized upon all the muniments of the corporation, which he carried off with him, but they were afterwards recovered. He immediately set his chief engineer, a Spaniard or Frenchman, named Gomez or Gomme, to work, to form a plan of a new and much stronger line of fortifications. These were never constructed, owing to the course of subsequent events; but the plan of them, as drawn out by Captain Gomez, will be found amongst the illustrations of this work.

Prince Rupert remained in Liverpool nine days,† recruiting his army, and organizing the district and the county of Chester. He would probably have remained longer, and have rendered Liverpool the basis of his future operations, had he not received a letter from the king, not only urging but commanding him to hasten to raise the siege of York. In this letter the king declared that he should consider the loss of York the certain precursor of the loss of his crown, and commanded the prince to lay aside all other undertakings, and hasten to the relief of that city. Thus vehemently urged, the prince could do nothing but comply. Leaving Sir Robert Byron, one of the brothers of Lord Byron, in command of Liverpool, with a garrison of English and Irish troops, he marched rapidly to York, by way of Clitheroe, Skipton, Otley, and Boroughbridge, eluding the parliamentary armies, which had drawn up in order of battle near Tadcaster on hearing of his approach. The prince had thus, in succession, raised the sieges of Newark Castle, Chester, Lathom-house, and York. Here his good fortune ended. On the following day he was defeated at Marston Moor, by the combined skill and valour of Cromwell

* Liverpoole cost a hundred barrels of munition, which makes Prince Rupert march ill provided.—*Letter from Arthur Trevor to the Marquis of Ormonde, dated Chester, June 29, 1644.*

† Carte's History of England, iv., 507.

and Fairfax, and by the more perfect discipline of the parliamentary forces. Thus, in a single day, all that had been gained in a brilliant campaign, and far more, was lost. The battle of Marston Moor really decided the fate of the civil war. Up to that disastrous day the prospects of the king had been at least as good as those of the parliament; but the battle which shattered the military reputation of Rupert, and revealed the military greatness of Cromwell and Fairfax, was the first of a series of disasters, which continued, with little interruption, until the last battle had been fought at Naseby, until the last fortress had surrendered, and until the king was a captive in the hands of the army and the parliament.

Immediately after the defeat of the royal army at Long Marston Prince Rupert commenced his retreat, by the same route by which he had advanced, that is, through the West Riding and Lancashire. Traversing those districts in great haste he reached the River Mersey about the 20th July, which he passed at Haleford, or Runcorn, on his way to Chester, whence he proceeded to join the king, with the wreck of his army, about 6,000 strong. The Lancashire royalists, thus left to themselves, made a bold attempt to keep the field. On the 8th of August the parliament resolved "that the Lord Fairfax should take care of Yorkshire, and send 1,000 horse into Lancashire, to join with the forces of that countie against Liverpool."* On the 20th the Lancashire royalists were totally defeated at Ormskirk by the parliamentary army, under Major-General Meldrum.† Lords Byron and Molyneux escaped from this battle, but thirty gentlemen connected with the county, with upwards of a thousand horsemen, were taken in the pursuit. The wreck of the royalist army escaped to Liverpool. Major-General Meldrum followed it, and laid siege to the town on the land side, whilst Colonel Moore, the late governor, blockaded it by sea. The siege commenced about the 20th of August, and continued until the 4th of November. Had the garrison been as brave or as faithful as the gallant governor, it would have continued much longer, but in the beginning of November the garrison mutined and gave up the town to the besiegers. It appears, from Sir John Meldrum's letter to the parliament, that about fifty of the English soldiers first made their escape out of the town, and drove away most of the cattle on which the garrison relied for subsistence. On this the English-Irish within the garrison, perceiving that they were now in a desperate condition, as quarter had been previously refused to them, seized upon all their officers, and delivered them up to Sir John Meldrum. Their lives were spared,

* Civil War Tracts, 203.

† Ibid, 204.

and they were sent to Ireland. Thus ended the third and last siege of Liverpool.

The entries in the Corporation Records, respecting public affairs, are very brief during the civil wars, the sudden changes of fortune rendering it dangerous to create any lasting evidence of plans, or opinions, either during prosperity or adversity. The records become fuller after the third siege, when all danger from the royal party was at an end. The position which the local authorities then assumed was that of martyrs for the cause of parliament, and this position was recognized, to some extent, by parliament. Two months after the surrender of the town to Sir John Meldrum, the following resolution was passed at the Portmote Court :—“ We find that a great company of our inhabitants were murdered and slain by Prince Rupert’s forces. The names of the murderers we cannot yet be certified of, or any of them.” The following melancholy order was agreed to at the same meeting :—“ That the dead bodies of our murdered neighbours, buried out of the town, shall be better covered betwixt this and the 2d of February next ; and for the effecting hereof we order that the two bailiffs, or any other officer giving notice or warning to any house, it shall send one thither, with a spade or wisket, for the covering of them as aforesaid.” On the 5th of March following, during the mayoralty of John Holcrofte, the following record of proceedings appears :—“ Forasmuch as the present state and condition of the town doth require that some speedy course be taken, as well for the repairing of the losses and sufferings of the inhabitants thereof, by the cruelty of the prince’s army, lately prevailing there, as also for the better securing of the said town for the time to come, it is ordered that Mr. William Laughton, recorder, shall accompany the maior to London, and there solicit, on behalf of the said town, according to the ensuing instructions, viz. :

“ First, to procure relief, if it be possible, for poor widows and fatherless children, that had their husbands and fathers slain, and their goods plundered, and others in the town, who are in distress and want.

“ Second, to procure that the manner of the losing, or rather the giving, of the town to the enemies may be fully tried and examined, that so it may appear in whose neglect or default it was that so much innocent blood was spilt, when there was a possibility of resistance, or any terms of quarter would have been granted.*

* Colonel Moore had the usual fate of unsuccessful commanders. He was charged with treachery ; but he was afterwards employed by parliament and by Cromwell, and was one of the commissioners to whom the Marquis of Ormonde surrendered Dublin, which would not have been the case, if there had been any ground for the suspicion.

“ Third, to procure that some course be taken to secure the town from the power of the enemy hereafter, it being of great concernment to the country, and is not as yet in any good posture of defence, for want of provisions, men, and monies to supply the same, in case of danger.

“ Fourth, to obtain an order for the enclosing and improving of the commons and waste grounds, within the town’s liberties, for the good of the corporation, and that the mills and ferry-boats formerly belonging to the town, and injuriously taken and kept from them by the Lord Molyneux, may be restored to the corporation, as formerly ; and,

“ Fifth, to agitate the business of the rebels’ (quere royalists) goods, claimed by the Manchester men.”

The Liverpool deputation which proceeded to London with the above requests was tolerably successful. It obtained a grant of £20 in money, for the immediate relief of the widows, orphans, and poor of the town ; and further grants of five hundred tons of timber, for the rebuilding of the ruined houses. The latter was to be taken from the woods of the Earl of Derby, Lord Molyneux, William Norris, of Speke, Robert Blundell, Robert Molyneux, Charles Gerard, and Edward Scarisbrick, Esqrs., all of the royalist party. In addition to this grant of timber, part of the lead from the ruins of Lathom-house was allowed to the town, for the repairs of the school-house, “ inasmuch as the lead from the old school-house had been taken for public use,” that is, to be fired at Prince Rupert and the cavaliers. With regard to some other matters referred to in the petition, the Earl of Warwick reported a bill, on the 1st of October, 1645. In this bill, after stating that the mills and ferry-boats on the Mersey had formerly belonged to the town of Liverpool, but that they had lately been in the hands of Lord Molyneux, “ who is in hostility against the parliament” ; that all the writings and ancient records belonging to the said corporation were taken away, when the town was stormed by the enemy ; and “ further, considering the exceeding great losses and sufferings of the said town, it was provided that the corporation should enjoy the wind-mills, ferry-boats, and rent of £20 a year, formerly paid to Lord Molyneux, till both houses take further order, and that they should also continue to enjoy all rights which they had enjoyed under their said charters.” At a subsequent period, a large grant of land in Ireland was made to the town and corporation of Liverpool, for their public services, in the act entitled “ Satisfactions of the adventurers of lands in Ireland, and of the arrears due to the soldiery there, and of other public debts.” The clause making the grant to Liverpool is as follows :—“ And be it further enacted, that

in consideration of the great losses of the town of Liverpool, the commissioners of the parliament of Ireland set forth and appoint so much land as amounts to £10,000, (according to the rates that the debts due upon the publique faith are appointed to be satisfied by this act,) for the use and benefit of the said town and their successors for ever.* The land thus granted was situated in the county of Galway, a part of the only spot on earth which Cromwell had left to the native Irish, and it proved as unprofitable to Liverpool as a bishopric in the parts of the infidels usually proves to its possessor. After various journeys to London and Ireland on this business, and after handsome bonuses had been offered, to parties who might succeed in obtaining possession for the town, (even to the extent of half the estate,) and after considerable expenditure, continued for several years, the corporation at length gave it up in despair, and thus escaped the perilous honour of becoming absentee Irish landlords. The city of Gloucester experienced the same amount of liberality from parliament, with precisely the same results.

The state of Lancashire continued to be very unsettled during the period which elapsed between the third siege of Liverpool in 1644 and the seizing of the government by Cromwell, in 1653. The ravages of pestilence and famine followed close upon those of the sword; and so little were the people of Lancashire satisfied with the state of affairs which arose out of the downfall of the king, that they soon became nearly as hostile to the new government as they had been to the old. Lancashire was one of the few English counties which adopted the Presbyterian form of church government willingly and completely. In this it differed from the rest of the kingdom, and hence it became the centre of the intrigues and operations, by which the Scotch and English Presbyterians endeavoured to overthrow the power of the army and the Independents, who had seized the prize for which the others had fought. In the year 1647, the government determined to send down six hundred men of the regular army, to garrison Liverpool; and though the council remonstrated, a strong force was sent, which was billeted on the inhabitants. This was the commencement of that system of military government which prevailed throughout England under the pretended Commonwealth, and which ended in rendering the name of Commonwealth hateful to the English people. Lancashire being set down as a particularly "malignant" county, felt the system with more than common rigour. In the year 1648 a strong Scotch army entered the county, under the command of Duke Hamilton. Its objects were the settling of Presbyterian government

* Scobel's Acts and Ordinances, 240.

according to the covenant, and liberating and re-establishing his majesty. Such was Hamilton's declaration on entering the county. The Lancashire royalists rose eagerly, forgiving the Presbyterianism of the Scottish army for its loyalty; but the Presbyterians would not rise. They met Hamilton's declaration with a counter declaration, in which they said "we have all taken the covenant, and are zealous for re-establishing his majesty, and doubt not the reality of the intentions of both houses of parliament." After some wavering, the Lancashire militia joined Cromwell, on his entrance into the county, and fought in those desperate battles in which the Scottish army was destroyed. The first battle was fought at Preston, the last at Winwick, about fifteen miles from Liverpool. Although Cromwell himself admitted that no troops could have fought better than the Lancashire troops did in this campaign, he was so little satisfied with the spirit of the county that he and his friends caused the Lancashire militia to be disbanded at the end of the same year. By many years active service they had become equal to the regular troops in courage and discipline, and were considered doubly dangerous on that account. The following is a striking picture of the condition to which the whole county had been reduced at this time by war, pestilence, and famine:—"The hand of God," says a writer of that age, "is evidently seen stretched out upon the county; chastening it with the three-corded scourge of sword, pestilence, and famine all at once afflicting it. They have borne the heat and burden of the first and second war in an especial manner above other parts of the nation. Through them the two great bodies of the English and Scottish armies passed, and in their very bowels was that fighting, bloodshed, and breaking. In this county hath the plague of pestilence been raging these three years and upwards, occasioned by the wars. There is a very great scarcity and dearth of all provisions, chiefly of all sorts of grain, particularly that by which that county is most sustained, (oats,) which is full sixfold the price that of late it hath been. All trade, by which they have been much supported, is utterly decayed. It would melt any good heart to see the numerous swarms of begging poor, and the many families that pine away at home, not having faces to beg. Very many now crave alms at other men's doors who were used to give others alms at their doors;—to see paleness, nay, death appear in the cheeks of the poor, and often to hear of some found dead in their houses, or highways, for want of bread."

But the plague of civil war was not yet ended in Lancashire. The king, Charles the First, was put to death in January, 1649, and soon after the Scottish people placed his son on the throne of Scotland. The

consequence was a war with Cromwell and the parliament, in which the Scottish army, after sustaining great disasters in its own country, made a bold advance into England, hoping to obtain additional strength by the union of the loyalists and presbyterians. Previous to the advance of the army a rising had been arranged in Lancashire. On the 12th of August, Charles the Second, or, as he was called, the King of the Scots, arrived at Lancaster, and lodged for the night at Ashton-hall, "where Hamilton lodged two nights before the battle of Preston," and where his descendants have since dwelt.* On the 13th the king slept at Myerscough-lodge, the seat of Sir Thomas Tyldesley, who was hastening to his assistance. On the 14th he passed Ribble-bridge, at Preston, and the same night slept at Euxton-hall, the seat of the loyal family of Anderton. On the 15th he lodged at Sir William Gerard's, of Bryn. On the 16th he passed Warrington-bridge, with his whole army, after a smart skirmish with Cromwell's Cavalry. He then marched southward towards Worcester, by way of Shrewsbury. On the same day on which the Scottish army crossed the Mersey, the Earl of Derby arrived in Wyre Water, (near the present port of Fleetwood,) with three frigates, bringing a number of officers from the Isle of Man. He immediately set up the banner of the king, and was joined by many of the royalists. His principal hope of effecting anything of importance depended on the conduct of the presbyterians, who had the arms of the county in their possession ; but it was hoped that Major-General Massey, (the defender of Gloucester against Charles the First, but then a zealous adherent of Charles the Second,) would be able to induce them to rise. "The earl began to beat drums," says his antagonist, Colonel Lilburne, "and raise men in all places where he came, and would have been very strong in a short time, not only through the access of many malignant papists and disaffected persons, but that assistance the ministers and those who are called presbyterians afforded, and would more abundantly have afforded ; for they are the men who are grown more bitter and envious against you than others of the old cavalier stamp." Cromwell, foreseeing the danger of a rising in Lancashire, had strengthened the garrison of Liverpool ; had placed his own regiment of foot in garrison at Manchester, where the Earl of Derby "had the assurance of the assistance of five hundred men, in and about the town ;" and had left Lieut.-Col. Robert Lilburne, one of his best and trustiest officers, with a regiment of horse, to keep the field against Lord Derby. On the 25th of August Lilburne, reinforced from Liverpool and Chester, attacked the royalists near Wigan,

* Civil War Tracts, 287.

and after a desperate battle defeated and dispersed them. The Earl of Derby escaped, only to witness a greater overthrow at Worcester, and to close his noble career on the scaffold at Bolton. Sir Thomas Tyldesley fell fighting for the cause for which he had risked his life in a hundred combats; and all the other loyalists were killed, taken, or dispersed. I subjoin the account of the battle of Wigan-lane, forwarded by the Governor of Liverpool to the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

The local events of Liverpool during the protectorate of Cromwell were of little importance. The corporation enjoyed the fee farm under the grant of parliament; and some progress was made in reclaiming the commons around the town; but no great or permanent improvement was made at home, and the utter ruin of Ireland by the civil war caused the trade of the port to languish. Immediately after the death of Oliver Cromwell the royalists and presbyterians of Cheshire and Lancashire rose against his son, Richard Cromwell. This insurrection, which was headed by Sir George Booth and the Earl of Derby, extended to Liverpool, which declared for the king, and was held for a short time by Lord Derby and Colonel Gilbert Ireland; but after the defeat of Sir George Booth by General Lambert it again fell into the hands of the army and the parliament. Their triumph, however, was very short. Early in the following year General Monk and the northern army declared for the king; who was shortly afterwards recalled to the throne, by the all but unanimous voice of the nation. Amongst the consequences of the restoration were the setting aside of all the grants made by parliament, including those made to the corporation of Liverpool. Lord Molyneux again became proprietor of the fee farm of the town; and several of the leading members of the Cromwellian party were expelled from the town council.

* It pleased the Lord yesterday to give an utter overthrow by Col. Lilburne's regiment of horse to the Earle of Derby, who was raising men here in this county for the Scots king. The earl at his coming over from the Isle of Man, brought but 300 men, whereof 60 were horse, but landing about the middle of the shire, when the Scots army were passing out of it, he had the better opportunity by our distractions to march up to Warrington to them, and there he had the assistance of Major-General Massey with a regiment of horse to countenance his proceedings, while he gathered more to him, who afterwards leaving him when the earl's forces were reputed considerable to carry on the works, and there being none in this county left competent to make opposition, but all marched out with the army, I sent both to my Lord Generall and the Major-Generalls, to acquaint them with it; whereupon Col. Lilburne came very opportunely, yet the enemy being stronger in foote, and securing himself betwixt two rivers, he was not to be attempted by horse only, and all that could be afforded in assistance were two foot companies from Chester, one of my regiment left about Manchester, not being so ready as the rest to march out, and what musketeers I horsed from hence, with some few countrymen. But since my Lord Generall's owne regimente of foote being sent up, and within one dayes march, the enemy attempted towards the Scots army, and being pursued by Col. Lilburne's regiment and the small addition before named, without the conjunction of my Lord Generall's regiment, it pleased God to give them an absolute overthrow, as the inclosed from Col. Lilburne intimates; the number of prisoners and the slaine with their qualifications I cannot yet give further account of, but I hope the success prevents all designs in these parts. I must excuse for this distracted letter, and ever am, sir, your most reall and humble servant,

Liverpoole, Aug. 26, 1651.

THO. BIRCHE.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF STUART,

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

During the period of fifty years, whose history I am about to trace in this chapter, Liverpool increased in population, commerce, and wealth, with a rapidity which had never been previously known, so that by the close of the half-century it had become the third port in the kingdom.

Shortly after the restoration of Charles the Second, a great impulse was given to the commerce of Liverpool, by the numerous misfortunes which befel the city of London. These caused many of the inhabitants to fly from it, as from a city doomed to destruction, and to settle in Liverpool, and other places. Early in the year 1665 London was stricken by the most destructive visitation of the plague which had ever been known in England, by which upwards of a hundred thousand persons were swept away, in a few months. In the autumn of the following year the great fire of London broke out, which was not extinguished until it had reduced the whole of the city, from the Tower to Temple-bar, to ruins. During the course of these dreadful visitations the commerce of London, and of all the ports on the east side of the island, was paralyzed, by a desperate war with Holland, in the course of which the Dutch fleet obtained the command of the Channel, sailed up the Thames, and burnt Sheerness. The result of these misfortunes to the great centre of English commerce was, that "many people coming from London, in the time of the sickness, and after the fire, several ingenious men settled in Liverpool, which caused the trade of the port to the plantations and other places. This so enlarged the trade of the port, that, from scarcely paying the salaries of the officers of customs, Liverpool, before the close of the century, possessed the third part of the trade of the country, and paid the king upwards of £50,000 a-year in customs."*

We possess a minute and curious account of Liverpool, written shortly after this time, which shows that its commerce was extending, that population was increasing, that numerous new streets were forming,

* The case of the Corporation of Liverpool, in relation to a bill for making a new parish, and erecting a new church there. (About 1699.)

and that the grand project of cutting an artificial harbour, by deepening and widening the pool, which bounded the town to the south and east, was already under consideration, and was expected to be carried into effect. This account is contained in a rental of the Moore estates in Liverpool, drawn up by Sir Edward Moore, of Bank-hall, the son of Col. John Moore, for the instruction and guidance of his son and heir. After remaining in manuscript for nearly two centuries, this curious record of past times has been published by the Chetham Society, and brings before us a minute and lively account of the interests, hopes, and passions which agitated Liverpool and its inhabitants, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The Moore rental commences with an account of Oldhall-street, then the genteel street in the town, and now one of the busiest. There the Old Hall was situated, which had been the original seat of the writer's ancestors, from time immemorial; but which he, under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by his father during the civil war, had been compelled to let, for three lives, to Mr. Alderman Anydoe, who was mayor of Liverpool in the year 1665. This alderman, Sir Edward Moore warns his son against, as "one of the lurkingest knaves in the town;" for it seems that he had been guilty of the offence of voting against his landlord, "both for parliament man and mayor." This Sir Edward regards as the unpardonable sin; and throughout the rental never fails to put a black mark against the name of every man who had committed it. Along with the hall, Alderman Anydoe held two fields belonging to it, the Parlor Hey and the Barn Hey. "If ever this falls in," says Sir Edward to his son, "and trading as good as now, you may well make a street;"* running down to the river, parallel to Chapel-street. This recommendation has long since been carried into effect. The whole site of the Old Hall, and of the fields which then surrounded it, are now covered with streets and warehouses. In this part of the rental Sir Edward gives his son a piece of advice which shows how rapidly the town was improving. "Remember," says he, "if ever it lie in your power, to buy of young Mr. Sherwin, the estate he bought of my cousin Lea of Lime, lying in this town. He gave but four hundred pounds for it, but if you had it for a thousand it were well bought." Some marks still remained in Oldhall-street of the damage done during the siege by Prince Rupert, which gave Sir Edward Moore the opportunity of having the following fling, at his great rival in the

* Moore Rental, 12.

town, Caryl, Lord Molyneux. "Keep room," says he, "sufficient for outhouses and other necessities for the Old Hall, which outhouses were pulled down, when Prince Rupert took Liverpool, Whitsuntide, 1644, putting all to the sword, giving no quarter: when Caryl, that is now Lord Mullineux, killed seven or eight poor men with his own hands. Good Lord deliver us from the cruelty of blood-thirsty papists. Amen."

Chapel-street is the next street mentioned in the rental. Speaking of one of the tenements, Sir Edward says that the sea was washing away the bank so rapidly that land that was worth £10 a-year, in his grandfather's time, was not worth 5s. a-year in his. He recommends his son to build a sea wall, and if it be possible to get warehouses and dwelling-houses built along the wall, and also to make a street to go up the middle of it. "This is a project, if God help the town, may be possible." It has been done long ago. He also recommends his son not to lease again the "fine large croft" held by Thomas Lancelot, "a drunken, idle fellow;" but to build houses upon it. This is the site of the present Lancelot's-hey. He also advises his son to buy a small piece of land between Chapel-street and Water-street, and to build a street between them, "which would be a street very convenient, in regard of the great compass all people are now forced to go about" to get from one to the other.

Sir Edward next speaks of Tithebarn-street. Amongst his tenants in that street was John Hacking, "a very honest man," that is, a man who voted for him at elections. "When his house, barn, and ground falls out," says Sir Edward, "then doth likewise fall out of lease a house called Hacking's House, in the Dale-street, through the lower end of which house I charge you, with God's permission, make a street, which will run directly north, through the croft belonging to the house and barn, and so will be a most convenient passage for a street, from the Dale-street into Tithebarn-street." This is the street which still preserves the name of honest John Hacking.

In Water-street lived Alderman Formby. "He is one," says Sir Edward, "who, when to have chosen me a parliament man would have saved my whole estate, would not give me his vote. This fellow, Baly March, Alderman Anydoe, and Alderman Corles, were all the tenants that openly appeared against me, on the king's coming in, for being a parliament man."* "The Lord Jesus forgive them," prays Sir Edward—but it is clear that *he* never did.

In Castle-street lived Thomas Row. "Pretty honest," says Sir Edward, "yet trust him not; for if he see a greater party against you he will deceive you."* There also resided Richard Williamson, whose family had been settled in Liverpool from the time of Queen Elizabeth; and whose descendants still possess a good estate about Williamson-square, where they had a country house in King Charles's time. "A most notorious knave," says Sir Edward, "at least to me and mine; upon all occasions he hath been against me. Remember you never trust any of the name in this town, for there is a great faction of them and their relations. They have always been enemies of me and all your predecessors, time out of memory of man." The next of Sir Edward's tenants was Baly Johnson. "One of the hardest men in the town," says Sir Edward, who was anything but soft himself. This Bailiff or Baly Johnson was the father of Sir Thomas Johnson, from whom Sir Thomas's-buildings are named, and one of the most useful men that ever lived in Liverpool. In speaking of Baly Johnson's house and land, Sir Edward Moore first mentions the great scheme of cutting or widening the pool,—the scheme out of which the Liverpool docks and dock estate have grown. "Remember," says Sir Edward, "there belongs a great close to this house lying in the Dale-street, which runs down to the pool, (the present Whitechapel.) If ever the pool shall be cut, so as shipping shall come up to the back of the town, this will be a most especial place to make a street. I charge you never lease it again, but reserve it for a street." Speaking of some other pieces of land further down Castle-street, he says, "If ever the pool be made navigable, the shipping will be two parts round them. These four closes are the only" (the best) "places in Liverpool to build on." Amongst other residents of Castle-street, at this time, were Mr. William Bushell, a prosperous man, who was making a fortune as a spinner of cordage; Colonel Thomas Birch, governor of Liverpool under the Commonwealth, who died in peace, at the age of 70; and Mr. Clayton, the founder of one of the most eminent of the commercial families of Liverpool. Lower down the street dwelt a most notorious witch, Widow Bridge by name. "Her own sister, Margaret Loy," says Sir Edward, with perfect gravity, "being arraigned as a witch, confessed she was one; and when she was asked how long she had so been, replied, since the death of her mother, who died thirty years ago, and at her death she had nothing to leave her and this Widow Bridge,

* Moore Rental, 43.

who were sisters, but her two spirits, and named them, the eldest spirit to this widow, and the other spirit to her, the said Margaret Loy. God bless me and mine from all such legacies! Amen."

Sir Edward Moore had a windmill in Dale-street, and a horsemill in Castle-street. He and Mr. Crosse, of Crosse-hall, had the exclusive right of grinding corn in the borough, which they had bought from the ancient lords of Liverpool, and they were entitled to demand one bushel in twenty as their dues. He describes his mill as a thing of great concernment to his estate. "I have got, when the trading to Lochabar, an island (district) in Scotland, was used, twenty measures of toll a week, for two years together, when malt sold for five shillings the Winchester measure; but now nine or ten measures a week, and against fairs and holidays twenty measures a week." He adds, that, in the time of his grandfather, Edward Moore, his allowance to his household was sixteen measures of malt a week, and sixteen measures of bread corn, and that he got it all for toll.

In Sir Edward Moore's account of Dale-street we find the first mention of the opening of the trade with the West Indies, which has since been so great a source of wealth to Liverpool. Speaking of a plot of land in Dale-street he says, "Sugar House Close. Thiscroft fronts the street for some twenty-seven yards, and I call it the Sugar House Close, because one Mr. Smith, a great sugar-baker at London, a man, as report says, worth forty thousand pounds, came from London to treat with me. According to agreement he is to build all the front twenty-seven yards a stately house of good hewn stone, four story high, and then to go through the same building with a large entry; and then, in the back side, to erect a house for boiling and drying sugar, otherwise called a sugar-baker's house. The pile of building must be forty feet square and four stories high, all of hewn stone; then he is to take the little house of Roger Rogerson, in Dig-lane, (now Cheapside,) and make the back way in through there; then he is to encompass all his ground with a brick wall round. If this be once done, it will bring a trade of at least forty thousand pounds a year from the Barbadoes, which formerly this town never knew. This house, it is thought, will cost at least one thousand four hundred pounds, and when it comes out of lease it will be worth to you and your heirs fifty pounds a year of a good rent, for I would never have you lease it again."*

* Moore Rental, 78.

Sir Edward Moore also possessed land of great capabilities in Pool-lane, which he points out to his son, with his usual sagacity. "Here," says he, "is a most convenient parcel of land, if ever the pool be cut navigable, to build almost round it. I mean so far as lies to the river, there being not the like place in Liverpool to the river side for cellars and warehouses." By cellars Sir Edward means places for storing goods, for the word cellar was then very commonly used in the same sense as the Latin word *cella*, from which it is derived. "For the worth of this place, I know not how to value it: for if the pool shall ever be cut, it may be worth five hundred pounds to you; therefore be careful what you do with it." "Remember," adds the prudent father, "you improve your rent when it comes out of lease: and if you could buy Baly Blundell's little parcel of ground next on the north side of it, and so wall it all in together, you might make forty pounds per annum, with laying coals there for the sea, there being not the like place in Liverpool for that use. Consider well of this coal trade, and put it in execution."*

If Sir Edward Moore's descendants did not make a fine fortune from the forming of the docks of Liverpool, it certainly was no fault of their ancestor, who pointed out the advantages which would arise from it with unwearying iteration. "These four closes (in Pool-lane) may be the greatest concern you have in England: for if the pool be made navigable, the shipping must be all along these closes, and the trade will be all in them for the whole town. You may have building here worth far more than twenty thousand pounds, if God send peace and prosper trade. I do not question but see this brought much to a head in my time."†

After mentioning his house on the Castle-hill, and the row where the rubbish was laid, that was taken out of the Castle trench, "in which Thomas Preeson lives," (whose name it still bears,) Sir Edward proceeds to give particular directions about two new streets, which had been built entirely on his own land. The first of these is Moore-street, then one of the best streets in Liverpool, but now blocked up with warehouses, with here and there a curious old house, which preserves some traces of its original gentility. The second is Fenwick-street, quite as genteel a street in its day as Moore-street, and now a street of offices, crowded with men of business. In speaking of Moore-street, Sir Edward, after exhorting his son, "in the name of God, never (to) converse with any man, nor

* Moore Rental, 80.

+ Ibid, 81.

give ear to any man, nor trust any man, that desires him to join with him against the good old town of Liverpool," proceeds to dwell with pride and exultation on the long friendship which had existed between the men of Liverpool and his family. "This you may boldly and truly say, the corporation and you have lived together this four hundred and odd years, and in all that time you have been in great affection one to another, and not one generation of so many hundred years but your ancestors have been mayors, many of them in man's memory two or three times a-piece, and one Thomas de la More, in Richard the Second, was in his life twelve times mayor, as you may see by your deeds marked accordingly; and this you may further say of truth, which few if any of England can say, of your quality, that there hath not been a parliament this two hundred and fifty years, but one of your ancestors have been burgesses for that town; and in man's memory, my father, John Moore, my grandfather, Edward Moore, and my great grandfather, William Moore, have been parliament men." Whilst Moore-street was thus named from family pride, Fenwick-street was named from the better feeling of conjugal affection, for an excellent wife, who made his home happy, and had twice saved him and his family from ruin. With the following touching and eloquent summary of the reasons which induced Sir Edward Moore to name Fenwick-street after his wife, the daughter of a brave old loyalist, I take leave of the Moore Rental:—"The reasons why I named this street Fenwick-street were four, the first of which is, that your mother was one of the co-heirs of Sir William Fenwick, knight and baronet of Meldon-hall, in Northumberland, by whom I came actually possessed of £700 per annum land of inheritance, for my third part; the second reason, for that by her fortune I disengaged ten thousand pounds principal money, of a debt contracted by my unfortunate father in the service of the parliament, in those late unhappy wars; the third reason, for that after all the debts aforesaid were discharged, yet at the restoration of King Charles the Second, my whole estate, that descended as heirs, was by act of parliament confiscated, for my father's fault, who was dead near fifteen years before the said act of parliament was made: and, notwithstanding all this, upon the petition of my wife to the Lords' House, the said house order four carls to go with it to the king, to acquaint his majesty that the sense of the house was, the petitioner was a fit object of mercy, in regard to her father was an excepted person from pardon by the late usurpers, and had lost from his loyalty to the value of £100,000, a third of which should have been the petitioner's; besides she herself

endured much hardship, by imprisonment and other things, for her loyalty. So the king, referring the petition to his attorney-general to know the truth, finding all things accordingly, was graciously pleased, in consideration of her father's merits and her own sufferings, to grant John Moore's estate, to such feoffees in trust, as she, Dorothy Moore, daughter and coheir of Sir William Fenwick, should name. Thus, under God, you see she and her fortune saved your estate in Lancashire twice. The Lord God grant that there may never want one of my name and blood, from her very loins, in this very poor Bank-hall, to return him thanks in a most particular manner for these his great mercies, and indeed rather miracles. Had you but lived in our days, at that very time, to have seen, at the turning of the tide, what a stream we were to go up, that indeed nothing but God's immediate hand could have procured it finished! The fourth reason why I named this street so is, that to add to all these mercies which God was pleased to make her an instrument in, to sweeten them the more to us, he hath been pleased to bless us with four sons and two daughters. These reasons considered, I hope, whoever thou art that reads the same, thou will not condemn my gratitude, thereby to put my posterity in mind of the praises and thanks they owe to God Almighty, for his Providence, in predestinating such an instrument to match into that family, which He, by his Divine wisdom, foresaw had such inevitable necessity thereof."*

Sir Edward Moore was not the only landed proprietor in Liverpool who saw the advantage of forming new streets. Caryl Lord Molyneux, the possessor of the fee farm and the hereditary governor of the castle, saw it as clearly. About this time (1668) he laid out the castle orchard as building land, and erected upon it Lord-street, or, as it was originally called, Lord Molyneux-street. This street extended from the castle-ditch to the pool, and it was Lord Molyneux's intention to build a bridge across the pool, from the end of Lord-street to Liverpool Heath, on the opposite side, and thus to give his tenants egress into the country by the line of the present Church-street. No sooner were the mayor and council informed of this intention than they decided that the time had come, to contend against Lord Molyneux, for the waste lands of the manor beyond the pool, as well as within it. They, therefore, passed the following resolution:—"It is ordered, that information is given to the assembly that the Lord Molyneux is intending to erect a new bridge over some part of the

* Moore Rental, 106.

pool or current from the pool bridge, upon the waste or common of Liverpool, without the leave and consent of the mayor and burgesses of the town, they and their predecessors having been time out of memory reputed and taken to have the rightful seignory of the same common or waste under his sacred majesty, and accordingly have enjoyed the royalties and privileges inviolate to this time ; and that, forasmuch as the making of a bridge upon the town waste, without license of or composition with the mayor of this town for the time being, may seem to invade or break in upon the ancient privileges of this town, it is hereby ordered unanimously, that if any such attempt shall hereafter be made, to lay any foundation or to build any part of the same bridge, the same shall be forthwith obstructed, pulled down, and laid waste."

On hearing of this resolution Lord Molyneux, not feeling sure of the result of an appeal to the laws, as to the ownership of the wastes, attempted to arrange the matter peaceably with the mayor and burgesses ; but they, seeing their advantage, and that they had got both Lord Molyneux and his tenants into a *cul de sac*, were determined not to let them out, until they had obtained a formal recognition of their right to all the waste lands of the manor, and also such an arrangement of the town dues and other seignoral rights as would secure them from trouble on that head in future. They, therefore, rejected all offers of compromise. On this Lord Molyneux, finding that he must either fight or yield, prepared to fight. In the month of May he took the advice of Mr. Webster, a gentleman learned in the laws, as to his right to make a bridge, and seems to have got a favourable opinion, for shortly afterwards his servants came to the pool, provided with seventy yards of plank, and began to erect a bridge across it.* No sooner did they break ground on Liverpool Heath than Evan Mareh and James Whitfield appeared at the head of the Liverpool forces, and tore down the bridge.† On this the Molyneux party retired, and his lordship prepared to let loose all the terrors of the law on the heads of the offending parties. On the 9th October they were served with notices of an action. This action was tried at Laneaster at the following spring assizes, and the result of it was that Lord Molyneux was nonsuited, and that the mayor, bailiffs, and corporation came off triumphant. His lordship had to pay £20 for the costs of the action to the corporation. His tenants being thus left without egress from his new street, his lordship soon showed signs of yielding to the terms of the corporation, which were

* Steward's Accounts at Croxteth hall.

† Ibid.

willingly met by that body. On the 26th April, 1671, the following pacific resolution was passed by the town council :—" Whereas suits and controversies have been stirred up, and some of them yet depending, on behalf of the corporation of Liverpool, of the one part, and the Lord Molyneux on the other; and whereas of late it hath been signified to the mayor by some, from the Lord Molyneux, that he is willing to have a treaty with the said mayor, in order to the accommodation of the said differences; it is hereby concluded by this assembly, that the said mayor take him, to his assistance, Mr. Percival, to treat with the Lord Molyneux, and, if occasion be, to proceed in order to an accommodation and conclusion of the said differences, or any of them; and whatever may be done to be binding." On the 1st of May following it was further ordered, that the mayor and Mr. Corless may treat, on behalf of the corporation, with Mr. Fazakerley and Mr. J. Tatlock, on behalf of the Lord Molyneux, in order to the composing and ending of the suits and differences between the corporation and Lord Molyneux, and what Mr. Corless and the mayor shall agree upon or conclude shall be binding, as if done by the privity and consent of the whole assembly; "the aforesaid treaty to be at this town to-morrow, at the house of Mrs. Margery Formby."

As both parties were sincerely anxious for peace, there was no great difficulty in bringing matters to an arrangement; and a treaty was consequently concluded on the following terms:

That Lord Molyneux should be allowed to build a bridge across the pool, from the end of Lord-street to Liverpool Heath, paying the corporation, as lords of the soil, a yearly rent of two-pence.

That Lord Molyneux should grant to the corporation a lease of the fee farm of the town, for a term of one thousand years, the corporation paying him the advanced rent of £30 a-year, during that time, instead of £20, which they had previously paid.

On the 15th of May these terms were reported to the corporation, and were agreed to. They were afterwards set forth in a deed, an abstract of which will be found below.* The effects of this agreement were as follow:

+ By indentures of lease between the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, and the said John Tatlock, of the first part, the said Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of Liverpool aforesaid, of the second part, and Lawrence Brownloe, of Liverpool aforesaid, Alderman, Thomas Andoe, Henry Corles, John Chandler, of Liverpool aforesaid, Alderman, Peter Lurting, of Liverpool aforesaid, Alderman, John Sturzaker, of Liverpool aforesaid, Alderman, Thomas Bickersteth, Thomas Johnson, James Jerrom, of Liverpool aforesaid, merchant, Silvester Richmond, of Liverpool aforesaid, gentleman, Robert Secome, of Liverpool aforesaid, gentleman, Robert Williamson, of Liverpool aforesaid, mariner, and Edward Tarleton, of Liverpool aforesaid, mariner, of the third part. Reciting the said grant or letters patent of the 9th day of September, fourth of Charles the First, and the bargain and sale of the 4th day of December, eleventh Charles the First; and also reciting that

First, the mayor and burgesses, that is, the inhabitants, became the undisputed possessors of upwards of 1,000 acres of building land within the borough. They were thus enabled to introduce the plan of letting it on building leases, first for three lives, and then for three lives and twenty-one years, renewable on easy and well-ascertained terms, a plan which secured to the tenants land, without any great outlay of capital, and to the corporation a revenue, without the risk of building. This has gradually raised the value of the landed estate of the corporation from a few hundreds to upwards of £50,000 a-year.

Second, they obtained free access to the pool on both sides, and the control of the docks which were afterwards formed in its channel.

Third, they obtained possession of the town dues, the market dues, and other manorial and seignorial rights at a trifling rent, and for so long a term that the owners of the fee simple were afterwards glad to sell their reversionary interest in them to the corporation, for the sum of £2,250. By this arrangement the corporation was secured in the possession of dues and tolls which now produce an income of £100,000 a-year.

Fourth, these bargains gave the corporation both funds and credit, and thus enabled them to contribute considerable sums for the forming of the Old Dock, the Salthouse Dock, and other public improvements.

the said Thomas Walmesley, William Fazakerley, and John Nutter, the trustees of the said Richard Lord Viscount Molyneux, were all dead, of whom the said John Nutter was the survivor without issue, and Robert Nutter, his heir, was likewise dead, having had no issue but daughters, (that was to say,) Elizabeth, Eleanor, and Margaret, of whom the said Eleanor was dead, having issue one Richard Crambotle, of Larkhill, in Whalley, her son and heir, and the said Margaret was also dead, having issue Henry Robinson, of Chatburn, her son and heir, and stating the premises to be then vested in the said John Tatlock, in trust for the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, by indentures of lease and release, of the 14th and 15th September, twelfth Charles the Second. And also reciting that divers variances, suits, controversies, and debates had of then late been between the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, with others on his behalf, and the said mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, or others on their behalf, concerning several claims and demands by the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, or others, within, out of, or from the said town and borough of Liverpool, or near the same, which differences had been since composed and the agreement of the 20th day of March in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his then said Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second entered into. It is witnessed, that, for the considerations therein mentioned, they, the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, and John Tatlock did grant, demise, bargain, and sell unto the said Lawrence Brownloe, T. Andoe, H. Corles, J. Chandler, P. Lurting, J. Sturzaker, T. Bickersteth, T. Johnson, J. Jerrom, S. Richmond, R. Secome, R. Williamson, and E. Tarleton, their executors, administrators, and assigns, The town and lordship of Liverpool, and the customs, anchorage, and keytoll, and all the hereditaments and premises comprised in the hereinbefore abstracted indenture of bargain and sale, and in the said letters patent, except the ferry boats, and battelage and passage over the said water or river of Mersey, and all and every the burgage rents within the said town and borough of Liverpool, To hold, except as before excepted, unto the said several persons parties thereto of the third part, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for the full term of one thousand years, subject to the payment of the yearly rent of £30 at the time therein mentioned. Executed by the said Caryl, Lord Viscount Molyneux, and John Tatlock and attested. Inrolled in the 11th Court of Chancery.

This agreement was the emancipation of the borough from the remains of the feudal system; the origin of the corporate estate; and the precursor of all the public improvements of the last and the present century. As long as Liverpool stands, the names of the principal actors in this transaction, of Edward Tarleton, William Percival, Henry Corless, Evan March, and James Whitfield, the leading men of the council, should be spoken of with respect, as amongst the greatest benefactors of the town and port.

On the occasion of this treaty Mrs. Margery Formby presented the corporation with a silver tobacco-box, which has since been turned into a gigantic snuff-box, and is still handed round after dinner at the mayor's banquets at the Town-hall.

One circumstance which greatly assisted the corporation in establishing its claim to the wastes outside the pool, was, that the practice of walking the bounds had been regularly kept up. In the thirty-second of Henry the Eighth, an order was made by the corporation that the boundaries of the borough should be perambulated yearly, "to the intent that every burgess may well know the circuit thereof." A subsequent entry in the Corporation Records contains the following account of the boundaries:—"The perambulation is from Water-street to Beacon's Gutter, on the north side of Liverpoole; thence to the grove and the meyre stone in Mr. Moore's meadow; thence to Kirkdale-lane, to the meyre stone there, over against the beacon; thence to the meyre stone in Syers' Ditch, joining to the breck there; thence through to—(illegible in the records); thence through several closes to a meyre stone in Everton Cawsey; thence through several fields to Liverpool Common, and after the Common side, to the meyre stone at Johnson's Field, and on the east side of the town, and soe up the gutter or vale to the Mosslake, to a place called Hollin-edge; and thence straight to the Park Wall, and soe to the sea syde, and all along the sea syde over the pool, and thence along the sea syde to Water-street end."

These were the boundaries claimed by the corporation in the trial with Lord Molyneux, and which the event of that trial confirmed to them. They were also made the boundaries of the parish of Liverpool, by the act of eleventh William the Third, passed in the year 1698, by which the borough, town, township, and liberties of Liverpoole, "as the same is butted and bounded by meer stones, which are constantly repaired every year," is made into a separate parish, independent of Walton.

From the time when the borough was thus emancipated, it began to increase more rapidly than any other seaport of the empire, and it has continued to do so to the present day. When Richard Blome, the topographer, visited Liverpool in the year 1673, he found that its church, though large and good, was not large enough to hold its inhabitants. These were many; and amongst them “were divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffic, especially unto the West Indies, made it famous: its situation affording in greater plenty, and at reasonabler rates than most places in England, such exported commodities proper for the West Indies; as likewise a quicker return for such imported commodities; by reason of the sugar bakers, and great manufactures of cottons in the adjacent parts; and the rather for that it is found to be the convenient passage to Ireland, and divers considerable counties in England, with which they have intercourse of traffic.” He also found that there was then erecting at the charge of the mayor, aldermen, &c., “a famous town house, placed on pillars and arches of hewn stone; and underneath, the public exchange for the merchants.” Amongst the antiquities of the town these were not to be omitted:—“On the south side a castle, which commands the pool, built by King John during his stay here for a wind to Ireland: on the west side, upon the said river, a stately and strong pile of building called the Tower, erected many hundred years ago by Sir John Stanley and his lady, who lie interred in the chancel under their alabaster tombs: on the north side a mansion-house called the Old Hall, formerly More Hall, wherein Sir John de la More lived *temp.* Henry the Third, as did many of his ancestors before that time, the truth of which appears by several deeds now in the custody of the Mores, of Bank-hall, who are successively heirs in name and blood to them: and on the east side an ancient mansion called Crosse-hall, where divers worthy gentlemen of that name lived for many generations.” “Here,” says Blome, “is also a piece of antiquity, formerly a chapel, now a free school, at the east end whereof, next to the river, stood the statue of St. Nicholas, (long since defaced and gone,) to whom the mariners offered when they went to sea.” Nor was it only on account of its rising commerce and its remains of antiquity that Liverpool was then noted. Blome adds, “And to add to the honour of the town, there have been several mayors of the greatest families of this county; amongst which were divers of the Earls of Derby, whereof one was Lord High Constable of England, one Lord Deputy of Ireland, four privy councillors, and several of the Knights of the Garter; and since his Majesty’s restoration, for three years together, a nobleman

hath been mayor, viz., Charles Earl of Derby, Thomas Lord Viscount Colchester, and William Lord Strange of Knocking.”*

The last mention of the castle of Liverpool, as a building still standing in a perfect state, is contained in the above notice. It appears from a minute book of the Earl of Derby, commencing in the year 1662, and ending in 1676, that the fortifications of the castle were destroyed some time between these two dates.† At that time fifteen feet of the wall of the gate house, the strongest part of the castle, which faced towards Castle-street, had been pulled down ; on the north side of the castle the outer wall had been pulled down, leaving only a height of a yard-and-a-half ; and on the west and south sides the wall had been reduced to the height of four feet. A horse-mill, and a few slight buildings erected by Colonel Birch, still remained. The castle continued in this ruinous state for upwards of thirty years, when the ruins were removed, and St. George's Church was built upon the site, at the expense of the corporation. It should be mentioned that the castle was destroyed in obedience to orders from Charles the Second, who always looked upon the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire with great suspicion. They had contributed as much as any three counties in the kingdom to the overthrow of his father ; and though the presbyterians of Cheshire and Lancashire had been the first to rise in his favour under Sir George Booth, yet, after he had ejected their ministers and quarrelled with the party, he justly regarded them as the most implacable of his enemies. Hence he gave orders for the destruction of the castle of Liverpool, as a place likely to be seized by them if they should rise again. During the conspiracies against Charles, and the early intrigues of the young Duke of Monmouth, the chief reliance of the discontented was on the presbyterians of Lancashire and Cheshire. Monmouth visited this neighbourhood in 1683, under the pretence of attending the races, which were then held at Wallasey, where he rode and won a race. At that time the Wallasey, or Leasowe Races were amongst the most popular in the kingdom ; and the memory of them is still preserved in the Leasowe race run at Newmarket.

About the time of Monmouth's visit to the north, the party discontented with the government of Charles, and hostile to the succession of his brother James, assumed a very threatening attitude. On this the corporation of Liverpool endeavoured to clear itself from suspicion of sympathy in the designs of Monmouth and Shaftesbury by a most loyal address to the king. In this address the council speak of Charles the Second as

* Blome's *Britannia*, 134.

† Matthew Gregson's *Fragments*, 170.

“ the best of princes and of men !” and congratulate him on his “ and (his) dearest brother’s” escape from the evil designs of “ aspiring Absoloms and the desperate advice of pestilent Ahitophells.”*

In the following year Charles’s “ dearest brother” James, having succeeded to the throne, the corporation received the reward of their servility in a summons from the king to surrender their ancient charters to Lord Chief-Justice Jeffries,† who had already become the tool of his tyranny and usurpations. In consequence of this summons a deputation of sixteen members, including the mayor and the town-clerk, proceeded to Bewsey-hall, near Warrington, the seat of Sir Richard Atherton, and there delivered their charters to Jeffries. On the 8th of April following they were again ordered to attend at Bewsey, where they were “ kindly received and nobly entertained” by Sir Richard Atherton, who, in the interval, had been elected mayor of Liverpool ; and there they received a new charter, in which the king assumed the power of removing any member of the council to his will. Nor was the power assumed merely for purposes of show, for, at a court held at Windsor, on the 14th August, 1687, his majesty, having received information of the “ misbehaviour” of Oliver Lyme, deputy-mayor of Liverpool, and Silvester Richmond, a justice of the peace there, thought fit to order their removal from their offices in the town of Liverpool. Their “ misbehaviour” was their opposition to his illegal schemes : and both of them were restored to office after the revolution.

These and other removals were preparations for an attempt to pack a parliament favourable to the views of the king. On the 2d November the mayor of Liverpool was summoned by the lord-lieutenant of the county, to give answer to certain questions (sent down from the king) as to what class of candidates he would support at the coming election. The mayor answered very prudently, “ That what was required by his majesty was a very weighty and new thing, and that he was not prepared to give any other answer than this : When it shall please the king to call a parliament, he proposed to vote for such persons, as he hoped would serve the interests both of his majesty and the nation.”‡

In the following year the memorable and happy revolution took place by which the elder branch of the house of Stuart was for ever banished from the throne of England. On the 29th December, 1688, a circular signed by William, Prince of Orange, was forwarded to Liverpool, in

* Corporation Records.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

common with the other boroughs of the kingdom, ordering the burgesses to return two members to the Convention Parliament, which was to assemble at Westminster on the 22nd January. This order was addressed "To the chief-magistrate, or such others of the borough of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, who have right to make returns of members to serve in parliament, according to the ancient usages of the said borough, before the seizure or surrender of charters made in the time of King Charles the Second." By the wording of this mandate, the charters of Charles the Second and James the Second were set aside as of no force, and that of Charles the First was restored. The following is a copy of the return to the Convention Parliament, made from Liverpool:—"Wee, the maior, baylives, and burgesses of the borough of Leverpoole, in the countie palatine of Lancaster, doe humbly certifie, that pursuant to his highnesse letter hereunto annexed, we have this day unanimouslie elected the Hon. Richard Lord Colchester, and Thomas Norris, of Speake, esquire, representatives for the said borough of Leverpoole, to sit in the convention, which, God willing, will begin at Westminster, the two and twentieth day of Januarie instant, for the good ends and purposes in the said letter mentioned."* Both the members thus returned to Liverpool belonged to the Whig party, and, doubtless, both joined in declaring the throne vacant, by the flight of King James, and in placing his son-in-law, William Prince of Orange, and his eldest daughter, Mary Princess of Orange upon it as his successors. It is well known that this decision met with general approbation in England, but that it was resolutely resisted by the partizans of James in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland. In the course of the war to which it led in Ireland the new king, William the Third, visited Liverpool on his way to that country. He left London on the 4th June, 1690, in company with his brother-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, with the Duke of Ormonde, and the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester. On his arrival at Liverpool he reviewed the army which he proposed to take to Ireland, on Wallasey race-course, and embarked with it at Wallasey Leasowe, on the 13th of June. On the 14th he arrived at Carrickfergus, and, having joined the army of Duke Schomberg and the Irish protestants, fought the decisive battle of the Boyne on the 1st of July.

In the third year of William and Mary the burgesses of Liverpool obtained a renewal of the charter of Charles the First. Two other

* Corporation Records.

charters were also granted in the same reign, the one called "the Governing Charter," granted on the 18th September, 1695, and another granted in the year 1697, by which the mayor of Liverpool for the time being was made a justice of the peace for the county. These charters were very far from giving universal satisfaction amongst the burgesses. They did not create any system of municipal representation analagous to the parliamentary system of the country ; but rendered the town council self-elected, leaving only a nominal control to the burgesses, in common hall assembled. These meetings in common hall were too numerous and tumultuous to be of any use in conducting the government of the town, and hence they fell into disuse. The local government thus became what the general government of the country would have become, if it had been administered solely by a House of Lords or a senate, constantly renewed by self-election. Frequent conflicts and struggles took place between the burgesses and the town council during the succeeding century, in which the latter were always victorious. They retained their power undiminished, until the passing of the municipal reform bill of 1836, when the ancient burgesses were merged, for electoral purposes, in the body of the ten pound householders of the town and its suburbs ; and when popular election took the place of self-appointment.

The reigns of William the Third and his successor, Queen Anne, are remarkable in the annals of Liverpool for the commencement of numerous improvements, all of which bear witness to the growing prosperity of the town.

In the year 1699 Liverpool was formed into a separate parish, and authority was given to build and endow a second church. The ancient chapel of St. Nicholas, which had been dependent upon the parish church at Walton from the time when it was built, which was some time in the reign of one of the early kings of the House of Plantagenet, had been insufficient to contain all the inhabitants, when Blome visited Liverpool thirty years before. During the intervening period the commerce of the port, as tested by the amount of the town dues, had doubled, and the population had increased, probably in the same proportion. In order to furnish the needful accommodation and instruction to the inhabitants, the corporation determined to build a new church beyond the pool, to which they proposed to give the name of St. Peter's. They took this opportunity to apply to parliament for powers to form Liverpool into a separate parish, under the government and teaching of two rectors, one of them to officiate at St. Nicholas's, the other in the new church of St. Peter. After some

opposition from Lord Molyneux, who was the legal patron of the living of Walton, though at that time disqualified from acting, by his religion as a Roman Catholic, the bill passed through parliament, and soon after the building of the church of St. Peter's was commenced and completed, at the expense of the corporation and inhabitants. The two first rectors named in the act were the Rev. Robert Stithe and the Rev. William Atherton. The memorial of the inhabitants, praying for permission to form the township into a separate parish, which throws much light on the causes of the growth of Liverpool, and is otherwise curious as a picture of manners, will be found below.*

Another great improvement, effected about the end of the seventeenth century, from which Liverpool has derived immense advantage, was the deeping of the River Mersey above Runcorn, for the purpose of rendering it navigable into the interior. It has been mentioned already that the Mersey was not naturally navigable for more than fifteen or twenty miles above Liverpool. The consequence of this was, that goods sent to Manchester or other places in the interior had to be forwarded either on the backs of pack horses in small parcels, or by slow wagons or carts, in either case at a great cost. The first improvement in the Mersey was effected by Mr. Thomas Patten, of Bank-hall, Warrington, about the year 1694, by which the river was made navigable from Runcorn to Warrington.† The following extract of a letter from Mr. Patten will show how goods were sent forward into the interior from Warrington in the year

* "The case of the corporation of Liverpool in relation to a bill for making a new church there, (Circ. 1699.)

"It was formerly a small fishing town, but many people coming from London, in time of the sickness and after the fire, several ingenious men settled in Liverpool, which caused them to trade to the plantations and other places, which occasioned sundry other tradesmen to come and settle there, which hath so enlarged their trade, that from scarce paying the salary of the officers of the customs, it is now the third part of the trade of England, and pays upwards of £50,000 per annum to the king; and by reason of such increase many new streets are built, and still in building; and many gentlemen's sons of the counties of Lancaster, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, are put apprentices in the town. And there being but one chapel, which doth not contain one-half of our inhabitants, in the summer, (upon pretence of going to the parish church, which is two long miles, and there being a village in the way,) they drink in the said village, [Kirkdale,] by which, and otherwise, many youth and sundry families are ruined; therefore it is hoped the bill may pass, being to promote the service of God.

"The objections are, that we, being the sixth part of the parish of Walton, the patronage of Walton doth belong to the Lord Mullineux, (who is a Roman Catholic,) and it is hard that his estate should be taken away. That the town have agreed with the present rector and vicar for their purchase money, therefore there is no present wrong; and Liverpool takes away but a sixth part, and at the same time taketh off the charge of more souls than is in the whole parish besides. Moreover, they are willing to give for the perpetual advowson that which shall be a reasonable price, considering there is a life upon it, having already offered his solicitor to refer it to two indifferent men, they to chose one and the town another.

"And it is hoped that so good a work as this bill desires shall not be obstructed by so inconsiderable a claim."—*The Moore Rental*, 77.

+ Norris's Papers, 38.

1701. He says, "I have received answer from Mr. John Hall, of Stockport, relating to the carriage of tobacco that way to Hull, which he says is not to be done in the hogshead, by cart or wagon, but in packs by horses; and though this seems no good method, yet in regard of the slow conveyance hither I am resolved to make a trial of it, and would have forthwith 20 or 30 hogsheads sent from Bank-key (Warrington) to Stockport by cart, where he is to break them into three or four parcels, and after putting them in canvas to load three parcels upon a horse, and the distance thence to Doncaster (whence they pass to Hull by water) being only thirty-six miles, I presume we may, by employing a great many horses, make a good riddance."* The effect of Mr. Patten's improvement of the river was at once to increase the quantity of goods conveyed very considerably. "Since I made the river navigable to Warrington," he says, "there have been sent to Liverpool and from Liverpool 2,000 tons of goods a-year, and I believe as much by land, which, if the river (above Warrington) were cleared of wears would all go by water; for the river to Manchester is very capable of being made navigable at a very small charge. And this would encourage the tradesman in Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, some parts of Yorkshire and Staffordshire, to come to Liverpool and buy their goods instead of going to Chester, Bristol, or London; the carriage would be easy and cheap; I think it would nearly double the trade of Liverpool."† Instead of doubling this and other improvements have increased the trade of Liverpool nearly a thousand fold, for thrice as many goods enter and leave Liverpool in a day as entered and left it in a year when Mr. Patten effected the first improvement in the navigation of the Mersey. The yearly traffic in 1848 was 3,350,000 tons, according to a calculation with which I have been favoured by Mr. Braithwaite Poole, goods manager of the London and North-western Railway. The suggestion that the rivers Mersey and Irwell could be easily improved from Warrington to Manchester was not acted upon until the reign of George the First, although a number of spirited persons at Manchester caused a survey of the rivers, between those places, to be made in the year 1712.‡ This survey was executed by Mr. Thomas Steers, the engineer of the first dock constructed at Liverpool; and served as the ground-work of the plan which was afterwards carried into effect. The period during which the attention of the public was directed to the improvement of river navigation in England

* Norris's Papers, 37.

† Ibid, 37.

‡ Plan referred to at page 39.

commenced about the time of the restoration of Charles the Second, and extended to the accession of George the Third,* when navigable canals began to supersede river navigations. Previous to the date of Mr. Patten's improvement of the Mersey several other rivers had been rendered navigable. Amongst them were the Wye to Chepstow; the Warwickshire Avon to Stratford; the Wiltshire Avon from Salisbury to Christchurch; the upper part of the Trent; the Thames from Burcot to Oxford; the Colne from Lechlade to the Isis; the Lugg, in Herefordshire; and the Stow and Waveney in Suffolk and Norfolk. A plan had also been formed, but only partially carried into effect, for forming a line of inland navigation from Chester to London, by deepening the river Dee up to Bangor-bridge; then deepening the most northern of the tributaries of the Severn; rendering the Avon which flows into the Severn navigable above Stratford, to the point where it approaches nearest to the Cherwell, and connecting the Severn with the Thames by means of that stream.† The improvement of river navigation was the great work of the latter half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century; and the forming of canals, and the constructing of turnpike roads was the work of the latter half of the eighteenth and the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, as the forming of railways has been the work of the last twenty years. Lancashire followed the rest of the kingdom in constructing river navigations and turnpike roads; but preceded the rest in constructing navigable canals and railways. Those who are accustomed to be whirled from London to Liverpool in six hours by the North-western Railway, will smile at the following account of the difficulty which Lady Norris, of Speke, and her daughter experienced in making the same journey, in the year 1696:—"I removed from Chelsea last week, after which came my mother and sisters (Lady Norris and her daughters.) Upon earnest solicitation went to my Lady Stroud's, in Hatton-garden, to be near the coach which they had taken at the beginning of the week, with intention to set forwards towards Lancashire the 5th instant, and accordingly last Friday sent their goods and clothes all away by the carrier; but there having fallen great quantities of rain these two days, made my mother and sisters very apprehensive of the waters being out, and so rather chose to lose their earnest (half-fare) than run the hazard of drownings or over-

* See Statutes at Large, from 1660 to 1760, for titles and objects of acts referred to in the following paragraphs.

† Yarranton's *England's Improvement by Sea and Land*, 192.

turning. I am almost of opinion, if the weather continues bad a week longer, they will not venture on a northern journey this winter.”*

Another great improvement, the honour of which belongs to the corporation and inhabitants of Liverpool, after having been talked of from the accession of Charles the Second, was commenced in the reign of Queen Anne: I mean that of constructing an artificial dock, for the reception of shipping. It appears, from the account of the various harbours of the kingdom given by Captain Grenville Collins, in the year 1690, that docks, in the modern sense of the term, were unknown in England, at that time. No docks seem to have existed even in the great naval stations of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth, or Milford, except graving-docks for the purpose of careening ships; nor at Harwich, which was already a packet station for the continent. The only commercial ports which possessed good accommodations for shipping were those in which nature had done nearly everything, namely, London, Bristol, Hull, and Newcastle. The harbour of London was the stream of the Thames, unimproved but almost unimprovable by art. The harbour of Bristol was the rivers Avon and Frome, probably deepened in ancient times, but not otherwise altered. The harbour of Hull was also the natural bed of the Hull and the Humber; and that of Newcastle was the bed of the Tyne. Quays along the banks of these rivers were all the artificial improvement which had been effected in them. Still they afforded shelter and good anchorage. The river Mersey at Liverpool, on the other hand, afforded little shelter to vessels, and the anchorage was very dangerous, owing to the violence of the tides. Still, with all its defects, it was the best harbour between Milford and Whitehaven; and the corporation now determined to render it as safe by art as the other great commercial ports of the kingdom were by nature.

It has been seen from the extracts given from the Moore Rental, that the plan of deepening or cutting the pool was under discussion during the whole of the reign of Charles the Second; but it was not until the eighth of Queen Anne that the corporation felt itself to be strong enough in resources and credit to enter on so great an undertaking. For some years previously, however, all grants of land made by the corporation, about the pool, had been made subject to conditions connected with the projected undertaking. In a grant made to Mr. Peter Atherton, in the year 1701, of land on which Atherton-street has since been built, it is mentioned that “the town is to build a bridge over the intended canal,”

* Letter of William Norris, Esq., M.P. for Liverpool, to Thomas Norris, Esq., High-sheriff of Lancashire.—*Norris's Papers*, 37.

or cutting of the pool. About the same time Mr. William Bibby petitioned for a lease of land "along the intended canal."* Near the close of the year 1708 the corporation considered itself strong enough for the enterprise. For some time it had possessed a revenue of about £1,200 a-year; and its income had increased upwards of fifty per cent. since the first year of the century. Under these circumstances the corporation gave the following instructions to Sir Thomas Johnson and Richard Norris, Esq., the members for the borough, on the 3rd of November, 1708:

"Ordered, that Sir Thomas Johnson and Richard Norris, Esq., the representatives in parliament of the corporation, being now going to parliament, be desired and empowered to treat with and agree for a person to come to the town, and view the ground and plan of the intended dock."

The members accordingly looked out for an engineer capable of planning and executing such a work, and found one in the person of Mr. Thomas Steers, who came down and settled in Liverpool. After surveying the ground, he laid the plan of the old dock before the corporation, which met with general favour; and shortly afterwards a resolution, authorizing an application to parliament, for a bill to carry out the plan, was agreed to unanimously by the town council.

Early in the following session a bill for forming a dock at Liverpool was brought before parliament, and the project being entirely new in England, a printed paper was handed to honourable members, which gave the following reasons in favour of the scheme. It commenced by stating that in the harbour of Liverpool the sea or tide flows about five hours and a half, and ebbs about six hours and a half; and that in spring tides it rises about thirty feet, and at the lowest neaps fifteen feet. The distance between high and low water mark against the town side, it is stated, is between three and four hundred yards. The current of the tides, both ebb and flood, is very strong and rapid, especially at spring tides, or upon high winds, or when there are freshes in the river. The harbour of Liverpool (the case proceeds to state) lies very open, and is very much exposed to strong westerly winds and tempestuous weather, which are very frequent in those parts. The shipping which trades to the port, to take in or deliver out their merchandize, either lie on the ground between high and low-water mark, which is rock covered with a thin sand, or else ride afloat in the channel or current of the tide, where they often suffer great damage, either by beating on the rocks, by an

* Corporation Records, vi., 295.

extraordinary wear and tear of their cables and rigging, or by being driven from their moorings and wrecked against the town side. For preventing these dangers for the future, (the case states,) it is proposed that a dock should be built, covering four acres of ground, capable of containing one hundred ships at a time. This will always have at the lowest neap tides about fourteen feet of water ; and at spring tides enough water for a fourth or fifth-rate man-of-war. The shipping will always have three hours every tide, that is, every twelve hours, for going in and coming out of the dock. Keys and wharfs are intended to be made all round the dock, and warehouses may be built “thereunto” for the storing of goods. The charge of making the dock is estimated at £10,000. The duties are intended to be 4d. a ton on coasters, but more on vessels sailing foreign ; calculated on a medium of the exports and imports of Liverpool for the last three years to yield a return of six hundred pounds a year. It is to be noted, (says the case) that this dock will also be a great benefit and accommodation for the graving or careening of ships with more expedition and safety, and less charge, “and also of extraordinary service to her majesty’s ships-of-war employed in those parts, for the careening and refitting them upon any accidents or occasion, there being no convenience of a dock for these purposes in all the channel, or any nearer than Plymouth harbour.” The case then mentions that the only opposition to the bill is made by the cheesemongers of London, whose ships frequent the river to buy cheese, but it contends that they are as much interested in the success of the scheme as any other class of shipowners, or shippers of goods. It therefore seems very reasonable that they should come under this contribution as well as others:—“Because work of this nature, being for the general and public good of navigation, ought to be done by a contribution of the shipping, as general as the security and relief for the navigation of it, which in this case may not only have the benefit, but in all probability will have a very frequent occasion for such security and relief. Instances of this kind are very common in this kingdom, viz., the piers of Yarmouth, Whitby, Dover, &c., where the shipping contribute to the charge of making and supporting them, without regard whether they at any time come into such piers, it being thought a sufficient consideration for such their contribution, that these accommodations are ready for their relief and security, upon any occasion or accidents. And, indeed, it would be as unreasonable for our seamen to object against contributing to the relief or support of their fellow-seamen that are disabled by age or accident, upon pretence that they being well have no present occasion for, or benefit by, such contribution.”

To this ease the cheese-mongers answered as follows:—That the great argument of the bill was the good of navigation, but that it was apparently a burden on navigation for the benefit of the particular ships of Liverpool; that this was the first instance of a bill for laying a duty on shipping to defray the charge of making a dock for the benefit of particular persons; that the dock might be very convenient for fitting, repairing, and laying up their ships, but was not proper for loading or unloading vessels; that the comparison between a pier and a dock did not hold good, because a pier was always open to shipping, whereas this proposed dock was three miles distant from the sea, up the river, and was to be shut with flood-gates, which would only be opened in fair weather, at or near high water, and therefore could be of no service in stress of weather; that divers ships took their loading at Ince and Frodsham, ten or twelve miles above the town, but never touched at Liverpool, which would still be compelled to pay; and that the ships which load cheese, rock salt, &c., near Liverpool, always load by charter party, and are allowed only twelve or fourteen days to take in their cargoes, but if they should load in the intended docks it would be impossible for them to despatch “in treble that time!”

To this string of assertions and fallacies the promoters of the bill answered as follows:—That the bill was no burden on navigation in general, but only concerned the ships which came into the port of Liverpool; that the benefit was not confined to particular ships belonging to Liverpool, but was open to all vessels coming there, without distinction of or preference to those that belonged to the port; that there was no ground for the insinuation that the dock was made for the benefit of particular persons, or that it would be serviceable only for careening; that it would be quite as convenient for vessels loading or discharging cargoes as for vessels repairing, for in this dock or basin “they would be secure from beating on the hard rocky ground, and be free from the great wear and tear of the cables and rigging, and lie safe from all dangers or accidents arising from storms or tempestuous weather, and would be able to work in loading and unloading all the day and at all times of the tide, whereas now, without this dock or basin, they could only work at such times of the day as the tides were out, and must all the while lie exposed to all hazards of any storms or tempestuous weather that happened, which were very frequent, and had done very great damage to the shipping in this harbour;” and that the example of taxing ships for the support of piers, as at Dover, Whitby, &c., more than supported the principle of this

bill, for in those cases ships passing on the high seas were taxed, although they never entered the harbours in which the piers were formed, whilst the dock and harbour of Liverpool would be open to all, and yet none but those who entered the harbour would be taxed for the dock.

Fortunately for the commerce and navigation of the empire, and more especially for the interests of Liverpool and the adjoining counties, the arguments of the promoters of the bill prevailed, and a Public Act was passed,* authorizing the forming of the old dock of Liverpool, the first dock of the kind constructed in England. The following are the most important provisions of this invaluable act :

The act commences by stating, that the town and borough of Liverpool, in the county palatine of Lancaster, is an ancient borough, seaport, and corporation, and is entitled to enjoy divers ancient franchises, rights, and privileges ; and for the better government thereof, hath several good and laudable customs, not repugnant to the laws of the realm ; and hath by long experience been found to be of great importance for advancing her majesty's service and revenue, and trade in general, and for breeding and employing great numbers of skilful mariners and seamen. It then proceeds to state, that the said port is and may be of great use and benefit to merchants and others trading to the northern parts of the kingdom, who, by stress of weather, and to avoid the common enemy in time of war, may be drawn upon the coast ; but that the entries into the harbour and port have been found so dangerous and difficult, that great numbers of strangers and others have frequently lost their lives, as well as ships and goods, for want of proper land-marks, buoys, and other directions into the said harbour ; and, when such ships have entered the said port, have been exposed to great dangers for want of a convenient wet dock or basin. For these reasons (the act proceeds to state) it is conceived to be highly necessary for the preservation, not only of merchants' ships, but also of her majesty's ships-of-war, that a convenient wet dock or basin should be made, and that, at the entrance into the said port and harbour, buoys should be placed, and necessary land-marks erected, for guiding and directing her majesty's commanders of ships-of-war, and all other mariners and traders trading to and from the said town or port, all which will be a means greatly to encourage trade, advance her majesty's revenues, and the public good, "not only of the said town and port and the country adjoining in

* Eighth Queen Anne, cap. 12.

particular, but of the nation in general." It then further states that the mayor, bailiffs, and common council of the said borough in council assembled, have granted a piece of ground, containing four acres, or thereabouts, parcel of the waste belonging to the said corporation and borough, lying in or near a certain place called the Poole, on the south side of the said town of Liverpool, the same to remain to and for such use and uses for ever; but forasmuch as the making the said dock or basin, and the canal or sluices therewith intended to belong, and the preserving and maintaining the same when made, will cost more than the inhabitants of the said borough and corporation can raise; and that the same cannot be effected without the aid and assistance of all persons trading to or from the same; it is enacted that the mayor, bailiffs, and common council of the said borough, and their successors, shall have full power and authority to make a wet dock or basin, with wharfs, sluices, and canals in and upon the aforesaid premises, and to levy the following rates on all ships and vessels entering the port with any goods and merchandize, which port extends "from a certain place in Hoylake called the Red Stones, and from there all over the River Mersey to Warrington and Frodsham Bridges;" namely,

On every ship trading between the said port of Liverpool and St. David's Head, or Carlisle, for every ton the sum of twopence; on every ship or vessel trading between St. David's Head and the Land's End, or beyond Carlisle, to any port in or on this side the Shetland, or to and from the Isle of Man, for every ton the sum of threepence; on every ship or vessel trading to any port of Ireland, for every ton the sum of fourpence; on every ship or vessel trading up the Queen's Channel, beyond the Land's End, or beyond the Shetlands, for every ton the sum of fourpence; on every ship or vessel trading to and from Norway, Denmark, Holstein, Holland, Hamburgh, Flanders, or any part of France, without the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Isles of Jersey or Guernsey, for every ton the sum of eightpence; on every ship or vessel trading to or from Newfoundland, Greenland, Russia, and within the Baltic, Portugal, and Spain without the Straits, Canaries, Madeira, Western Isles, Azores, for every ton twelvence; and on every ship or vessel trading to or from the West Indies, Virginia, or any other part of America, Africa, Europe, or Asia within the Straits, or not named before, any part of Africa without the Straits, or Cape de Verd Islands, for every ton the sum of one shilling and sixpence.

In order to enable the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council

to raise the needful amount for constructing the works, the act authorizes them to borrow six thousand pounds, on mortgage of the dock rates. After a variety of details which it is not needful to refer to, it provides that the accounts of the dock trust shall be under the inspection of nine commissioners, three of them to be appointed by the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of the borough of Liverpool; three by the justices of the peace for the county palatine of Lancaster, at their sessions held at Ormskirk; and three by the justices of the peace for the county palatine of Chester; "which said commissioners shall and may order and appoint all such monies, which shall rest due upon such account, to be laid out and expended, to and for the uses and purposes in the said act mentioned, and to and for no other uses whatsoever." Such were the powers of the first dock act. On the 8th December, 1709, the corporation gave £500 towards the commencement of the work;* but so much difficulty was found in raising the needful sums of money, that this great undertaking was not completed until some years after the accession of the house of Hanover.

In the same year in which powers were obtained to construct the first dock in Liverpool, powers were also granted to Sir Cleave Moore, Bart., the son of Sir Edward Moore, to supply the town of Liverpool and the shipping of the port with fresh water, from the springs on his estate at Bootle, three miles from the town. The act under which these powers were given is entitled "An Act to enable the corporation of Liverpool to make a grant to Sir Cleave Moore, Bart., for liberty to bring fresh water into the town of Liverpool." It commences by stating that the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Liverpool, "upon the insinuation and assurances which were made and given to them, by John Green, of the city of Westminster, gentleman; Thomas James Hall, of the city of London, clock-maker, and Richard Barry, of the said city of Westminster, gentleman, about fifteen years since, that they could and would, at their own costs and charges, bring or procure to be brought into the said borough of Liverpool good and wholesome fresh water to supply the same, did, by indenture bearing date the 29th October, 1695," give them power to do so, for a term of one hundred years, but that up to that time they had not taken a single step towards that object. The corporation therefore pray that they may be freed from that engagement, and allowed to enter into another, for a like term of one hundred years, with Sir Cleave Moore, Bart.,

* Corporation Records.

“who has proposed to the said corporation that he will, from springs at Bootle, arising in his own lands, which lie about three miles from the said borough, or at least by the assistance of other springs which arise between those and the said borough of Liverpool, furnish wholesome fresh water, sufficient to supply the uses of all such of the inhabitants and ships as shall desire the same.” The act then proceeds to give powers to Sir Cleave Moore to lay such “main aqueducts and pipes” as he may think necessary for completing his plan; and to give all other powers necessary for carrying out the whole scheme. It also provides that the work shall be completed within seven years, or in case of its not being so, that the corporation shall be freed from its engagement with Sir Cleave Moore, and be at liberty to agree with any other undertaker. Unfortunately for Sir Cleave Moore and the inhabitants, this excellent scheme was not carried into effect until nearly a century after it was formed. At the time when the act was obtained the greater part of Sir Cleave Moore’s estates were mortgaged to the representatives of Sir John Moore, Knight, “late one of the aldermen of the city of London,” no relation but the principal creditor of Sir Cleave. The latter in vain attempted to form a joint-stock company to carry out the scheme, and also to raise money towards it, by mortgaging the Old Hall and other property to Mr. Bertie, an ancestor of the Dukes of Ancaster. All his attempts to effect this most useful, necessary, and profitable undertaking failed, and only served to bring the ruin of his affairs to a crisis. The plan was not carried into effect until long after the death of Sir Cleave Moore. His estates in and about Liverpool were put up to sale shortly after the bill had been granted, when they were purchased by the Earl of Derby, by Mr. Bertie, and by an ancestor of Colonel Plumbe Tempest, of Tong-hall, Yorkshire. It is impossible to trace all the causes by which the Moore property in and about Liverpool, which is now worth upwards of a million sterling, came to be sacrificed for less than £20,000, at a time when its value was increasing so rapidly. One principal cause, however, was a succession of contested elections, in all of which Sir Cleave Moore was defeated, in his attempts to represent “his borough” of Liverpool. At that time the cost of an uncontested Liverpool election was upwards of £100; that of a contested one many times as much.* Another cause

* At the election of Lord Colechester and Thomas Norris, Esq., in the year 1689, the money given was £68 18s. 6d., that spent in treating was £31 16s., for which latter sum 172 of the “free and independent” were dined, and supplied with claret, sack, ale, and tobacco, at the Dining-room, the Rose and Crown, the Rose, the Mermaid, and the Union. The highest charge for a dinner was one shilling, but the charge at second-class houses was only sixpence. The ringers received twenty shillings.

was a succession of petitions to parliament, in which the lawyers swallowed up the inheritance of his family. Fortunately for Sir Cleave Moore he retained or obtained another estate in the south of England, which still remains in the hands of one of his descendants.

Although Liverpool was increasing in population and improving in commerce, yet it was not a place of more than 10,000 inhabitants at the time when George the First succeeded to the throne. Towns of 10,000 inhabitants were, however, very rare in England at that time. The number of streets in the town in 1717 was thirty-seven, but sixteen new streets were laid out between 1705 and 1725. In 1707 a rate of 3d. in the pound on houses, land, and stock produced £292 13s. 4d. At the present time a similar rate on houses and lands would produce £15,000; and one on stock still more. The following are a few of the principal valuations in 1707:—Mr. Ralph Peters' house and stock, £100; Mr. John Pember-ton, £350; Mr. Robert Tuite, £200; Alderman Thomas Sweeting, (after whom Sweeting-street is named,) £120; Mr. Richard Gildart, £75; Alderman Preeson, £100; Mr. Richard Warbreck, £300; Mr. Henry Parr, £250; Mr. Daniel Danvers, house, warehouse, sugar-house, and stock, £450; Mr. Richard Ashton, £100; Alderman James Benn, £120; Mr. John Percival, house, warehouse, and stock, £100; Mr. Blackburne, "for the salt works over the Poole," stock, £150.* It will be seen that there is no one in the above list whose stock is entered at £500, and though this may perhaps have been a very indulgent valuation, yet still it shows how small private fortunes still were in Liverpool. This, however, only increases our respect for men who entered on so many spirited undertakings with such moderate means, and thus laid the foundation of the modern wealth and prosperity of the town and port.

Before closing this chapter, it may be well to bring together, in a condensed form, a number of facts illustrative of life, manners, and society, during the rule of the Stuarts, but which do not require a more lengthened notice.

The parish books commence in the year 1681, and throw much light on the condition of the poor and of the church in Liverpool. In the following year, 1682, the sum of £60 was raised for the relief of the poor; and, during the next ten years, the sums raised for that purpose fluctuated from £50 to £70 a year. In 1692 the rate for the poor amounted to

* From a MS. Assessment of Liverpool, belonging to the late Henry Holmes, Esq., lent to the Author by John Holmes, Esq., Mayor of Liverpool.

only £50;* but it rose rapidly during the succeeding ten years, and reached £120 in the year 1699. In 1702 the rate amounted to £100, and continued to increase until it reached £350, in the year 1711. In 1712 it had risen to £400, and remained at that point until the death of Queen Anne, beyond which date it is not necessary to trace it at present. During this period the population had more than doubled itself, and wealth had also increased rapidly; but pauperism had increased in a still greater degree. This is an interesting portion of local history, and one which will be more fully traced in a later part of this work.

The sum raised for church or chapel rate, in 1682, was £40; and that is about the average of the sums raised for the same purpose during the next twenty years. In 1703, when Liverpool had become a separate parish, and when the parishioners had undertaken to support the minister of the new church, the church rate rose to £130. In 1705, after the two rectors had been duly instituted, the payments to the "ministers" rose to £200 a year, besides from £50 to £60 a year for the repair and support of the "Old" Church, that is the church of St. Nicholas. This continued to be the rate of payment for these purposes for many years.

The parish books of this time throw light on many old facts, customs, and laws. At this time the parish authorities turned an honest penny, by enforcing a law passed for the protection of the English woollen manufacture, which commanded that all persons should be buried in woollen instead of linen graveclothes, unless they chose to pay £5 for permission to be interred in linen. A great poet of that age describes a dying beauty as supremely anxious that her lovely form should not be thus enveloped in "odious" woollen after death;† and many of the genteeler sort in Liverpool seem to have had the same feeling. This law continued in force from 1682 to the death of Queen Anne; and, during that period, numerous instances occur of parties whose friends paid the penalty to the parish authorities for permission to inter them in linen.

Before concluding this chapter it will be well briefly to refer to the

* Dr. Davenant states, in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, published in 1695, that the poor-rate in England and Wales amounted, in 1692, to £665,392. The rates of several of the counties were as follows:—Lancashire, £7,200; Cheshire, £5,796; Yorkshire, £26,150; Devonshire, £34,764; Essex, £37,348; Lincolnshire, £31,500; Norfolk, £46,200; Somersetshire, £40,263; Middlesex, £56,380; Wales, £33,753.

† "Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke!"

Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.

"No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace

Wrap this fair form and shade this dying face.

"One would not sure be frightful when one's dead;

"And, Betty, give this cheek a little red."—*Pope's Moral Essays*.

progress of the corporate estate, and to the various sources from which it was derived. It will be seen, from the table of income and expenditure appended to this chapter, that the income of the corporation amounted to only £55 15s. 2d. in the year 1600, and that it had increased to about £1,200 a-year previous to the death of Queen Anne. The accounts are very imperfect in the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne and for many years after, the original documents having been destroyed, when the Town-hall was burnt, in the year 1795. Still sufficient documents remain to enable us to trace the progress of the estate, at intervals of a few years, down to near the end of the last century, when the accounts become perfectly regular. The following particulars appear, from the "Audit of the Right Hon. James, Earl of Derby, late mayor, (1707-8,) Josiah Poole, and Henry Chorley, gentlemen, bailiffs, stated and settled by and before the worshipful George Tyrer, Esq., John Clieveland, Esq., Jasper Maudit and John Earle, Esqrs., aldermen; James Benn, Richard Norris, William Webster, Sylvester Moorcroft, and John Seacome, this 11th April, 1711." The sum total of income was £1,115 1s. 10½d., derived from the following sources:—Received from Mr. Coore, late bailiff, £25; from town's duties, £378 19s. 11d.; from fines on the admission of freemen, £352 18s. 6d.; from ingates and outgates, £25; from fines of leases, £60 18s.; from leasehold rents, £84 6s. 6½d.; from rents of shops, shambles, stalls, and houses in the butchers' market, £109 17s. 6d.; from brick-money and lime-kilns, £3 6s. 8d.; from small tolls, £4 5s. 2d.; from Quarry-hill stone delph, £11 10s.; from tithes, according to agreement, £55; from Mr. Norton, the balance of his land-tax collection, 13s. 7d.; from quarterage from Mr. Swarbrick and Mr. Smith, £1; from Captain Tarleton's gift, £2 5s.; Lord Molyneux's rent for opening on the town-wall at Lord-street, 2d.; total, £1,115 1s. 0½d. The account on the other side was as follows:—By deficiencies in the rent roll, £3 2s. 3d.; by deficiencies allowed to poor people living in the butchers' market, £20 6s. 1d.; by distribution of Captain Tarlton's gift, £2 5s.; by cash paid Messrs. Cunliffe and Wainwright, as per account, £99 5s. 1d.; by sundry disbursements, as per account allowed, £959 5s. 10d.; balance due from the bailiffs, £30 16s. 9½d.: total, £1,115 1s. 0½d.

At the time when the above account was made up, and for many years before and after that date, no one, whether native or stranger, was allowed to commence business in Liverpool, without either taking up his freedom or buying it by a fine from the corporation. Hence the item of freemen's fines forms a test of the increase of population and business. In the

mayoralty of Charles, Earl of Derby, in the year 1667, the freemen's fines produced £43 13s. 4d.; in that of Lawrence Brownlow, in 1672, £135 6s. 8d.; in that of Robert Seaeome, in 1682, £117 3s. 4d; in that of Richard Houghton, in 1694, £134 14s. 2d; in that of Cuthbert Sharples, in 1699, £175 13s. 4d.; in that of Thomas Biekersteth, in 1701, £208 14s. 8d; and in that of James, Earl of Derby, in 1707-8, (as I have already mentioned,) £352 18s. 6d. Thus the number of persons commeneing business in Liverpool yearly increased between 1667 and 1707, in the proportion of 352 to 43, that is, more than eight-fold,—a wonderful rate of increase, and one which shows that that great influx of population had already set in, which has drawn and continues to draw into Liverpool multitudes from the various counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland; numerous natives of the Colonies, and of the United States of America; and representatives of every commercial nation on the face of the earth.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR LIVERPOOL FROM 1614 TO 1714.

1614.. William Johnson.. Thomas May.	1678.. Sir R. Ashton, Brt.. Richard Atherton.
1620.. The same..... The same.	June 5, Sir Edward Moore petitioned against this return, and the sitting members were,
1623.. Sir T. Gerard, Kt.. George Ireland.	Richard Wentworth.. John Dubois.
1625.. James L. Strange.. Edward Moore.	1681.. The same..... The same.
1625.. Edw. Bridgman .. Thomas Stanley.	1685.. Sir Rd. Atherton .. Thomas Leigh.
1628.. Henry Jermyn.... John Newdigate.	1688.. Lord Colchester .. Thomas Norris.
1640.. Jas L. Cranfield.. John Holcroft.	1690.. The same..... The same.
"Waved Bramber and chooses Liverpool, 23d April, 1640"; the parliament dissolved May 2, so that he sat twelve days.	1695.. Thomas Bretherton, vice Lord Colchester.
1640.. Col. John Moore.. Sir Rd. Wynn, Bart.	1698.. Sir Wm. Norris .. William Clayton.
Died June, 1650. Died 1649, and then Col. Thomas Birch elected.	1700.. The same..... The same.
1653.. No writ issued for Liverpool.	1701.. William Clayton .. Thomas Johnson.
1654.. Col. Thos. Birch..	1702.. The same..... The same.
1656.. Col. Thos. Birch..	1705.. The same..... The same.
1658 } Col. G. Ireland .. Alderman Blackmore.	1707.. The same..... The same.
1659 }	1708.. Sir T. Johnson .. Richard Norris, Esq.
1660.. Hon. Wm. Stanley.. Sir G. Ireland, Knt.	1710.. Sir T. Johnson .. John Cleveland.
1661.. The same..... The same.	1714.. Sir T. Johnson .. William Clayton.

LIST OF MAYORS AND BAILIFFS OF LIVERPOOL, FROM 1603 TO 1714.

MAYORS.

1603	William, Earl of Derby.
1604	Edward Moore.
1605	Edmund Rose.
1606	William Banastre.
1607	Robert Moore.
1608	Richard Secum.
1609	Richard Rose.
1610	Thomas Hackenhall.
1611	Edward Moore.
1612	Henry Stanley.
1613	Peter Ulster.
1614	Richard Mellinge.
1615	Sir Cuthbert Halsal.
1616	Richard Moore.
1617	Edward Rose.
1618	Sir Richard Molyneux.
1619	Richard Seacome.
1620	Edward Moore.
1621	Oliver Fairhurst.
1622	John Walker.
1623	John Williamson.
1624	Richard Rose.
1625	Lord Strange.
1626	Edward Moore.
1627	Ralph Seacome.
1628	John Walker.
1629	Robert Williamson.
1630	John Williamson.
1631	Ralph Sandiford.
1632	John Walker.
1633	John Moore.
1634	Robert Williamson.
1635	Thomas Bickersteth.
1636	William Dwerthyonse.
1637	Thomas Eccleston.
1638	John Williamson.
1639	Hon. Thomas Stanley.
1640	William Ireland.
1641	John Walker.
1642	Thomas Bixteth.
1643	James Williamson.
1644	John Holcroft.
1645	Thomas Blackmore.
1646	Richard Tarleton.
1647	Thomas Tarleton.
1648	William Williamson.
1649	Thomas Hodgson.
1650	James Williamson.
1651	Thomas Williamson.
1652	Ralph Massam.
1653	Edward Williamson.
1654	Robert Cornall.
1655	Thomas Ayndoe.
1656	Gilbert Formby.
1657	Thomas Blackmore.
1658	Richard Percival.
1659	Thomas Williamson.
1660	Alexander Green.
1661	Henry Corles.
1662	Hon. Thomas Stanley.
1663	Peter Lurting.
1664	Peter Sturzaker.
1665	Michael Tarleton.

BAILIFFS.

Alexander Marsh, Thomas Renthinge.
John Hewett, Launcelot Wilkes.
Oliver Fairhurst, John Eccleston.
Richard Rose, Richard Bird.
Richard Mellinge, Richard Hey.
Edward Blanchard, Isaac Abraham.
Thomas Hodgson, James Travis.
John Walker, Thomas Brookbank.
William Lawrenson, John Birde.
Oliver Fairhurst, Richard Toxtathe.
Edward Blanchard, William Pendleton.
John Williamson, Edward Nicholson.
John Winstanley, Gilbert Balshaw.
Thomas Brookbanke, Peter Nicholson.
John Winstanley, John Walker.
Robert Williamson, Richard Lunt.
John Williamson, Hugh Sturzaker.
B. Bainclough, John Chauntrell.
Gilbert Balshawe, Ralph Sandiforth.
Nicholas Lurtinge, Robert Mellinge.
Robert Williamson, Edward Nicholson.
Richard Tarleton, James Southern.
Thomas Brookbank, John Astley.
Ralph Sandiford, Robert Lurting.
William Ireland, Ralph Worrall.
John Chandler, Thomas Bickersteth.
Thomas Eccleston, John Moore.
John Mellinge, Thomas Tarleton.
Robert Mellinge, John Higginson.
Richard Tarleton, Edward Chambers.
Thomas Tarleton, Roger Jones.
Thomas Blackmore, Edward Alcock.
John Williamson, jun., Ralph Massam.
John Higginson, James Williamson.
John Chantler, Richard Johnes.
Edward Alcock, Henry Robinson.
Edward Chambers, Hugh Gardiner.
Thomas Hodgson, John Wood.
Ralph Massam, William Williamson.
Edward Formby, Lawrence Mercer.
Thomas Williamson, John Tarleton.
Edward Williamson, Robert Garnett.
Thomas Hodgson, John Sandiford.
Richard Williamson, John Sturzaker.
Edward Lyon, Thomas Storey.
Gilbert Formby, Evan Marsh.
Thomas Ayndoe, William Lurting died, Peter Lurting succeeded.
Richard Percival, John Eccleston.
Peter Lurting, William Kimmer.
John Blundell, John Lurting.
Henry Corless, Richard Livesey.
Robert Sutton, Henry Moore.
Thomas Sandiford, William Bushell.
Alexander Green, Thomas Ashbrook.
John Sturzaker, John Owens.
Thomas Storey, Edmund Livesey.
Evan Marsh, John Pemberton.
John Chandler, William Blackmore.
William Kitchen, William Gardner.
Thomas Johnson, Thomas Alcock.
Thomas Birch, James Holt.
Thomas Preeon, George Bennett.

MAYORS.

1666 Charles, Earl of Derby.
 1667 Thomas Visct. Colchester.
 1668 William Lord Straunge.
 1669 Thomas Bicksteth.
 1670 Thomas Johnson.
 1671 Lawrence Brownlow.
 1672 Silvester Richmond.
 1673 James Jerrom.
 1674 { Sir Gilbert Ireland died,
 Thos. Bixteth succeeded.
 1675 Thomas Chapman.
 1676 Robert Williamson.
 1677 William, Earl of Derby.
 1678 John Chorley.
 1679 William Williamson.
 1680 Thomas Clayton.
 1681 Richard Windle.
 1682 Edward Tarleton.
 1683 Robert Seacome.
 1684 Sir Richard Atherton, Knt.
 1685 Oliver Lyme.
 1686 Peter Bold.
 1687 James Prescott.
 1688 Thomas Tyrer.
 1689 William Clayton.
 1690 Thomas Brookbank.
 1691 Richard Houghton.
 1692 Joshua Fisher.
 1693 Jasper Maudit.
 1694 { Alexander Norris died,
 Thomas Johnson succeeded.
 1695 Thomas Johnson, jun.
 1696 William Preeson.
 1697 James Benn.
 1698 Thomas Sweeting.
 1699 Cuthbert Sharples.
 1700 Richard Norris.
 1701 Thomas Bickersteth.
 1702 John Cockshot.
 1703 John Cleveland.
 1704 William Hurst.
 1705 William Webster.
 1706 Silvester Moorcroft.
 1707 James Earl of Derby.
 1708 John Seacome.
 1709 John Earle.
 1710 George Tyrer.
 1711 Joseph Townsend.
 1712 Edward Tarleton.
 1713 Thomas Coore.
 1714 Richard Gildert.

BAILIFFS.

Thomas Bixteth, John Bulkeley.
 Thomas Tarleton, William Fleetwood.
 Thomas Atherton, Richard Bushell.
 Richard Windle, Robert Fleetwood.
 Robert Williamson, Thomas Norbury.
 Henry Higginson, Joseph Prior.
 Thomas Chapman, Thomas Galloway.
 William Williamson, Peter Atherton.
 Robert Seacome, Thomas Clarke.
 Richard Williamson, Thomas Brooksbank.
 William Travers, James Prescott.
 Joseph Williamson, John Molyneux.
 Robert Carter, William Bailey.
 John Williamson, Henry Smith.
 Edward Williamson, Thomas Heyes.
 Thomas Tyrer, Joshua Fisher.
 Thomas Warmingham, W. Preeson.
 Richard Seddon, Richard Diggles.
 Richard Houghton, Ger. Winstanley.
 David Poole, Alexander Norris.
 Jeremy Hunt, Thomas Alanson.
 James Barton, Thomas Sweeting.
 James Benn, Joseph Travers.
 Thomas Johnson, Edward Crane.
 John Amerie, Roger Richardsen.
 John Cleveland, William Hurst.
 Thomas Bickersteth, George Taylor.
 James Townhend, James Gamond.
 Richard Warbrick, Richard Lurting.
 Richard Norris, Levinus Houstown.
 Cuthbert Sharples, William Reynolds.
 Joseph Briggs, John Crane.
 John Cockshot, John Lady.
 Robert Shields, James Kennion.
 J. Gibbons, S. Moorcroft.
 John Crompton, John Proctor.
 John Seacome, William Webster.
 Charles Diggles, Joseph Eaton.
 Peter Hull, Robert Benson.
 John Earle, John Fells.
 William Squire, Thomas Cooke.
 Josia Poole, Henry Clarke.
 Foster Cunliffe, John Wainwright.
 Francis Goodriche, Henry Taylor.
 Edward Tarleton, John Hughes.
 Richard Kelsall, Thomas Kendrick.
 William Braddock, Richard Gildart.
 John Hughes, John Murray.
 Thomas Fallington, John Litherland.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE CORPORATION FROM THE YEAR
1600 TO THE YEAR 1707.

	INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1600...43d Eliz.	55	15	2	55	6	3½	1667...19thChas.II	357	2	6	317	0	6
1601...44th Eliz.	38	5	2	37	5	0½	1668...20thChas.II	348	1	11	232	1	6
1602...45th Eliz.	70	9	8	66	12	1	1669...21stChas.II	531	18	5	427	17	11
1603... 1st Jas. I.	No Audit.						1670... 22dChas.II	495	17	2	476	13	6
1604... 2d Jas. I.	Ditto.						1671... 23dChas.II	286	19	10	247	15	10
1605... 3d Jas. I.	Ditto.						1672...24thChas.II	745	9	6½	687	14	1
1606... 4th Jas. I.	Ditto.						1673...25thChas.II	903	18	11	906	13	5
1607... 5th Jas. I.	59	3	8	52	19	5	1674...26thChas.II	853	4	2	840	10	2
1608... 6th Jas. I.	54	4	8	Not stated.			1675...27thChas.II	652	9	2	622	9	2
1609... 7th Jas. I.	96	9	7	76	11	9	1676...28thChas.II	644	8	3½	604	8	3½
1610... 8th Jas. I.	85	4	5½	61	14	11½	1677...29thChas.II	391	5	7½	352	19	7½
1611... 9th Jas. I.	No Audit.						1678...30thChas.II	543	13	5½	382	12	5½
1612...10th Jas. I.	Ditto.						1679...31stChas.II	594	7	9½	522	18	0
1613...11th Jas. I.	Ditto.						1680... 32dChas.II	401	14	8	367	3	4½
1614...12th Jas. I.	Ditto.						1681... 33dChas.II	361	11	3	347	5	6½
1615...13th Jas. I.	107	19	7	73	19	7	1682...34thChas.II	437	11	11½	428	11	11½
1616...14th Jas. I.	101	6	5	83	13	7	1683...35thChas.II	477	14	9	459	14	9
1617...15th Jas. I.	No Audit.						1684...36thChas.II	650	18	6	595	9	1
1618...16th Jas. I.	Ditto.						1685 { 37th Chas. II						
1619...17th Jas. I.	133	14	6	96	12	10½	and 1st Jas. II	568	11	11	518	3	1
1620...18th Jas. I.	No Audit.						1686... 2d Jas. II	374	10	1¾	299	13	5
1621...19th Jas. I.	162	8	1½	96	17	11	1687... 3d Jas. II	850	19	8¾	827	15	11½
1622...20th Jas. I.	172	10	0½	102	18	1½	1688... 4th Jas. II	409	16	4	398	8	3
1623...21st Jas. I.	278	13	3	138	17	0½	{ 5th Jas. II						
1624...22d Jas. I.	283	2	5½	112	7	3½	1689 { and 1st Wm.	317	2	3	257	15	0¼
1625...1st Chas. I.	No Audit.						and Mary.						
1626...2d Chas. I.	Ditto.						2d Wm. and						
1627...3d Chas. I.	323	16	4¾	116	4	11½	1690 { Mary.	788	17	10¾	448	12	1½
1628...4th Chas. I.	244	15	3	269	5	10½	1691... 3d Wm.&M.	811	5	1½	788	1	2½
1629...5th Chas. I.	189	7	6½	113	14	10¾	1692...4th Wm.&M.	862	13	6	547	15	8½
1630 to 1639.	No Audit.						1693...5th Wm.&M.	798	12	4½	577	17	10¾
1640 to 1644.	Ditto.						1694...6th Wm.&M.	332	19	11½	312	10	5½
1645...21st Chas. I.	212	14	0	Not stated.			1695...7th Wm. III	1492	17	5	1406	15	1
1646...22d Chas. I.	170	3	9	Ditto.									
1647 and 1648.	No Audit.						The accounts						
1649...24th Chas. I.	275	6	4	189	3	1	of 1694 and 5						
1650... 1stChas.II	No Audit.						are intermixd.						
1651... 2dChas.II	264	13	9	109	10	2	1696... 8thWm.III	565	19	3½	528	2	4½
1652... 3dChas.II	370	17	6	242	14	1	1697... 9thWm.III	No Audit.					
1653... 4thChas.II	312	2	9	162	7	6	1698...10thWm.III	Ditto.					
1654... 5thChas.II	366	0	6	Not stated.			1699...11thWm.III	804	4	3	762	0	6
1655... 6thChas.II	No Audit.						1700...12thWm.III	1203	5	2	1241	6	9
1656... 7thChas.II	392	7	3	191	7	8	1701...13thWm.III	874	6	5	789	8	4
1657... 8thChas.II	No complete Audit.						1702...1st Anne.	908	15	5½	897	16	10
1658, 9, 60, 61.	No Audit.						1703...2d Anne.	1096	18	3½	982	3	3
1662...14thChas.II	281	19	3	260	6	1	1704...3d Anne.	1457	0	3¾	1432	16	6½
1663...15thChas.II	325	19	9	229	18	5	1705...4th Anne.	1277	13	11½	1248	18	9½
1664...16thChas.II	355	13	6	206	15	9½	1706...5th Anne.	No Audit.					
1665...17thChas.II	349	18	4½	210	17	0½	1707...6th Anne.	1115	1	0	1084	4	3
1666...18thChas.II	349	1	3	214	14	1	1708...7th Anne.	No Audit.					
							1709...8th Anne.						

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE STUARTS.

PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES IN LANCASHIRE, YORKSHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND STAFFORDSHIRE.—
COLONIZING OF THE WEST INDIES AND OF NORTH AMERICA.—TRADE WITH IRELAND.

The rapid growth of the commerce of Liverpool during the latter reigns of the Stuart princes was chiefly caused by two circumstances, the one the increase and improvement of manufactures in the neighbouring counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, the other the planting and rapid growth of numerous colonies in the West Indies and on the continent of North America. These two causes of prosperity, which applied in an especial manner to Liverpool, were aided by others of a more general nature, which affected Liverpool in common with other parts of the kingdom. The most important of these was the reclaiming of large tracts of land in all parts of England; and the improvement of cultivation by means of new plants, and of some of the processes on which the excellence of the modern system of farming depends. The effect of these improvements was to create an internal and external trade in corn, cattle, and provisions, which produced wealth in all parts of the country, and increased the demand for foreign as well as home produce, conveniences, and luxuries. According to a contemporary writer, the rental of England increased from £6,000,000 in the year 1600 to £14,000,000 in 1688; and the value of real property in the country from £72,000,000 to £250,000,000.* During this period numerous articles of commerce, such as tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and the cottons and silks of India, came into common use with the wealthier classes, and gradually made their way amongst people of smaller means, until a great writer could declare, shortly afterwards, that no washerwoman sat down to her evening meal without tea from the East Indies and sugar from the West.

During the Stuart period the manufactures of England underwent a great revolution, by which they were gradually concentrated in a few districts, especially favoured with manufacturing advantages, instead of remain-

* Dr. Davenant.

ing scattered, as they had been in former times, over the whole kingdom. This change was the result of a close and increasing competition both at home and abroad. At home these favoured districts sustained themselves, in times of distress, through difficulties which were fatal to their less favoured competitors; abroad they competed successfully with foreign rivals, by whom their weaker associates were overthrown. During the whole of this period the manufacturers of England had to sustain a close and often doubtful contest with the Dutch and Germans, in the production of woollens, linens, and cutlery, and with the Swedes, Saxons, and Biscayans in the production of iron. This contest was by no means ended at the close of the period of which I am writing.

The next formidable rivals of the English manufacturers were the Dutch, a people of admirable industry, and who united the utmost prudence to the greatest enterprise in affairs of business. A considerable portion of the capital which the Dutch people had accumulated under the house of Burgundy had survived the tyranny of Spain, and the memorable conflict in which that tyranny was overthrown. This was rapidly increased by strict economy and indefatigable industry, and, being confined entirely to purposes of trade and commerce, soon gave them an abundance of capital, and created an extended system of commercial credit. This abundance and cheapness of money was the admiration and envy of English writers during the whole of this period, and it undoubtedly gave to Holland, in the seventeenth century, one of the greatest advantages which England possesses over its manufacturing rivals in the nineteenth. Amongst the results of this abundant capital was the introduction of the best machinery which money could procure, of the finest dye wares, and of every process then known by which labour could be either economized or rendered more productive. The manufacturers and merchants of England were much less favourably situated, as relates to capital. England was at that time engaged in numerous great enterprises, which required large supplies of capital, and only yielded slow, though in the end, great returns. Amongst them were those which I have already mentioned, namely, the enclosing and reclaiming of large quantities of waste land; the improving of farming, by the introduction of clover, turnips, and potatoes, and of the more expensive processes of culture which they require; the planting or colonizing of Ulster twice over, once in the reigns of James and Charles the First, and again after the massacre of the Protestants, and the still greater massacres of Cromwell; the planting or colonizing of the islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Kitt's, and

the Bahamas, in the West Indies ; and of the great provinces of Virginia, New England, Maryland, Carolina, and New York, in North America. From the drain caused by these undertakings, and the waste and ruin of the great civil war, capital continued to be much dearer in England than it was in Holland during the whole of the century. If we may believe contemporary writers, money could be had in abundance in Holland, for commercial purposes, at from three to four per cent.; whilst six per cent. was the legal rate of interest in England, until the year 1713, and more than that amount was often paid for it.

Amongst the many intelligent Englishmen who visited or resided in Holland during the seventeenth century, several have left descriptions of the manufacturing establishments of that country, which enable us to account for the difficulty which English manufacturers experienced in contending with them. When Sir William Brereton, afterwards the parliamentary general, visited Holland in the year 1635, he found, amongst other evidences of the existence of abundance of capital, spacious docks in every port of the republic, and a complete system of inland navigation, by which a cheap and daily intercourse was kept up between Leyden, Harlem, and Dort, all great manufacturing towns, and the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. At Leyden, which was then the principal seat of the woollen trade, he found that cloth made from English wool, and better dyed than English cloth, could be bought cheaper than the English merchants could sell theirs. The linen trade was carried on with even greater spirit. Sir William found numerous yarn crofts about Rotterdam and Dort. Speaking of those about Dort, he says, "There are abundance of yarn crofts about the town. Some, which contain an acre, are let for £100 a-year, others, which contain two acres, for £200. Between every twelve yards a narrow ditch is cut, about a yard broad, out of which the water is cast upon the yarn."* From some cause, not stated, the manufactures of Harlem, which afterwards became the most celebrated in Holland, were out of repute when Sir William Brereton visited that city. When Andrew Yarrenton visited Harlem, about the year 1670, he found that it was the principal seat of the linen and woollen manufactures of Holland.† The machinery used for fulling woollens far surpassed that of England; and, from the superior quality of the goods it was generally believed that the water of the lake of Harlem was superior to that of any other place, for manufacturing purposes. This Yarrenton denies. He says that the

* Brereton's Travels, Chetham Society's Publication, i., 14.

† England's Improvement by Sea and Land: by Andrew Yarrenton. London, 1677.

water of the lake is very soft, and fit for scouring cloth, and the best in Holland, but that there are many places in England where the water is equally good. Cheap capital and superior machinery he considered the causes of the manufacturing prosperity of Holland. He gives a view of a Dutch fulling-mill, turned by wind, and of a German mill, turned by the stream of the river Elbe, for the instruction of his fellow-countrymen. The great object of his work, as also of the essays of Sir Josiah Child on Trade, is to explain and enforce certain plans to render capital cheaper, create commercial credit, and lower the rate of interest in England.

We learn from Yarranton's work, that, though the Dutch were the greatest manufacturers of linen cloth in Europe, they did not produce the yarn used in their manufactories, but bought it from the Saxons and Silesians, who produced it by the labour of children, in large spinning schools, greatly resembling the factories of the present day. "The fine lineus," says he, "are made in Holland and Flanders, that is, are woven and whitened there,—but the thread that makes them comes out of Germany, from Saxony, Bohemia, and other parts thereabouts, and is brought down the Elbe and Rhine, in dry flats, for Holland and Flanders; and there the merchants have at this day, and so will ever have, a vast trade in those commodities, unless that trade of linen be established in England, as I shall set down. But first observe that the people of Holland eat dear and pay great rents for their houses, and so they do in Flanders; but the weaving and the whitening of the cloth is not the tenth part of the labour, for the great labour is in preparing the flax, as pulling, watering, dressing, spinning, and winding, and all that is done in the upper parts of Germany and thereabouts. There victuals are cheap, and in all those parts there is no beggar, nor occasion to beg; and in all towns there are schools for little girls, from six years old and upwards, to teach them to spin, and so to bring their tender fingers by degrees to spin very fine, which, being young, are easily fitted for that use; whereas people overgrown in age cannot so well feel the thread. Their wheels go all by the foot, made to go with much ease, whereby the action or motion is very easy and delightful. And in all towns there are schools, according to the bigness or multitude of the poor children. I will show you the way, method, rule, and order, how they are governed. First, there is a large room, and in the middle thereof a little box like a pulpit. Second, there are benches built about the room, as there are in our playhouses; upon the benches sit about two hundred children spinning, and in the box in the middle of the room sits the gaud mistress, with a long white wand in her hand. If she

observes any of them idle, she reaches them a tap ; but, if that will not do, she rings a bell, which, by a little cord, is fixed to the box, and out comes a woman ; she then points to the offender, and she is taken away into another room and chastised. And all this is done without one word of speaking. In a little room by the school there is a woman that is preparing and putting flax on the distaffs ; and upon the ringing of the bell and the pointing of the rod at the maid that hath spun off her flax, she hath a distaff given her, and her spoil of thread taken from her, and put into a box, unto others of the same size, to make cloth." Yarranton adds, " And after a young maid hath been three years in the spinning-school, that is, taken in at six and there continued until nine years, she will get eightpence the day. And in these parts I speak of, a man that hath most children lives best ; whereas here he that hath most is poorest. There the children enrich the father ; but here beggar him." About the time when Yarranton wrote this account of the German spinning-schools, German yarn came into use at Manchester, Maidstone, Kidderminster, and other places in England where linen was manufactured.* At Kidderminster £100 worth per week was consumed, which was then considered a large quantity.

The competition to which the manufacturers of England were exposed was not confined to the products of the loom and the spinning-wheel. It was equally severe in tinned-plates, cutlery, and other articles formed of iron and steel, as well as in timber and in corn. The same writer, Andrew Yarranton, was sent to Saxony and Bohemia, to collect information as to the manufactures of iron and tinned-plates in those countries, and gives us much information as to the manner in which those and various other branches of industry were carried on abroad, and as to improvements which might be made at home.

When Yarranton visited Saxony he found that the manufacture of iron was established on all the crown lands, in the woody mountains which separate Saxony from Bohemia. The Grand Duke of Saxony had three great manufactures, one of iron, tin, and copper ; another of linen and spun thread ; the third of sawn timber. The iron, tinned-plate, and copper manufactures were fixed in the valley of the Upper Elbe ; the hills and mountains supplied metallic ores, and the country around was covered with woods, which furnished charcoal. Not an acre of common land was allowed to lie waste. The streams which descended from the

* Yarranton's *England's Improvement by Sea and Land*, 146.

mountains furnished moving force for the iron manufactories, and also for the saw-mills. "At the descent of the hills are infinite saw-mills that go by water, which saw all manner of fir and oak; and in the summer time it is dragged to the River Elbe, and so sent down to Hamborough. And thus being fixed, with all the advantages that trade can desire, that place is stangely populous, and vastly rich, and yields to the duke a great revenue. And it is as Wales and as the Forest of Deane lie to England."* The King of Sweden was the other great iron-manufacturer and timber-merchant of northern Europe. He also forwarded his iron and sawn timber to Hamburgh, and obtained advances of seventy-five per cent. upon it from the capitalists of Germany and Holland. Holland, also, "diffused and sent all the world over" the cutlery of Liege and Cologne; and it divided the corn trade with Hamburgh. Immense granaries were formed in Holland, where the grain of all countries was stored up in cheap years, to be sold in years of scarcity. This was also the case along the banks of the Elbe. At Magdeburg there were three hundred public granaries, in which the grain of Saxony and Silesia was stored up in years of abundance. One of the objects of Yarranton's work was to induce the landowners of England to form similar granaries, especially in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, and Oxford, which were the cheapest and most fruitful counties in England, and those most inconvenienced by the want of good markets.†

Amidst the severe competition which every branch of industry was exposed to from Holland, Germany, and other countries, some of the manufacturing districts of England more than held their position, whilst others were conquered in the strife. The woollen and linen manufactures almost disappeared from Salisbury, Worcester, Reading, and others of their early seats in the south of England; but they continued to flourish vigorously in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and in the hilly districts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire. During this period numerous machines were invented for cheapening and improving the various processes of manufacture, most of which were worked by water-power. Hence the regions of hills and rapid streams gradually took the lead in manufactures.

It is not possible to trace the progress of Manchester, the manufacturing capital of Lancashire, by means of statistical tables, during this period; but it may be judged of by numerous and well-authenticated

* Yarranton's *England's Improvement by Sea and Land* 111.

† A. Y., 18.

facts, and by the notices of contemporary authors. I have already spoken of the part which Manchester took in the great civil war, but previous to that memorable conflict it had attained a position of wealth and influence. This is proved, amongst other circumstances, by the fact, that three of its master manufacturers had accumulated fortunes sufficiently ample to cause them to be appointed to the office of high sheriff for the county palatine. One of the three, Humphrey Chetham, has connected his name as honourably with his native town as his contemporary, George Heriot, did his with his native Edinburgh, by founding a college and public library, both of which still exist, and bear testimony to his wealth, public spirit, and love of learning. In the year 1638 Manchester contended with York for the honour of becoming the seat of a university, on the model of Oxford and Cambridge, for the instruction of the youth of the northern counties. In a memorial of that date, numerous signed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others inhabitants of the northern parts of England, the following reasons are given why Manchester should be chosen as the seat of the proposed university:—"We apprehend Manchester to be the fittest place for such a foundation," say the memorialists, "it being about the centre of the northern parts; a town of great antiquity; formerly both a city and a sanctuary, and now of great fame and ability by the happy traffic of its inhabitants; for its situation, provision of food, fuel, and buildings, as happy as any town in the northern parts of the kingdom."* Two years later Lewis Roberts, in his "Treasury of Traffic," praises the manufacturers of Manchester for their spirit and enterprise in purchasing the cotton wool of the Isle of Cyprus and Smyrna, and forming it into numerous fabrics, which were in great demand both at home and abroad. "The town of Manchester, in Lancashire," says he, "must be herein remembered, and worthily, for their encouragement, commended; who buy the yarn of the Irish in great quantity, and, weaving it, return the same again into Ireland to sell. Neither doth their industry rest there, for they buy cotton wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same and perfect it into fustians, vermillions, dimitics, and other such stuffs, and then return it to London, where the same is vended and sold, and not seldom sent into foreign parts, who have means at far easier terms to provide themselves of the said first materials." In the account which Blome, the topographer,

* Bell's Fairfax Correspondence, ii., 273, Reign of Charles the First.

gives of Liverpool, in the year 1673, he attributes its prosperity to the cottons produced in the neighbouring district, and to imports of sugar from the West Indies. Andrew Yarranton, whose work, published in 1677, has already been referred to, in urging the establishment of the thread and tape manufacture in Warwickshire, says, "And the comfort of that place may be, that if they once fix well in that manufacture there they will deter all others setting up the same, and so, consequently, at last be the great masters of it, AS MANCHESTER IS OF ALL THINGS IT TRADES IN." This high reputation for skill and enterprise continued to the close of the period of which I am writing; so that in the year 1712, when a number of Manchester gentlemen employed Mr. Thomas Steers, the engineer of the first Liverpool Dock, to survey the rivers Irwell and Mersey, with a view of rendering them navigable from Manchester to Warrington, the engineer was able to put forth his plan with the following announcement:—"The inland parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, being favoured with great variety of valuable manufactures in woollen, linen, cotton, &c., and that in very great quantities, has made that neighbourhood as populous, if not more so, (London and Middlesex excepted,) as the same extent of any other part of Great Britain. The trades of these counties extend considerably through the whole island, as well as abroad, and the consumption of groceries, Irish wool, dyeing stuff, and other goods consequently very great; but as yet not favoured with the convenience of water-carriage, though Providence, from the port of Liverpool, up to the most considerable inland town of trade in Lancashire, Manchester, has afforded the best not yet employed rivers of Mersey and Irwell for that purpose." Such was the position of Manchester and the surrounding districts of Lancashire, at the time of the accession of the House of Hanover. The subsequent progress of its manufactures will be traced in a succeeding part of this work.

With regard to the nature and material of the manufactures of Manchester and South Lancashire, the following is the principal information which I have been able to glean from contemporary works and acts of parliament. At the beginning of this period the Manchester and Lancashire "cottons" were not cottons, in the modern sense of the term, but still coarse woollens, as they had been in the Tudor period. An act of parliament of the 4th James the First, (1606,) speaks of "cotton and other woollen cloths;"* and another act of the 7th James the First speaks of

* Statutes at Large, 4th James 1st, cap. 2.

“Kendals and other coarse things of the like nature, and made of the like coarse wool, and differing only in name, called Cogware, coarse cottons, or carptmels.” The latter of these articles were so named from being manufactured at Cartmel, in North Lancashire. Soon after this, cotton and cotton yarn began to be imported from Cyprus, long the principal colony of Venice, and cotton from Smyrna.* This, it has already been seen by the extract from Lewis Roberts’s “Treasury of Traffic,” was bought by the manufacturers of Manchester, chiefly in London, and worked up into a variety of articles. The same writer also informs us that linen yarn was still imported from Ireland, as it had been from the time of Henry the Eighth. The ruin which fell upon all Irish industry during the massacres, plunderings, and confiscations of the great civil war caused the manufacturers of Manchester to purchase German yarns prepared in the manner above described. About this time the woollen, linen, and cotton trades were all carried on in Manchester; and these three materials were also mixed in many of the fabrics of that town. In the year 1660 every single piece of Manchester baize, not exceeding 34 lbs. in weight, was declared to be subject to an export duty of 20s.; and in the same tariff of duties all “northern, Manchester, Taunton, and Welsh cottons” were declared subject to an export duty of 40s. the 100 goods. In a discourse on the Provision for the Poor, written about the year 1660, and generally attributed to that excellent man Sir Matthew Hale, linen cloth is spoken of as amongst the manufactures of Lancashire; and we have seen that cotton had already been introduced. During the latter part of the century the manufacture of woollens seems to have been gradually abandoned, and those of linen and cotton substituted for it. In those articles Manchester and South Lancashire had no English rival, whilst they had many in woollens. Another reason why they gradually abandoned the woollen manufacture may have been, that it was then encumbered with so many restrictions and prohibitions in every process, as rendered improvement nearly impossible, and subjected all who were engaged in it to innumerable penalties. It was in exactly the same position as businesses carried on under the inspection of the excise. Those engaged in it were subjected to all manner of annoyances; and could scarcely venture to try experiments, lest they should infringe on the restrictions of parliament. The legislators of that day seem to have supposed that

* Lewis Roberts’s Merchants’ Map of Traffic, 1638.

the manufacturer, like the poet, was born, not made; for they laid down rules for the manufacturing of every article, without an hour's practice, by which they controlled the movements, crippled the industry, and blighted the ingenuity of men who had practiced those arts during the whole of their lives. Fortunately, they were not quite so confident on the subject of linen as they were on those of woollens and leather; and, still more fortunately, they did not even pretend to know anything about cotton.

The West Riding of Yorkshire kept pace with Lancashire in manufactures, though industry there was directed to the production of other articles, namely, woollens, iron, and cutlery. The pride of an eloquent local historian has recorded, that, when Henry the Eighth visited the West Riding in the year 1548, the riches of the district between Doncaster and York were shown to him by Bishop Tunstal, and that the king pronounced it to be the richest country that he had seen in all his travels through Europe. It then contained one hundred and sixty-five manor-houses of lords and gentlemen of the best quality; two hundred and seventy-five woods, whereof several contained five hundred acres; thirty-two parks and two chases of deer; one hundred and twenty-six rivers and brooks, whereof five were navigable; seventy-six water-mills for the grinding of corn; twenty-five coal-mines, which yielded abundance of coal for the whole county; and three forges for the making of iron, with stone enough for the same. A writer of Queen Anne's reign, who records the above facts, adds, "To the navigable rivers may now be added the Aire and Calder, the rivers of Leeds and Wakefield. The corn-mills and coal-mines are now without number, by reason of the great populousness of the country, and the increase of the clothing trade, which was then inconsiderable, but now is the very life of these parts."* On the single stream which watered the town of Halifax there were twenty-four mills, namely, eleven corn-mills, eight fulling-mills, for preparing raw cloth for the dressers, two for grinding all sorts of wood used by dyers, one employed in making such paper as is used by cloth-makers, one steer-grinder's forge, and one for the frizeing of cloth.† A great number of mills also existed about Leeds; and all the rapid streams of the West Riding, from the Aire to the Don, were covered with them. Leeds was already the manufacturing capital of the district. Speaking of Briggate, the principal street of the town, Thoresby says, "The famous cloth-market, the life not of the town alone, but of these parts of England, is

* Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, Introduction, vi., London, A.D. 1715.

† Watson's *History of Halifax*.

held in this street, *sub dio*, twice every week, upon Tuesdays and Saturdays, early in the morning,* where several thousand pounds' worth of broad cloth are bought, and, generally speaking, paid for, in a few hours' time, and with so profound a silence as is surprising to strangers, who, from the neighbouring galleries, &c., can hear no more noise than the murmur of the merchants upon the exchange in London." In addition to the market held in the open air in Briggate, there were two cloth-halls, one for the sale of coloured cloths, which is said to have existed from the reign of Edward the Third;† the other for the sale of undyed cloths, called the White Cloth-hall, built in the reign of Queen Anne.‡ At this time Bradford and Wakefield rivalled Leeds and Halifax as manufacturing towns, and Huddersfield was also rising into note. The woollen manufacture extended from Bingley and Keighley, on the Aire, to Penistone, on the Don. South of the latter river, on the banks of the Rother and the Sheaf, and the innumerable streams of Hallamshire, the manufacture of cutlery had been carried on for hundreds of years. Then, as now, the whole region resounded with the ponderous blows of tilt hammers, worked by the brooks and rivers of the district. It has been shown, in a previous chapter, that the woollens of Yorkshire and the cutlery of Hallamshire were amongst the exports of Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and they continued to be so, in greatly increasing quantities, during the period whose history I am now tracing.

The rich salt mines of Cheshire, which have added so much to the commercial prosperity of Liverpool since the river Weaver was rendered navigable, and since the coal-fields of Lancashire were connected with the salt district of Cheshire, had little effect in promoting that prosperity in the time of the Stuarts. Owing to the dearness of fuel in the heart of Cheshire, and the difficulty of getting the salt down to the coast, the foreign salt-trade scarcely existed in Cheshire. It was then confined to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and those parts of the valley of the Forth where the coal strata reach the sea. In 1635 Sir William Brereton, whose family was engaged in the Cheshire salt trade, visited Newcastle, and has recorded that there was more salt made there than at any place in England.§ The salt-pans, which, he says, "are not to be numbered," were placed at the river's mouth, where salt-water was easily obtained, and they were wrought

* Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 14.

† See a representation of this market in Knight's *Pictorial History of England*.

‡ Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

§ Sir William Brereton's *Travels*, 86.

with coals brought by water from the Newcastle pits. Sir William Brereton says that the furnaces were placed in the same way as his "brother Booth's at Nantwich." He further informs us that the cost of coals at the Newcastle salt-works was seven shillings a chaldron, "which is three wain;"* and that the men employed in the salt-works received fourteen shillings a week. Owing to the abundance of coal, the glass-trade, as well as the salt-trade, was then carried on to a great extent at Newcastle. London, and all the east coast, as well as Holland, were supplied with coal from that port. There was then a spacious haven, "now naked of ships, but sometimes thronged;" and the finest quay in England." Of Newcastle itself Sir William Brereton says, "This is beyond all compare the finest and richest town in England, inferior in wealth and building to no city save London and Bristow, and whether it may not deserve to be accounted as wealthy as Bristow I have some doubt."† After leaving Newcastle Sir William Brereton proceeded to Edinburgh, and in riding along the south bank of the Forth he found "an infinite, innumerable number of salt-works" erected along the shore, in which salt was evaporated from seawater. With regard to the supply of coal he says, "The conveniency of coal gives the greatest encouragement to the erection and pursuit of these works. Coals abound all along the shore, yea, it is conceived that the vein lies all under the river, seeing it is found on both sides, as it were, reaching towards the other."‡ The cost of coal at the pit's mouth was from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a chaldron; the cost of carriage to the salt-works 2s. 6d. The salt made in Scotland was chiefly exported to Holland. Cheapness of fuel and ease of transport thus fixed the salt-trade on the east side of the island, and the want of those advantages rendered the unrivalled strength of the brine of the Cheshire salt pits, and the abundant supply of rock salt, comparatively unavailing. For the same reason—the cost of transport—the coal exported from this part of the island was chiefly shipped from Mostyn, on the river Dee, where the coal-field runs close to the river, and not from Liverpool, where a considerable land-carriage intervenes between the mines and the place of shipment. "Three miles from this place," says Collins, "is Mostyn Mark, where vessels load coals. This place doth not only supply the neighbouring place with coals, but the kingdom of Ireland."§ The only article of much value which Cheshire supplied to the commerce of Liverpool was its famous cheese, which

* Brereton's Travels, 88.

† Ibid, 85.

‡ Ibid, 112.

§ Grenville Collins's Coasting Pilot, 11.

was then as popular in London and the colonies as it is now ; and which the London cheesemongers shipped, in large quantities, in the river Mersey, sometimes from Liverpool, at other times from Frodsham, and other small places on the southern bank of the river. It has been seen that these cheesemongers were the only parties who opposed the making of the first Liverpool dock.

The iron trade of Staffordshire, which has been another great means of developing the commerce of Liverpool, made much progress during the period of which I have been treating. By this time the great forest of Andradswald, and some other extensive forests in the south of England, which had been the original seats of the iron manufacture, had become exhausted, from constant use and neglect of planting. The consequence was, that the iron works of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, which flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been abandoned in the reign of Charles the Second.* Owing to the great care with which the woods of the forest of Dean were kept up,† that district of Gloucester had become one of the principal seats of the iron trade at that time. The cinders of the ores, from which the Romans and ancient Britons had extracted a small portion of the metal, by means of feeble blasts, were exposed to much more powerful blasts, and were made to yield a second supply. In addition to these Roman cinders the rich ores of the district were also smelted. At that time 60,000 persons were sustained by the iron works of the Forest of Dean.‡ Of the pig or sow iron of that district a part was sent down to Bristol, from which place it was exported, some of it to Ireland, where it was sold at about £5 a ton, and there manufactured, in the extensive woods of Wicklow and Wexford, into bars, which were then worth about £20 a ton.§ Much the greater part of it, however, was sent up the Severn to Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and by land-carriage into Cheshire, where it was made into bar iron. This bar iron was again worked up into innumerable implements, or sold unmanufactured, about Birmingham, Dudley, and Stourbridge. Yarranton states, that, in the reign of Charles the Second, within ten miles around Dudley, there were more people inhabiting, and more money returned in a year, than there were in four of the richest agricultural counties ;|| that land was there twice as dear as it was in those counties ; and that upwards of 100,000 persons were supported by the iron trade of that district.¶

* Yarranton's *England's Improvement*, 60.

+ Yarranton, 58.

‡ *Ibid*, 58.

§ Brereton's *Travels*, 147.

|| Yarranton, 52.

¶ *Ibid*, 58.

Owing to the want of water-carriage from Staffordshire to Liverpool, only a small part of this great trade found its way to the banks of the Mersey at that time ; but, as the iron trade has been and is one of the great trades of the port of Liverpool, I have thought it well to trace the gradual migration of the trade from the south, to districts with which Liverpool is now so closely connected. Viewing the manufactures of England as a whole, there is no reason to doubt that they increased greatly during the reigns of the Stuart princes, although the increase was chiefly confined to the counties of Lancaster, York, Stafford, and to some parts of the west of England, and was accompanied by a decline of manufacturing industry in other parts of the kingdom.

It appears, from the accounts of the commerce of England left us by Sir Josiah Child—the Alexander Baring of his day—and other commercial writers of that age, that the foreign trade of the country passed through as great a change about this time as its manufactures. Several of the older branches of foreign trade were lost altogether ; whilst others sprang up which more than supplied their place. Amongst the branches of trade which were lost, or greatly diminished, were the following :—1st, The Russian trade, in which the Dutch had twenty-two ships employed, in the year before Sir Josiah Child published his *Essays on Trade*, and in which the English, who had formerly had a monopoly of the trade, had only one. 2nd, The Greenland whale-fishery, in which the Dutch and the Hamburgers had together four or five hundred ships, whilst the English had only a single ship. 3rd, The trade of carrying salt from St. Ubes, in Portugal, and wine and brandy from the French ports, to the Baltic. 4th, The “vast and notorious” trade of fishing for white herrings (that is, herrings so salted as to retain their white colour) on the coasts of Scotland and England. 5th, The East Country and Baltic trade, in which England had not half as many ships as the Dutch, though at one time it had had ten times as many. 6th, The greater part of the trade in Spanish wools, from Bilboa. 7th, The East India trade for nutmegs, cloves, and mace. 8th, The great trade to China and Japan. 9th, The trades of Scotland and Ireland “two of our own kingdoms” (which) “the Dutch have bereaved us of, and in effect wholly engrossed to themselves.” 10th, The trade to Norway. 11th, A great part of the trade of France, owing to the heavy duties (60 or 70 per cent.) “on our draperies” or woollen goods. 12th, The trade with Cadiz, for the silver and gold of America. 13th, The trade with Surinam. 14th, The trade of Menades, or New York, which was not at that time fully transferred

to England by the Dutch. And 15th, The trade with Guinea for negroes, ivory, gold, and palm oil. Such were the trades which Sir Josiah Child regarded as lost to England, and of these he says,* the above-mentioned are the greatest trades in the world, for the employment of shipping and seamen. The trades which England retained were, 1st, The red herring trade of Yarmouth, and the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland and New England. 2nd, A good part of the Turkey, Italian, Spanish, and Portugal trades. 3rd, The trade to and from the plantations, namely, Virginia, Barbadoes, New England, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. In the opinion of Sir Josiah Child, who was the greatest merchant of his age, the principal causes of the decay of the various branches of trade enumerated above, as being in a declining state, were the following:—1st, The high rate of interest on money in England compared with Holland. The rate of interest in England being six per cent, and in Holland three.† This, he states, gave the Dutch a profit on transactions which left a heavy loss in England. 2nd, The facility of transferring debts, by means of inland bills of exchange, which was allowed in Holland and not in England, “by means of which they can turn their stocks twice or thrice in trade, whilst we can once in England.”‡ 3rd, The banking system of Holland, and the system of credit which grew out of it, which he considered equal to a capital of a million pounds sterling per annum in favour of the Dutch.§ 4th, The low customs of the Dutch, who raised their revenue chiefly by excise duties,|| and, in times of pressure, by loans at low interest; and the high customs of England, which were imposed, without limit or discrimination, on exports as well as imports.¶ 5th, The prevalence of perfect liberty of conscience in Holland, which drew in foreign capitalists from all countries;*** and the religious persecutions of England and Scotland, which drove away many even of the native inhabitants. 6th, The wonderful frugality of the Dutch, who spent less, in mere show, on an estate of £100,000, than people in England did on an estate of £1,500.†† 7th, The strictly commercial education of the whole people, which made even the Dutch women as good accountants as the English men.‡‡ To these and other causes, which are enumerated by Sir Josiah Child, it may be added, that the Dutch introduced the bonding and warehousing system

* Sir Josiah Child's Discourse on Trade. Introduction, xviii. † Ibid, 5. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid, 4.

|| Ibid.

¶ See Tariff of Export and Import Duties in Statutes at Large, Twelfth Charles the Second.

*** Child's Discourse on Trade, 4.

++ Ibid, 3.

‡‡ Ibid.

early in the seventeenth century, that is nearly two hundred years before it was introduced in England, and thus made Holland the warehouse, and themselves the carriers, of Europe.*

Although Sir Josiah Child thus speaks in very discouraging terms of the foreign trade of the country, yet no writer of that age speaks more warmly of the internal improvements of the kingdom, or of the wonderful prosperity of the colonies or plantations, which had sprung into existence during the sixty years preceding the publication of his *Essays on Trade*. Amongst the proofs of the increase of internal wealth he mentions the following:—A five hundred pounds' portion with a daughter, sixty years before, was esteemed a larger portion than two thousand pounds, at the time when he wrote; gentlewomen in those days would esteem themselves well clothed in a serge gown, in which a chamber-maid would be ashamed to be seen in Sir Josiah's times; the citizens of his day were richer in clothes, plate, jewels, and household goods than the best sort of knights and gentry were sixty years before; whilst the knights and gentry exceeded the former state of the nobility, many of whom could not formerly afford a white satin doublet, "the embroiderer being yet living, who hath assured me (Sir Josiah) that he had made many hundreds of them for the nobility with canvas backs." In his time there were a hundred coaches where there was one formerly; the people, with ease, paid a greater tax in one year than their forefathers paid in twenty; the customs had increased in the proportion of six to one; he could himself remember an increase of one-third in the number of wharfs and quays used by merchants in London, and also that the smaller number of wharfs of former times were not half employed, whilst the greater number of that day were "all too little, in time of peace, to land the goods at which come to London;" in the country, lands, which were formerly not worth more than eight to ten years' purchase, had become worth twenty years' purchase; rents had greatly advanced; "a person was yet living, and but seventy-seven years of age, namely, Captain Russell, of Wapping," who had assured Sir Josiah Child, that he could remember since when there were not above three merchant ships, of 300 tons and upwards, belonging to England;† pepper, indigo, calicoes, and several useful drugs, to the value of £150,000 to £180,000 per annum, were imported into England from the East Indies, for home consumption, and from £200,000 to £300,000 worth per annum,

* "But this encouragement is here given to strangers and merchants, that what goods they bring hither and hence export are excise free, except tobacco."—*Brereton's Travels*, 65.

† Child's *Discourse on Trade*, 51.

of the same articles, for exportation ; London had nearly doubled its population in sixty years, in spite of fire and plague ; other places had also increased greatly, as Yarmouth, Hull, Scarborough, and other ports in the north ; as also Liverpool, West-Chester, and Bristol, Portsmouth, Lime, and Plymouth ;* “and withal,” adds Sir Josiah, “if it be considered, what great improvements have been made these last sixty years, upon breaking up and enclosing of waste forests and parks, and draining of the fens, and all those places inhabited and furnished with husbandry, &c., I think it will appear probable that we have in England now, at least had, before the late plague, more people than we had before we first entered upon foreign plantations, notwithstanding likewise the great numbers of men which have issued from us into Ireland.”†

His account of the rise of the plantations or colonies is still more interesting. England, he asserts, had done more in the way of successful planting or colonizing in sixty years, than the Spanish or Portuguese had done in two hundred, and vastly more than the Dutch and French had done, since they began to plant the islands and main land of America.

Beginning the comparison with the Dutch, he says, that the English had done ten times as much in Jamaica, in five years, as the Dutch had done in Tobago, Curacoa, and the other tropical colonies, in thirty or forty.‡ He adds, “Neither have the Dutch at any other time, or in any other parts of the world, made any improvements by planting ; what they do in the East Indies being only by war, trade, and building of fortified towns and castles upon the sea coasts, to retain the sole commerce of the places, with the people which they conquer ; not by clearing, breaking up the grounds, and planting, as the English have done.”§

With regard to the French, Sir Josiah Child says, that they had had footing in the West Indies almost as long as the English, but that they had made no considerable progress in planting. This, he attributes, first, to France being an absolute government, which had not, until lately, given any countenance or encouragement to navigation and trade ; and, second, to the fact that the French settlements in the West Indies had not been made by freeholders, to whom the crown had granted the fee simple of the soil, as the English plantations had been, but by persons in subjection to the French West India Company ; “which company being under the French king, as lord proprietor of the places

* Child's Discourse on Trade, 121. † Ibid, 145. ‡ Ibid, 148. § Ibid, 148.

they settle upon, and taxing the inhabitants at pleasure, as the king does them, it is not probable they should make that successful progress in planting; PROPERTY, FREEDOM, AND INHERITANCE, BEING THE MOST EFFECTUAL STEPS TO INDUSTRY.”*

With regard to the Spaniards, he says, that whatever may be the general opinion on the subject, it is a fact that the English, since they set to the work of forming plantations in America, “have cleared and improved fifty plantations for one, and built as many houses, for one the Spaniards have built;” that the oldest of the English plantations had been begun within sixty years, whilst some of the Spanish plantations had existed for two hundred; that what the Spaniards had done in the West Indies, (that is both on the continent and in the islands,) had been more by conquest than by planting; that they had found most of their cities and towns ready built and inhabited, and much of the ground improved and cultivated, whilst the English had built and planted everything for themselves: that the Spaniards had found in Mexico and Peru, and other parts of America, a people whom they had subdued, with whom some of them could and had mixed, from which unions had proceeded a race called Mestises, whereas the English, where they had set down and planted, “either found none, or such as were mere wild heathen, with whom they could not nor even had been known to mix:”† and still that with all these advantages, and all this lapse of time, the Spanish possessions were scarcely so populous, in any part of the West Indies, as to be able to bring an army of 10,000 men together in a month’s time, whilst the English, as we learn from another authority, could bring together 10,000 fighting men, in the little island of Barbadoes. Sir Josiah Child attributed the inferiority of the Spanish plantations, compared with the English, to the following causes:—First, and principally, to the fact that the Spanish crown exercised the same policy and government, civil and ecclesiastical, in its plantations, as it did in the mother country; “from whence it follows,” says he, “that their people are few and thin abroad, from the same causes as they are empty and void of people at home; whereas, although we in England vainly endeavour to arrive at an uniformity of religion at home, yet we allow an Amsterdam liberty (of conscience) in our plantations.”† Secondly, to the inferiority of the products raised in the Spanish plantations, gold and silver only excepted, and to the excessive

* Child’s Treatise on Trade, 150.

† Except in very rare cases, as that of the Virginian Princess Pocahontas, who married a young Englishman, and adopted the religion and manners of the English.

freight of their ships, which was four times as high as that of the ships of England. Thirdly, to the greatness of the customs' duties in old Spain, "for undoubtedly high customs do as well dwarf plantations as trade."* Fourthly, to the "intense and singular industry" of the Spaniards, in seeking for gold and silver, by which they had destroyed numbers of their people, at least, of their slaves, and in following which they had neglected "the cultivating of the earth, and the producing commodities from the growth of it, which might give employment to a greater navy, as well as sustenance to a greater number of people by sea and land;" and lastly, to "the multitudes of fryers, nuns, and recluse, and ecclesiastical persons, who are prohibited marriage."†

With regard to the Portuguese, he acknowledges that they have been great planters, in the Brazils and other places; but adds, "yet, if we preserve our people and plantations by good laws, I have reason to believe that the Portuguese, except they alter their politics, which it is almost impossible for them to do, can never bear up with us, much less prejudice our plantations." He says, that it was evident that they had not hurt the English hitherto, for "in my time (he adds) we have beat their Muscovado and Paneal sugars quite out of use in England; their whites we have brought down in all those parts of Europe in price, from seven or eight pounds per cwt. to fifty shillings and three pounds; and, in quantity, whereas formerly their Brazil fleets consisted of one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand chests of sugar, they are now reduced to about thirty thousand chests, since the great increase of Barbadoes."‡

Such is the comparison drawn between the English colonies and those of the other colonizing nations of Europe, by the greatest merchant of England, whilst they were in their infancy. It is almost superfluous to say that they have fully realized all the hopes and opinions expressed by him. As the commerce of Liverpool rests chiefly on the two great facts, of the rise of manufactures in the surrounding districts of England, and of the peopling, planting, and cultivating of America, it will be well to give a brief sketch of the planting and early progress of the principal colonies of England, in North America and the West Indies.

Virginia, the first English colony formed on the Continent of America, was "planted" under a charter granted by James the First, in

* Child's Essay on Trade, 153.

+ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

the year 1606, to a London company. The parties most active in obtaining the charter were Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a gentleman of fortune; Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Justice of England; Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, and Captain Gosnold, an experienced navigator, who had visited Virginia, and was well acquainted with the country and the Indians. According to the terms of the charter, the London company was authorized to take possession of and plant the region extending from the 34th to the 38th degree of north latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the south point of Maryland, on condition of paying to the king one-fifth of all the gold and silver and one-fifteenth of the copper found in the colony. By the charter, the general superintendence of the new plantation was placed in the hands of a council resident in England, and the local superintendence in those of a council resident in the colony. The emigrants were promised that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen,* and should enjoy all English rights. Furnished with these authorities and guarantees, an expedition, consisting of three small vessels, the largest not exceeding a hundred tons, and carrying a hundred and five emigrants, sailed from England for Virginia, on the 19th November, 1606, and arrived in the Bay of Chesapeake in the spring of the following year. The country which there opened to them appeared to the emigrants "to claim a prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." In passing between the Capes of Virginia, they named them Capes Henry and Charles, in honour of the king's two sons; and after sailing up a fine river, which they named James's River, after the king, they landed, on the 15th May, 1607, on a peninsula nearly encircled by it, where they built a few huts, to which they gave the name of Jamestown. During the first three years the colony suffered excessive hardships, some of them caused by the unfitness of several of the colonists to struggle with so new a mode of life; others by vain and delusive attempts to discover gold and silver, and a new route to the Pacific Ocean, up the rivers of Virginia. The colony would in all probability have perished, if it had not been sustained by the courage, good sense, and unwavering enthusiasm of Captain John Smith, a gallant soldier, who, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Europe, had thrown himself into the enterprise of planting Virginia, with the same daring courage which he had shown in fighting against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and the Turks in Hungary. Under the influence of this

* Bancroft's History of the Colonization of the United States, i., 121.

high-spirited leader the colony was kept in existence through famine, disease, and danger, although it was at one time reduced to forty souls. In the year 1609, Lord Delaware was appointed governor of the colony, and ever after proved himself its true friend.* In the year 1611 Sir Thomas Gates took out three hundred new settlers, just in time to save the first set of colonists; and from this time the colony continued to advance, though still slowly, and amidst many difficulties. About this time tobacco began to be generally cultivated, and soon became both the staple and the currency of the colony. The previous industry of the colonists had been directed to the production of ashes, soap, and tar, articles for which Virginia had no special fitness. In June, 1619, the colony having increased in the meantime, the first colonial assembly ever held in Virginia, was called together. Up to this period the Virginian Company had expended £80,000 in colonizing Virginia, though without having obtained any return in money, at all equal to so great an expenditure. In 1621 the colony received an accession of 1,261 persons in a single year. Amongst them were ninety young women, agreeable and of unblemished character, who soon found husbands amongst the colonists. The next year "sixty maids, of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended," were sent out by the company, which received 150lbs. of tobacco, for the cost of conveying each of them out, from those who married them. In the year 1621 there were already 3,500 persons in the colony. In the month of August, 1620, a Dutch vessel entered James's River, bringing twenty negroes for sale. This was the commencement of slavery and the slave trade in English America. The trade was chiefly carried on by the Dutch for some years; but it made so little progress that the whites were to the blacks as fifty to one thirty years after. In 1621 attempts were made to introduce the rearing of silk and the cultivation of the vine in Virginia; but they made no progress, owing to the scarcity of labour. The first cultivation of cotton in Virginia also took place this year. The plant came up plentifully, and the experiment excited great interest both in England and America.† The following year was rendered memorable by a terrible massacre, committed by the Indians, in which 347 of the colonists perished. This led to a desperate war, in which the power of the Indians was effectually broken. The accession of Charles the First did nothing to weaken the rights of the colonists. He appointed Sir George Yeardley, a popular man, governor, and confirmed

* Bancroft, i., 141.

† Ibid, i., 179.

the power of the Colonial Assembly.* In the following year 1,000 emigrants were added to the colony, and the demand for the products of the soil greatly increased. In the year 1624 the English parliament assembled, and Sir Edwin Sandys, the unchanging friend of the colony, obtained a complete protection for the Virginian tobacco-planters against all foreign rivals. "The people of England," says Bancroft, "could not have given a more earnest proof of their disposition to foster the plantations in America, than by restraining all competition in their own market, for the benefit of the American planter."† During the next twenty years, which was a period of unexampled struggle and suffering on the part of England, Virginia continued to prosper. "Thus," says an eloquent American historian, "the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns: war was levied, and peace concluded, and territories acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and practically possessing all the rights of an independent state, having England for its guardian against foreign oppression rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and the general uniformity of condition and industry could bestow. Their numbers increased: the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England. The number of the colonists was already 20,000, and they who had sustained no griefs were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided."‡ The colony remained firm to the Stuarts. "Virginia," says Hammond, "was whole for monarchy; and the last country belonging to England that submitted to obedience to the commonwealth."

Thus was the first and greatest of the commercial colonies founded. It is not needful to trace its subsequent history in detail. It afterwards submitted to the parliament, but willingly welcomed back the king. With the exception of one violent commotion in Virginia, caused by the strife of two parties within the colony, it continued to enjoy peace, and to advance in prosperity and population to the close of the century. At the time of the Revolution of 1688 the population of the province had increased to "50,000 or more."‡ Twenty years later the following was the condition of Virginia:—"In former ages no colony had ever enjoyed a

* Bancroft, i., 196.

† Ibid, i., 191.

‡ Ibid, ii., 450.

happier freedom. From the days of Bacon's insurrection (in 1676,) for a period of three-quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. On its own soil the strife with the Indians was ended; the French hesitated to invade the western frontier on which they lowered; if sometimes alarm was spread by the privateers upon the coast, a naval foe was not attracted to a region which had neither town nor magazines, where there was nothing to destroy but a field of tobacco, nothing to plunder but the frugal stores of a scattered population. The soil was stained with nothing but the sweat of the labourer. In such scenes of tranquil happiness, the political strifes were but the ebullitions of a high spirit, which, in the wantonness of independence, loved to tease the governor; and again, if the burgesses expressed loyalty, they were loyal only because loyalty was their humour."*

Maryland grew up as a younger sister of Virginia. The charter under which it was planted, "however it may have been neglected to provide for the power of the king, was a sufficient frank pledge for the liberties of the colonist."† The boundaries of the new plantation were the ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, "the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac," the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkins' Point to the Atlantic.‡ The name of the province was given in compliment to Henrietta Maria, the daughter of the good Henri Quatre of France, and the beautiful wife of the unfortunate Charles the First of England. The date of the charter under which Maryland was planted, is the 20th June, 1632. The party to whom it was granted was George Calvert, a Yorkshire gentleman, and for some time the representative of that great county in Parliament. Sir George Calvert was a Roman Catholic from conviction and conversion, and having known the bitterness of persecution himself, rendered Maryland a refuge for the persecuted of every creed. Having died before his patent was executed, all the proprietary rights which it had been proposed to concede to him were granted to his eldest son, Cecilius Calvert, who was about the same time created Lord Baltimore. The colony was actually planted by his brother, Leonard Calvert, who sailed from England on the 22d November, 1632, with about two hundred persons, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen and their servants, in two vessels, named the Ark and the Dove. Having made the voyage by way of Barbadoes, they did not arrive on the banks of Potomac until February in the following year. By a friendly

* Baneroft, iii., 29.

+ Ibid, i., 241.

‡ Ibid, i., 242.

agreement with the Indians they obtained possession of an Indian village, and there, on the 27th of March, 1634, "the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place; and religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bears the name of St. Mary's."*

In the same year in which King James the First granted to the London company the charter under which Virginia was planted, he also granted to a company formed in the West of England, and generally known as the Plymouth Company, another charter, authorizing it to plant or colonize that part of the coast of America which lies north of the 40th degree of latitude, and which includes New England and the great state of New York. The charter gave the Plymouth Company the power of "planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in North America, from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude," and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. It thus gave the company an immense region, containing a million square miles of land, and capable of sustaining two hundred million of inhabitants;† and also gave it the power of governing it, as it might seem best, for the interests of the colony and the company.

The first settlers in New England were a small but resolute band of persecuted Puritans, who sought refuge from the tyranny of unjust laws, by flying from their native England, to the wilds and forests of America. Whilst commerce originated Virginia, abhorrence of tyranny peopled New England; and the difference in the origin of the two colonies was long seen in the different spirit of the colonists. Virginia was for ages a commercial and loyal colony, the people of which lived "in a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England," and stood firmly by the crown; New England was a Puritan and democratic colony, vehemently opposed to episcopacy, and not very favourable even to monarchical government.

On Monday, the 11th December, (old style,) in the year 1620, the exploring party of the pilgrims first landed on a spot to which they gave the name of Plymouth, in memory of the last spot of English ground on which they had trod. The whole number of souls who had crossed the ocean, in the *Mayflower*, was only one hundred. During the first winter they suffered great hardships from cold, disease, and want of food; and for the first three years the history of the colony is that of a desperate battle for existence. "Even in the third year of the

* Bancroft, i., 247.

† Ibid, i., 272.

settlement their victuals were so entirely spent, that they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning.* Cattle were not introduced until the fourth year of the settlement; and the grain raised being insufficient for their support, they had to sustain life for months together on shell and other fish. After the harvest of 1623 their condition was much improved, for, from that time, they were free from the danger of famishing from hunger; and, in a few years, they raised so much grain as to be able to exchange the surplus produce of their fields with the Indians for beaver and other skins. Still the progress of the colony was slow and difficult, so that there were only three hundred souls in New England ten years after the pilgrims landed.† On the 4th March, 1629, Charles the First granted a liberal charter to the company of Massachusetts Bay. This created a governor, deputy-governor, and assistants for the colony, to be elected by the shareholders; and confirmed to the colonists all the rights of British subjects.‡ On the suggestion of Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed that the charter should be transferred to those of the company who might themselves emigrate to the colony. This was agreed to after a full debate, and thus a commercial corporation was changed into a free provincial government.§ With this charter the leading friends of the colony emigrated to New England, and from that time the colony advanced rapidly.|| In the year 1630 as many as fifteen hundred souls emigrated to New England; in 1631, ninety; in 1633, two hundred. Boston, which had “sweet and pleasant springs”, and which was surrounded by good land, “affording rich corn-fields, and fruitful gardens,” became the capital of the province. In 1638 the king attempted to withdraw the patent of the colony; but in that year the people of Scotland rose in open insurrection to resist the imposition of episcopacy,¶ and the great struggle commenced between the king and his parliament, which, amongst other important results, secured the freedom of New England. At the time when the Long Parliament met, in 1640, the population of the province had increased to about 21,000 souls.** The exports of the colony at that time were furs, fish, timber, and grain, shipped to the West Indies. Shipbuilding had also been introduced, vessels of 400 tons having been built previous to the year 1643; saw-mills, turned by water, (then a new invention,) had also been constructed; and, during

* Bancroft, i., 315. + Ibid, i., 321. † Ibid, i., 343. § Ibid, i., 353. || Ibid, i., 354.

¶ Ibid, i., 413. ** Ibid, ii., 00.

the great civil war, when few supplies arrived from England, the colonists even began to manufacture cotton, "whereof they had store from Barbadoes."* In the year 1649 Prince Rupert, who was then cruizing in the West Indies with a squadron of ships of war, half royalist half piratical, supplied his crews by seizing on the New England ships carrying provisions to Barbadoes and the other colonies.† The civil war, however, was scarcely felt by the New Englanders; but, on the restoration of Charles the Second, great numbers of the republican party found refuge there. In the year 1675, fifteen years after the restoration, the population of New England amounted to 55,000 souls. About this time the colony suffered miserably from wars with the Indian tribes, who, though everywhere defeated in the field, prowled about the scattered homes of the colonists, and massacred multitudes of men, women, and children. One of the first acts of James the Second, on succeeding to the throne, was to seize upon the charters of the New England colonies. That of Massachusetts was annulled in 1685, and remained suspended until the year 1688, when the liberties of America were again secured by the memorable English revolution of that year. The news of the English revolution was received at Boston on the 18th April, 1689. "The amazing news did fly like lightning"; and everywhere the colonists rose to support the English movement. "William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed, with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England."‡ At this great epoch the population of the whole of the New England colonies was about 75,000 souls, that is, about half as many as the present population of the city of Boston.

For upwards of a century after the revolution of 1688, the present State of Maine remained a district subordinate to Massachusetts, so that the history of one is the history of both. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, were off-shoots of Massachusetts, although the two former soon obtained independent charters, and the connexion of New Hampshire with Massachusetts was more than once broken.

The Dutch were the first people who explored the Connecticut River,§ but the English never admitted the claims which they founded on that circumstance. In July, 1635, the younger Winthrop, "the future benefactor of Connecticut," returned from England, with a commission from the proprietors of that region to erect a fort at the mouth of the Conne-

* Bancroft, i., 147.

† E. Warburton's *Rupert and the Cavaliers*, iii., 384.

‡ Bancroft, ii., 440.

§ *Ibid*, i., 273.

ticut River, an object which was accomplished. Before his return to America, the settlements of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield had been formed, by emigrants from the environs of Boston; and late in the autumn of the same year a company of pilgrims, women and children being of the number, began their march to the west, for the infant colony, where, however, they suffered dreadful privations in the following winter. "In June" (of the following year) "the principal caravan began its march, led by Thomas Hooker, the light of the western churches."* At this time the Connecticut River was thought to be the best channel for carrying on the fur trade with the unknown regions of the west; and its meadows were already famed for the fertility of their soil. After suffering more severely than any other colony, from the rancorous hatred of the Indians, the colony was at length firmly established, and became one of the most prosperous regions of New England. On the restoration of Charles the Second all the liberties of Connecticut were confirmed.

The origin of the Rhode Island settlement is one of the most interesting events in the history of America. It was founded by Roger Williams, an Englishman, who had emigrated to Massachusetts, not merely to obtain freedom of conscience for himself, but to assert the right of every human being to possess it. This doctrine he preached boldly, and declared himself "ready to be bound and banished, and even to die" in defence of it.† For holding these opinions the General Court of Massachusetts pronounced against him the sentence of banishment. After enduring great hardships in the forests of Massachusetts, he embarked in a small Indian canoe, with five companions, and landed in Rhode Island, at a spot to which he gave the name of Providence. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."‡ Here he was soon joined by others who fled to this asylum of religious liberty. The great civil war broke out in England soon after, and the settlers in Rhode Island, thinking the opportunity favourable, sent Roger Williams to England, to ask a charter for the new settlement. His distinguished merits induced "both houses of parliament to grant unto him and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode." Rhode Island thus owed its existence, as a separate community, to the Long Parliament, and more especially to Sir Harry Vane, the younger, the friend of Milton. Roger Williams was received with transports of delight on his return to America, and, under his wise in-

* Bancroft, i., 396.

† Ibid, i., 379.

‡ Ibid, i., 379.

fluence, and the noble principles of civil and religious freedom established by him, the settlement continued to flourish. "From the first beginning of the Providence colony," said the inhabitants, in an address presented to Sir Harry Vane, "you have been a noble and true friend to an outcast and despised people; we have ever reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving-kindness and favour. We have long been free from the iron yoke of the wolfish bishops; we have sitten dry from the streams of blood spilt by the wars of our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants; nor, in this colony, have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so called) Godly Christian magistrates. We have not known what an excise means: we have almost forgotten what tithes are. We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people we can hear of, under the whole heaven. When we are gone, our posterity and children after us shall read, in our town records, your loving-kindness to us, and our real endeavours after peace and righteousness."* On the return of Charles the Second he confirmed all the civil and religious liberties of Rhode Island, in the amplest manner. In a charter, bearing the date of July 8, 1663, it was declared, that the laws were to be agreeable to those of England, yet with the kind reference "to the constitution of the place and the nature of the people." In religious matters the charter provided that "no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be, in any wise, molested, punished, disturbed, or called in question, for any difference in opinion in matters of religion; every person may, at all times, freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concerns."†

Although the charters of James the First to the London and the Plymouth companies granted to those two companies all the territory extending from the 36th to the 48th degree of north latitude, yet the two great clusters of English settlements on the American coast, the Virginian and the New England groups, were separated for half-a-century, by the settlements formed by the Dutch in the present State of New York, then called New Netherlands, and by those formed by the Swedes in New Jersey, then called New Sweden. On the 3d of September, 1609, Henry Hudson, the brave Dutch navigator, anchored within Sandy Hook, in the good ship *Crescent*. After a week's delay he sailed through the Narrows, and then spent ten days in exploring the beautiful river, which will ever immortalize his name. The boat of the *Crescent* ascended the river as high as the

* Bancroft, i., 428.

† Ibid, ii., 62.

present city of Albany. He shortly after returned to Europe, where he described the banks of the great river which he had explored as the most beautiful in the world.

The first building erected on the banks of the Hudson was a rude fort, which was built by the Dutch, on Manhattan Island, in the year 1614, seven years after the planting of Virginia, and seven years before the planting of New England. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company obtained a charter from their own government, giving them the exclusive right to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; and on the coast of America, from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north. "England, in its patents, made the conversion of the natives a prominent purpose; the Dutch were chiefly intent on promoting trade: the English charters gave protection to the political rights of the colonists against the proprietories; the Dutch, who had no popular liberty at home, bestowed no thought on colonial representation."* Trade, not colonizing, was the original object of the Dutch on the banks of the Hudson; but, in 1625, there was certainly one family settled on Long Island. In 1629 the Dutch College of Nineteen, to whom the affairs of the Dutch West India Company was committed, adopted a charter of privileges, for patrons who desired to plant colonies in the New Netherlands. By this most aristocratic constitution it was provided, that any one who should plant a colony of fifty souls, within four years, should become lord of the manor, or patron, and should have an absolute property in the lands which he might colonize. These lands might extend sixteen miles in length, or, if they lay on both sides of a river, eight miles on each side, and as far into the interior as the situation might require. Where cities grew up, they were to be governed by the patron, who was to possess judicial power. The colonists were forbidden to make any woollen, linen, or cotton fabric, on penalty of exile. "To impair the monopoly of the Dutch manufacturers was punishable as a perjury!" The company, moreover, promised to furnish the manors with negroes; "provided the traffic should prove lucrative." The result of these miserable regulations was, that the most fertile and best situated lands soon fell into the hands of a few proprietors; and that the population of the colony increased very slowly, in spite of its incomparable advantages of situation. Meantime, the English spread rapidly over the valley of Connecticut, and, crossing the Sound,

* Bancroft, ii., 276.

occupied the greater part of Long Island. The Dutch colonists, thus pressed by the English on one side; by the Indians on the other; and, without a single political right worth fighting for, gradually lost heart; and in September, 1664, surrendered the colony to the English. Charles the Second conferred the seignory of this splendid acquisition on his brother James, Duke of York, by whom the name of the colony was changed from the New Netherlands, and of the city from New Amsterdam, to the name, now so familiar in Europe and America, of New York. Before the English absorbed the New Netherlands, the Dutch had swallowed up New Sweden, where a small Scandinavian colony had been commenced in the year 1624, on a plan formed by the great Gustavus Adolphus, and sustained for some years after his death by the wisdom of the celebrated Chancellor Oxenstiern. This colony received the name of New Jersey from the English. By these acquisitions the English colonists in New England were freed from the possibility of an attack on the south; those of Virginia were rendered equally safe on the north; and the English possessions were made to extend along the coast, in an unbroken line, from South Carolina to Maine.

The two Carolinas were planted in the reign of Charles the Second. The first settlers in Carolina were a few hardy New Englanders, who formed a plantation on the river Cape Fear in the year 1660; but the climate not suiting them, most of the colonists returned to their former homes, where they "spread a reproach on the harbour and the soil."* About the same time a few Virginians occupied favourable positions in North Carolina, and the governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, appointed William Drummond, a Scotch emigrant to Virginia, the first governor of North Carolina; and, establishing a colonial assembly, and an easy tenure of lands, "left the infant people to the care of themselves." In 1665 a colony of shipbuilders from Bermudas settled at Albemarle, in North Carolina. In 1677 the colony contained about 4,000 inhabitants; and "a few fat cattle, a little maize, and 800 hogsheads of tobacco formed all their exports."

The first successful attempt to settle South Carolina was made by Sir John Yeomans, who arrived from Barbadoes in the year 1671, bringing with him his negro slaves. Other planters followed, and from that time South Carolina became essentially a planting colony, with slave labour. It soon became the great object of the planters to purchase negro slaves,

* Bancroft, ii., 132.

“without which,” says Wilson, the historian of Carolina, “a planter can never do any great matter.”* The negro race increased so rapidly by importation that in a few years the blacks out-numbered the whites, in the proportion of twenty-two to twelve.† During the inhuman persecution of the Scottish Covenanters; and after Monmouth’s rebellion in the West; many political refugees fled to the Carolinas, which continued to increase in population, though not so rapidly as the northern settlements.

The last great plantation formed by the English race on the American continent, in the seventeenth century, was Pennsylvania, the creation of William Penn, the most distinguished of the many eminent men produced by the Society of Friends, “in scorn called Quakers.” William Penn was the son and heir of Admiral Penn, the gallant officer who added the island of Jamaica to the possessions of England. At his death the admiral left to his son, along with a good estate, a claim on the government for the sum of £16,000.‡ Charles the Second being then, as he usually was, pennyless, paid the debt, by granting to the admiral’s son the territory of Pennsylvania, “which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware.”§

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded liberty of conscience and civil freedom to all settlers. The only point in which it differed materially from the charters of the other plantations was, that it expressly reserved to the English parliament the power of levying taxes in Pennsylvania.

On the 27th October, 1682, William Penn landed in his new settlement, where he organized a free government; treated with the Indians for their lands, on principles of strict justice; and laid the foundation of Philadelphia, “the city of brotherly love.” “In August, 1683, Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages; the conies were as yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of the foreboded streets; the stranger that wandered from the river bank was lost in the thickets of the interminable forest; and two years afterwards the place contained about six hundred houses, and the schoolmaster and the printing-press had begun their work.” In three years from its foundation Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half-a-century. This was the happiest season in the life of William Penn. “I must, without vanity, say” (such was his honest exultation,) “I have led the greatest colony into America

* Bancroft, ii., 171. † Ibid, ii., 171. ‡ Ibid, ii., 362. § Ibid, ii., 362.

than ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found amongst us.”*

During the seventeenth century the population of New England, like that of Virginia, was scattered over the fields, in the clearings of the woods, on the banks of rivers, and along the sea shore. Few towns existed in either province. Jamestown, the chief place of Virginia, consisted of a church, a court-house, and eighteen private houses. Boston, the capital, not only of the State of Massachusetts, but of the whole of New England, was a much more considerable place, and already gave promise of its future greatness. The following is an account of Boston, published in the year 1673 :—“ Boston, the capital, seated very commodious for traffic on the sea shore ; at present a large and spacious town, or rather city, composed of several well-ordered streets, and graced with fair and beautiful houses, which are well inhabited by merchants and tradesmen, who drive a considerable trade for such commodities as the country affordeth to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and other the Carribbe Isles, as also to England and Ireland. It is a place of good strength, having two or three hills adjoining, on which are raised fortifications, with great guns mounted thereon.”†

The following is one of the earliest notices of the city of New York, the real capital of the United States. It describes it as it appeared in the year 1673 :—“ The English that inhabit in those parts for the present are not many, and do principally reside in New York, first built by the Dutch, and called New Amsterdam, a town well seated both for trade, security, and pleasure, in a small isle called Mahatan, regarding the sea, and made so by Hudson’s River, which severeth it from Long Island, a place of great fertility, which said river is very commodious for shipping, being about two leagues broad. The town is large, containing about five hundred well-built houses, which are inhabited by the English and Dutch, who drive a considerable trade with the Indians, for skins of elks, deers, bears, &c., also for those of the beaver, otter, and other furs, and doth likewise enjoy a trade with the English. For civil government it hath a sheriff and justices of peace for their chief magistrates, who are English ; and for its further defence it hath a strong fort, called James’s Fort, which is well maintained with men and ammunition.”‡ Albany, the seat of government in the State of New York, so named from the Scotch title of

* Bancroft, ii, 392.

† Blome’s Britannica, American Plantations, 326.

‡ Ibid, 328.

James, Duke of York, was at this time a trading station and fort, and the most advanced position in "the great west."

The growth of the English colonies on the continent of America was greatly promoted by the profitable trade which they carried on with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the other English settlements in the West Indies ; whilst the West Indian colonists, amply supplied with all the necessities of life from New England, New York, and Virginia, were enabled to apply the whole of their capital and industry to the production of sugar, cotton, indigo, dyewoods, and other articles of tropical growth.

Barbadoes, which was the most valuable West Indian colony of England until near the end of the seventeenth century, was planted in the year 1625, by a party of emigrants sent out by Sir William Courteen, an enterprising London merchant, under authority of a charter granted by James the First to the Earl of Marlborough. Blome, writing of this colony in 1673, says, "Although but of a small circuit, (being reckoned not above eight leagues in length, and five in breadth, where broadest, being of an oval form,) yet it is a potent colony, and able on occasions to arm 10,000 fighting men ; which, with the strength that nature has bestowed upon it, is able to bid defiance to the stoutest foe, having been several times (but in vain) assaulted by the Spaniards."* We learn from Lignon's History of Barbadoes, published in the year 1657, and containing an account of a long residence in the island, that when he arrived there in the good ship Achilles, in the year 1647, he found twenty-two ships taking in cargo in Carlisle Bay. He informs us that indigo, cotton wool, and fustic-wood, with a little bad tobacco, had been the products first raised ; but that when the sugar-canes, brought from Pernambuco, in Brazil, had been fairly tried, they had been found to be "the main point."† The capital necessary for forming a Barbadoes plantation, of 500 acres, was £14,000.‡ The mode of cultivation was to divide the land into the following crops :—200 acres of sugar-canes, 30 of tobacco, 5 of ginger, 5 of cotton wool, 70 of provisions, 10 of pasture, and 120 of wood for the boiling-house. The force used in working a plantation of 500 acres, belonging to Colonel Modiford, a friend of Lignon's, was 96 negroes, 3 Indian women, 28 Christian servants, (convicts,) 45 cattle, and 12 horses. Asses, mules, and camels were also used in the island. "In managing your plantation," Lignon says, "you must be sure to have a factor both at New England

* Blome's *Britannica*, American Plantations, 337.

+ Lignon's *History of Barbadoes*, 27.

‡ *Ibid*, 117.

and Virginia, to provide you with all commodities they afford, that are useful to your plantation, or else your charge will be treble: as from New England, beef, pork, fish of all sorts, dried and pickled; from Virginia live cattle, beef, and tobacco, for theirs at Barbadoes is the worst (I think,) that grows in the world; for cattle no place lies nearer to provide themselves, and the Virginians cannot have a better market to sell them; for an ox of £5, at Virginia, will yield £25 there.”* The capital necessary for planting and working an estate of 500 acres was (as we have already mentioned) £14,000, and Lignon enters into a calculation, to prove that the yearly income of such an estate, after paying all expenses, was £7,516 16s. 10d.† With regard to the value of the whole of the sugar grown in the island, he makes a calculation which is even more startling. His calculation is, that there are 55,072 acres of sugar grown in the island; that a large yield per acre is 4,000 lbs. of sugar, a small one 2,000 lbs., a medium one 3,000 lbs.; this, at 3d. per pound, is £37 10s. an acre, and that sum, multiplied by 55,072 acres, is £2,065,200. He further calculates that the sugar, when clayed, becomes worth the sum of £3,097,800; and when sold in London, at 12d. a pound, as refined sugar, worth £6,195,600.‡ He adds, “Now you see what a vast revenue this little spot of ground can produce in twenty-two months,” that is, from the time when the canes are put into the ground to that when the refined sugar is sold in London; and even allowing for some exaggeration, the revenue was wonderful. The number of Europeans, or persons of European race, is said to have been 50,000. This is scarcely creditable, although convicts were then sent to Barbadoes, as they have been more recently to Australia, and amongst them many political prisoners and prisoners taken in the civil wars. There were also a few Indian slaves. The number of negro slaves was immense, amounting, according to some accounts, to 100,000. Lignon, who was a humane as well as an observing man, has a good word for both these races. In speaking of the fidelity of the Indians, he tells the anecdote on which Sir Richard Steele founded his beautiful story of Inkle and Yarico;§ and of the poor negroes he says, “Though there be a mark set upon these people, which will hardly ever be wiped off, I believe, and I have strong motives to cause me to be of that persuasion, that there are as honest, faithful, and conscionable people amongst them, as amongst those of Europe, or any other part of the world.”||

* Lignon's History of Barbadoes, 112. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, 96. § Spectator, No. 11.

|| Lignon's History of Barbadoes, 53.

The other smaller West Indian Islands were cultivated like Barbadoes, though with less spirit. From the account of Prince Rupert's cruize in the West Indies, recently published in Warburton's eloquent and original life of that amphibious warrior, we gather the following particulars of the early history of these settlements. Of St. Lucia, the author of the *Journal of the Prince's Voyage* says, "This land was formerly inhabited by the English; but their numbers being small, they were cut off by the Indians, and their dwellings laid waste."* Of Dominica he says that it was inhabited solely by the Indians. Of Monserrat, "that it was esteemed the best island for sugar: and made little of any other commodity, only some tobacco, which was valued more than that of any other of the English plantations."† He also speaks of Nevis, St. Christopher, and Antigua as English colonies, but without giving any particulars. The order in which the smaller West Indian colonies were occupied was, Antigua in 1623; Barbadoes in 1625; St. Christopher in 1628; Dominica and Monserrat in 1632; and Nevis, or Nieves, in 1650. The Bermudas were occupied in 1611; the Bahamas in 1629; Honduras in 1650; and the Virgin Islands in 1666.

The large and beautiful island of Jamaica was conquered by Admirals Penn and Venables, under Cromwell's vigorous protectorate, in the year 1655. Speaking of Jamaica, in the year 1673, Blome says, "This island does produce many excellent commodities, which time may bring to good perfection." Of these, he notes "sugars, so good that they outsell those of Barbadoes five per cent."; indigo, cotton, "which is excellent fine"; ginger, "which thriveth exceedingly"; pimento or Jamaica pepper, "very aromatical, and of so curious a gusto, that it hath the mixed taste of several spices; dyewoods and drugs in great abundance; but, above all, cocoa, of which chocolate is made, the principal and most beneficial commodity in all the isle." Coffee was not yet grown in any of these islands, although both coffee and tea were coming into use in England. When Sir Hans Sloane visited Jamaica, about the year 1700,‡ he found that it had become a great, populous, and wealthy colony, in which the production of sugar and other tropical produce was carried on to a vast extent. A most profitable contraband trade, in negroes and English goods, had already sprung up with the Spanish colonies around the Gulf of Mexico. He states that the profits

* E. Warburton's *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, iii., 371. † *Ibid*, iii., 376.

‡ *A Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbadoes, Nieves, St. Christopher, and Jamaica*, &c., by Hans Sloane, F.C.P., Secretary to the Royal Society. London, 1707.

on clothing, serges, and others goods sold to the Spanish smugglers, amounted to fifty-five per cent., and that many negroes were sold to the Spanish planters." "When the trade of the *Assiento*," says Sir Hans Sloane, "for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, was in the island, it was not only very beneficial to the African company, but to the governors of the island."* This trade was restored to England by the treaty of Utrecht, and became a source of immense wealth, but of wealth stained with blood and tears.

The population of the different English settlements, on the continent of America, was nearly as follows, at the time of the revolution of 1688 :—Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, 44,000 souls; New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Providence, 6,000 each; Connecticut, 17,000 to 20,000; New York, 26,000; New Jersey, 10,000; Pennsylvania and Delaware, 12,000; Virginia, 50,000; and Carolina, 8,000. This gives a population of 176,000, eighty years after the landing of the first colonists in Virginia. As the population of America doubles itself in twenty years, it is probable that it was not much less than half-a-million, at the accession of George the First, in the year 1715. The West Indies may then have contained a population of about a quarter of a million of inhabitants, giving a total colonial population of from seven to eight hundred thousand souls. The effect produced by these flourishing settlements on the prosperity of England was already very great. Sir Joseph Child calculated that one Englishman, settled in the plantations, gave employment to four Englishmen at home or on the ocean; and, though this calculation cannot be literally verified, yet there can be no doubt that the amount of employment thus created was immense. Sir William Petty states, in his *Political Arithmetic*, published in 1676, that about 40,000 tons of shipping was then employed in the American trade and the Guinea trade, which was very closely connected with it; and Dr. Davenant says, that it appears, from a careful examination of the custom-house books, during the six years between 1682 and 1688, that the yearly value of the exports from England to America, consisting chiefly of manufactures and implements of husbandry and trade, was £350,000; whilst the yearly value of the imports, consisting of tobacco, sugar, ginger, cotton wool, fustic, indigo, fish, (from Newfoundland,) and staves, masts, and furs, (from New England,) was not less than £950,000. Of the colonial produce thus imported, no less than

* Sloane's Voyage. Introduction, 16

£600,000 worth was re-exported, either to the continent or to Ireland and Scotland, which then had little, if any, share of the direct colonial trade.

It has been seen that the sugar trade was introduced into Liverpool about the year 1667, when the first sugar-refinery was built in Sugar-house Close, Dale-street. The tobacco trade was introduced a little earlier, and soon became the great trade of the port. We learn, from the correspondence of Captain Tarleton, one of the first shipowners of Liverpool, in the reign of Charles the Second, that he had extensive transactions with Virginia and Maryland, in the year 1676; and the first Liverpool policy of insurance which I have been able to find is a policy on Captain Tarleton's good ship *Anne and Sarah*, by which she is insured to Barbadoes and home again, for a premium of four per cent. on the ship and cargo. By the close of the century the tobacco trade of Virginia was firmly settled in Liverpool, and had taken the lead of all others. In the year 1701 Sir Thomas Johnson, then one of the members for Liverpool, states, in a letter to one of his constituents, that a threatened interference with the tobacco trade would destroy half the shipping in Liverpool;* in 1702 he mentions that the Irish and Scotch tobacco, that is, the supplies for those countries, was imported into Liverpool;† in the same year Sir Thomas's brother-in-law, Mr. Peter Hall, informs Mr. Richard Norris, that two new custom-house surveyors, Messrs. Manly and Walker, had come down to Liverpool, who had reduced the allowance for damaged tobacco from 150 lbs. the hogshead to 50 lbs., "and put all the Pilgarlics into a cold sweat."‡ He then gives an amusing account of a dispute between these new brooms and himself, assisted by Messrs. Clayton and Houghton, and eight other tobacco-importers, in which, "with much ado, they brought them, (the custom-house officers,) to stand on their feet, and hope in a few days to learn them to go"; which they afterwards did, for the facetious Mr. Hall adds, in a postscript:—"We have now clearly gained our point with Messrs. Manly and Walker, who are honest, rational, ingenious men, and big with expectation at first, and treated us as they believed us to be, robbers; but our light now shines in darkness, and there is not one word to be believed that was spoken against us by the poor devils; they declare that they find us to be an honest, industrious people, and that we deserve encouragement."§ In the same year, Sir Thomas Johnson speaks of the tobacco trade "as one of the chiefest trades in England;"|| and in another letter he informs Mr. Richard Norris,

* Norris's Papers, 81.

+ Ibid, 89.

† Ibid, 99.

§ Ibid, 100.

|| Ibid, 110.

that the custom-house officers, Manly and Walker, had not left Liverpool with quite so high an opinion of the tobacco-importers as Mr. Peter Hall supposed, for he says, "Sir William Deans, told me to-day, he dined at a (London) merchant's house, where all the surveyors of the port (of London) dined; and, after some discourse about tobacco, and his complaining how they had lost their trade, he said you had 100,000 (lbs.) allowed for damages in one ship, and some other circumstances, that I found it came from Manly. He could give an account of the town (of Liverpool), and how they lived, and said he was told Mr. Houghton had a fine house, and kept good wine, but we all lived frugally; Mr. Clayton had a fine house, but it was not furnished. Now, I suppose these gentlemen thought we did not make enough of them: *when they come again we shall know better how to deal with them.* WE ARE SADLY ENVYED, GOD KNOWS, ESPECIALLY THE TOBACCO TRADE, AT HOME AND ABROAD:"* nor were they altogether free from internal danger, for Sir Thomas Johnson and Mr. Clayton, the members for the borough, quarrelled on the subject of tobacco, and Mr. Clayton wrote a letter on it, which led to the following sharp comment from Sir Thomas:—"Certainly his letter is a great reflection on all the merchants in town that ever repacked; my neighbour, R. H. [oughton] does not escape. Alas! there's the rise of it; he sees he's out-done: it's a sad temper, God knows; when these gentlemen come to be partners, they will make havock with us, but, as you say, *I hope they will not stop up the river!*"†

In spite of envy and strife, Liverpool retained, and still retains, much of the American tobacco trade, which was the great trade of America, until it was outgrown by the cotton trade, at the beginning of the present century. In the year 1702 the shipping and seamen belonging to the principal ports of the kingdom were as follows:—London, 560 vessels, of an average burden of 150 tons, and 10,065 seamen; Bristol, 165 vessels, of an average burden of 105 tons, and 2,359 seamen; Liverpool, 102 vessels, of an average burden of from 84 to 85 tons, and 1,101 seamen; Hull, 115 vessels, average burden 66 tons, and 187 seamen, (80 of the Hull vessels were laid up at this time;) Yarmouth, "the chief and only place for the herring trade,"‡ 143 vessels, average burden 62 tons, seamen 668; Exeter, 121 vessels, burden 58 or 59 tons, and 970 seamen; Whitby, 110 vessels of 75 tons, and 571 seamen; Scarborough, 100 vessels, of about 69 tons burden, and 606 seamen. No other port had

* Norris's Papers, 114.

+ Ibid, 119.

‡ Captain Grenville Collins.

100 vessels. Newcastle had 163, measuring 11,000 tons, or above 73 tons each; Ipswich had 39, measuring 11,170 tons, or above 286 tons on an average. In this year, (1702,) the number of vessels belonging to all the ports of England was 3,281; the tonnage 261,222 tons; the average burden 80 tons. The number of seamen was 27,196.* This was exclusive of the royal navy, which had consisted, in the year 1695, of 200 vessels, of the burden of 112,400 tons, manned by 45,000 seamen. In the years 1713, 14, and 15, the closing years of the reign of Queen Anne, the average value of the whole exports of the kingdom, including native produce and colonial produce re-exported, was £7,696,573.

It will be seen, from the facts above stated, that Liverpool had become the third seaport of the kingdom, previous to the accession of the House of Hanover. I now proceed to trace its history under that illustrious House; and to show the steps by which it rose to its present position of the first outport of England, and the rival, in foreign commerce, of its time-honoured capital.

* From returns made to the Commissioners of Customs, quoted in Knight's Pictorial History of England, iv., 704.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE FIRST TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

I now proceed to trace the modern history of Liverpool from the accession of the house of Hanover to the middle of the nineteenth century, a period of almost uninterrupted internal tranquillity, during which the population of the port has increased nearly a hundred-fold, and its wealth and commerce have augmented in an equal proportion.

In the first year of the reign of George the First an act was passed, authorizing the mayor and corporation to remove the ruins of the ancient castle of Liverpool. This building, erected by King John about the year 1208, had been for five hundred years the feudal fortress and state prison of the district. The walls were destroyed in the reign of Charles the Second, lest the castle should fall into the hands of the discontented; but the site remained covered with ruins until the accession of the house of Hanover. By an act passed in the year 1714, George the First, as Duke of Lancaster, gave the site of the castle to the mayor and corporation for ever, on payment of a nominal rent of £6 13s. 4d. a-year, to build a church for the use of the inhabitants. This act, after mentioning the act of the tenth and eleventh of “King William the Third, of glorious memory,” authorizing the building of St. Peter’s Church, and also referring to the ancient church or chapel of St. Nicholas, states, that “the said town and borough of Liverpool, by the increase of buildings, and great number of inhabitants employed in trade and commerce there, is become much more populous than when the said act was made, so that the said church, and the said parochial chapel there, cannot contain the inhabitants, who would resort thither to attend divine service, according to the rights and usages of the Church of England; and, therefore, the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the said town are willing and desirous, at their own charge, to build and endow another church or chapel in a convenient place, within or upon the soil and site of the said late castle; and our most gracious sovereign lord the king, being of his great goodness and zeal for the honour of God and our most holy religion, piously dis-

posed to promote so good a work, by assuring to them the said soil and site of the late castle of Liverpool, does make over the site of the castle to them for that purpose, on condition that they shall build a church upon it, and secure to the curate or chaplain a salary of not less than fifty pounds a-year, but more at the discretion of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses." In compliance with the powers of this act, St. George's Church was built a few years afterwards, on the site of the ancient castle of Liverpool; and thus that ancient memorial of feudal times was swept away for ever.*

Very shortly after the accession of George the First, the inhabitants of Liverpool had an opportunity of showing their attachment to the house of Hanover, and to the principles of constitutional freedom which placed that family on the throne, and which it has so steadily sustained for more than a hundred and thirty years. The Stuart party was still strong in Scotland, Ireland, and amongst the Roman Catholics and the High Churchmen of England. So long as a daughter of James the Second reigned, the Jacobites did not despair of securing the throne for his son without bloodshed; and during the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne they received so much encouragement from her ministers, especially from Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond, as greatly to strengthen their hopes. At the death of Queen Anne all these hopes were destroyed by the unopposed accession of George the First, an event which left them only the alternative of submission or rebellion. The greater part of the Jacobites, making a virtue of necessity, submitted; but a few rash and ambitious men determined to risk everything, rather than abandon the object of so many wishes and intrigues. Hence rebellions burst out in the autumn of 1715, both in the Highlands of Scotland and the North of England, the latter of which extended to Lancashire. The leader of the Scottish rebellion was the Earl of Mar; the leader of the English was a Northumbrian fox-hunter named Forster. Had the ministers of George the First had the appointing of these two commanders, they could not have chosen two men better suited for their purpose; for Mar would justly have passed for the most incapable general of his age, if Forster had not clearly proved that there was one still more incapable.

But if there was little judgment there was enough of zeal amongst the Highlanders and the Roman Catholic gentry of England. At one time the Earl of Mar had ten thousand men under his orders, and was strong enough to send Brigadier Mackintosh, of Borlum, with 2,000 Highlanders,

* Local Acts, first George the First.

to join Forster and his Northumbrian levies in a march into Lancashire. Forster's forces were about 1,200 strong, and consisted chiefly of horsemen, without discipline or organization. After a quarrel between the Highlanders and the English Jacobites, which led to the departure of upwards of five hundred of the former back to their hills, the forces of Forster and Mackintosh marched southward, without meeting with any opposition. They entered Lancashire early in the month of November, and advanced to Preston, where they received some reinforcements, though much fewer than they expected, from the Roman Catholic gentry of Lancashire and their dependents.

No town in England had adopted the principles of the Revolution of 1688 more heartily than Liverpool, or maintained them with greater steadiness and courage. As soon as the approach of the Jacobites was heard of, men of all ranks joined to place the town in a defensible position. The waters of the pool were dammed up, so as to cover the approaches from the east; and batteries, armed with seventy pieces of cannon, were constructed at the north side of the town, where alone it was accessible. All the seamen of the port were landed, and joined in manning the batteries.* The town was thus not only rendered secure, along with the custom-house, the public monies, and the property in the warehouses, but it became the refuge and head-quarters of the Hanoverian party in Lancashire. This it continued to be, until Generals Wills and Carpenter arrived before Preston with a strong body of regular cavalry, and, after a sharp skirmish, compelled the Jacobite host to surrender. This surrender took place on the 10th of November, the day on which Mar's army was disorganized, and his plans were defeated, by the Duke of Argyle, in the hard-fought battle of Dunblane.

After the rebellion had been entirely suppressed, a commission was opened at Liverpool, before Mr. Justice Eyre, Mr. Baron Bury, and Mr. Baron Montague, to try the prisoners. No less than one hundred and sixty-one prisoners were tried, all of whom were convicted of high treason, except seven. Of those convicted, upwards of thirty were hung; four of them on Liverpool Heath, near the top of Shaw's-brow. The most noted of the prisoners executed at Liverpool was a gentleman of Northumberland, of good landed estate, named Collingwood, a member of the family which, in happier times, gave birth to Admiral Lord Collingwood, the friend of Nelson, and one of the brightest ornaments of the British navy. After this rebellion, the Jacobites remained quiet

* Corporation Records.

for thirty years. During the greater part of that time Sir Robert Walpole was at the head of affairs; and, soon after he had been raised to that arduous post, the town council of Liverpool expressed their opinion of his fitness for the office, by conferring on him and on his son-in-law, Lord Malpas, the freedom of the borough.*

It has already been mentioned that the dock committee, vigorously supported by the town council, commenced the forming of the Old Dock, immediately after the passing of the act of the eighth of Anne. After continuing their labours until the year 1717, the third of George the First, they found that their money was done, but not their work. In addition to the £6,000 which they had been authorized to borrow, and which they had borrowed and spent, they had expended £5,000 of their own money, and they still required £4,000 to complete the work. Another act was accordingly sought for in the third of George the First, authorizing the mayor, bailiffs, and common council to borrow that sum, (£4,000,) on security of the rates. In order to improve the security, the term during which the rates granted by the act of eighth Queen Anne were to have been collected was extended to thirty-five years, a further term of fourteen years being added to the original term of twenty-one years. After the expiration of the thirty-five years, the rates were to be reduced to one-fourth of the original amount; an arrangement which was set aside by the subsequent dock acts. In the preamble of the act it is stated that the dock trustees had begun to make the wet dock or basin, and had carried it on so far as to be capable of taking in, receiving, and harbouring ships, but that the works were not near perfected or finished; nor were the proposed landmarks and buoys placed, according to the act of 1709, although upwards of £11,000 had been expended on the works. The act then proceeds to give powers for borrowing £4,000 of additional capital, and for collecting the original rates for fourteen years longer. In return for these powers, the mayor and corporation undertake to complete the docks, and also to place at least three buoys and two landmarks, in or at the entrance of Formby Channel, (which had never been buoyed before,) and two buoys on the Hoyle sand, one on the north-west, and the other on the north-east, spits of the said sand; and to complete the buoying of the channels before the 25th December, 1718. Such is the substance of the second dock act.†

The mayor and corporation could not well have gone into the money market at a better time for raising capital to complete the dock. About

* Minute Book of the Corporation.

† Dock Act, third George the First.

the year 1719 the interest of money fell below five per cent. for the first time. The Bank of England and the South Sea Company were then contending for the management of the National Debt, which amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling. Twenty-six years before, the bank had lent all its original capital to the government at eight per cent.,* but the struggle in 1719-20 was to decide which company should have the management of the debt, at the rate of five per cent. interest for a certain term of years, and of four per cent. afterwards.† The country was at that time at peace with all the world; the price of grain was wonderfully low, owing to great improvements in agriculture and a succession of good harvests; the trade with the West Indies, Africa, the American plantations, and the East Indies was pouring wealth into the country; and, at the same time that the capital of the nation was increasing, commercial credit was extending in a still greater ratio. The greatest and most powerful of joint-stock banks, the Bank of England, had been at work for twenty-six years; and the South Sea Company, another great joint-stock company, not possessing any legitimate means of employing its capital, was applying it to organize a system of gambling, which nothing could equal, unless it was the gambling arising out of the Mississippi scheme of the projector Law of Lauriston. The excitement of that time gave men spirits to undertake some good but difficult schemes, along with a multitude of bad ones. It was during this time (about 1720) that the first Liverpool dock was completed. In the same year acts were passed for rendering the rivers Mersey and Irwell navigable from Liverpool to Manchester; the river Weaver navigable from the salt district of Cheshire to the estuary of the Mersey; and the river Douglas navigable from the coal-field of Wigan to the mouth of the Ribble. Shortly after the South Sea year, when confidence had again been restored by the prudent measures of Sir Robert Walpole, the act for constructing the first turnpike road ever formed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool was passed, namely, the road from Liverpool to Preseot. Previous to that time the Lancashire roads were nothing better than horse-tracks, scarcely passable for wheeled carriages, except in very fine weather; nor was there a proper carriage road from Liverpool to the great north road at Warrington until about the time of the accession of George the Third.

As the improvement of the rivers Mersey and Irwell, from Liverpool to Manchester; of the river Weaver, from the point where it falls into the Mersey to the salt district at Winsford-bridge, and afterwards to

* Francis's History of the Bank of England, i., 62.

† Ibid, i., 120.

Nantwich ; and of the river Douglas, from the coal-field of Wigan to the sea, by which a cheap though circuitous mode of communication was established with Liverpool, were all events of the greatest importance to the rise of Liverpool, the following sketch of the acts by which those great improvements were authorized will be read with interest.

The act for making and keeping the rivers Mersey and Irwell navigable from Liverpool to Manchester was passed in the seventh year of George the First. It sets forth that the making and keeping those rivers navigable for boats, barges, lighters, and other vessels, from Liverpool to Hunt's Bank, in Manchester, would be very beneficial for trade, advantageous to the poor, and convenient for the carriage of coal, cannel, stone, timber, and other goods, wares, and merchandise, and would tend very much to the employing and increase of watermen and seamen, and be a means of preserving the highways. It therefore proposes to appoint, and does appoint, certain parties as undertakers, for making the rivers Mersey and Irwell navigable from Liverpool to Manchester. The following are the parties named as undertakers of this work :—Oswald Mosley, of Ancoats, and George Kenyon, of Peele, Esquires ; Joseph Yates, John Leech, Joseph Byrom, Ralph Houghton, James Bradshaw, Joseph Vigor, John Lees, Samuel Clowes, James Bayley, Matthew Graves, Jeremiah Bowers, William Shrigley, William Holme, Francis Devonport, James Marsden, Richard Holden, Hamnet Kirke, Daniel Bayley, James Lightbourne, John Greaves, Jeremiah Bradshaw, Peter Wolstenholme, Daniel Lees, Oswald Ronald, Abraham Hayworth, Thomas Gandy, James Gartside, Edward Neild, Henry Booth, Ralph Banks, John Seddon, Samuel Boardman, and John Moss, all of Manchester, gentlemen ; and Richard Gildart, Thomas Steers, and Henry Trayford, of Liverpool, gentlemen. These parties the act authorises to scour, enlarge, or straighten the rivers Mersey and Irwell ; to make new cuts for shortening distances ; to cut down trees ; to build bridges and form sluices ; to take materials from adjoining lands ; to alter bridges, turn highways, pull down mills or wears ; to make towing paths, and to do all other matters or things necessary for making, maintaining, continuing, and perfecting the navigable passage of the rivers Mersey and Irwell. The act further provides that the water of the river shall not be raised or dammed up to such a height as to hinder the working of corn mills ; that no wharf shall be built within a mile of Bank Quay, Warrington, without consent ; that coal, cannel, stone, timber, and other goods carried along the rivers Mersey and Irwell shall pay duties to the undertakers, not exceeding 3s. 4d. per ton ; and that on payment of those

duties the said rivers shall be esteemed navigable from Liverpool to Manchester, and free for all the king's subjects paying the said duties. The act is declared to be a public act. Under its provisions the Mersey and Irwell navigation was managed until the year 1794, when an act was passed, forming the then proprietors into an incorporated company, though without making any important change in their powers or responsibilities.

The act for rendering the river Douglas or Asland navigable from the river Ribble to Wigan was passed in the sixth George the First, 1720. It sets forth that the making and keeping the Douglas navigable would be very beneficial to trade, advantageous to the poor, and convenient for the carriage of coal, cannel, stones, slate, and other goods, and merchandises to and from the towns and places adjacent, and would very much tend to the employing and increase of watermen and seamen, and be a means to preserve the highways. The act, therefore, appoints William Squire, Esq., and Thomas Steers, gentleman, both of Liverpool, undertakers, with full powers to render the river Douglas navigable, and to demand and collect tolls or dues, not exceeding 2s. 6d. a ton, on all coal, cannel, stone, slate, goods, wares, merchandises, and commodities conveyed along the river. On payment of these tolls all the king's liege subjects, whatsoever, are to enjoy a free passage along the river Douglas, with boats, barges, lighters, and other vessels.

The act for rendering the river Weaver navigable from Frodsham on the Mersey to Winsford-bridge, in the county of Chester, sets forth, that the rendering of that river navigable will not only be very beneficial and convenient, as well for the carriage of salt and cheese, the great manufactures and produce of the said county, as of other goods and merchandise; and appoints John Egerton, of Olton, Esquire, John Anson, of Lees, Esquire, and Richard Vernon, of Middlewich, undertakers, to carry out the said act, with full powers to render the river Weaver navigable from Frodsham to Winsford-bridge. The tolls fixed by this act were extremely moderate, (1s. 3d. a ton,) until the charge of making the river navigable had been met, and only 1s. a ton ever after. The river to be navigable to all parties paying the above-named tolls. The act further states, that the cost of effecting the improvement of the Weaver is expected to be £9,000, and that the following parties have agreed to advance it: namely, the Hon. Langham Booth, Esq., £1,000; Sir George Warburton, Bart., £1,000; John Egerton, Esq., £1,000; Henry Legh, Esq., £500; Randle Dodd, Esq., £500; John Anson, Esq., £500; the Rev. Philip Egerton, Doctor in Divinity, £500; Henry

Mainwaring, Esq., £500 ; Thomas Vernon, Esq., £500 ; Richard Vernon, gentleman, £1,000 ; Israel Atherton, gentleman, £500 ; John Williams, Esq., £500 ; Peter Warburton, Esq., £500 ; and James Mainwaring, Esq., £500. For these sums the undertakers are to pay £5 per cent. interest, and £1 per cent. risk, until they are repaid. After all the sums borrowed have been repaid, the net income arising from the tolls is to be applied to the repair of the county bridges ; to the repair of the road from Frodsham-bridge to Winsford-bridge ; and the surplus to the repairs of the highways of the county. In the seventh George the Second an act was passed for extending the navigation of the river Weaver from Winsford-bridge to the town of Nantwich. In this act "salt, cheese, and corn" are declared to be the great produce and manufactures of the county.

In the reign of George the First, one of the most permanent, prosperous, and useful of the charities of Liverpool was established, and that chiefly by the noble generosity and untiring zeal of one man.

Bryan Blundell, the founder of that noble and flourishing charity, the Blue Coat Hospital, was one of the most remarkable men whom Liverpool produced in the early part of the eighteenth century. It appears, from a brief and modest sketch of Mr. Blundell's life, written by himself, that in his earlier years he was a shipowner, and the commander of his own ship, in the foreign trade. He and the Rev. Robert Stithe, one of the rectors of Liverpool, were very intimate, and being alike benevolent and generous, they agreed to use their best endeavours to found a charity-school in Liverpool. They began by soliciting subscriptions from the mayor and the most respectable inhabitants, and gradually got together a yearly subscription of from sixty to seventy pounds. With this they built a little school-house, which cost thirty-five pounds, and appointed a master at twenty pounds a-year, who was paid out of the money collected at the sacraments. They then took fifty poor children into the school, clothed, and gave them learning. Mr. Robert Stithe was made treasurer : "and I," says Mr. Blundell, "went to sea on my employment, telling Mr. Stithe that I hoped to be giving him something every voyage for the school." In 1713 Mr. Stithe died ; but from 1709 to the time of his death Mr. Blundell had given him two hundred and fifty pounds, to the support of the school, earned on his several voyages, two hundred of which he had put out to interest. When Mr. Blundell came home, in 1713, he found that his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Stithe, was dead, and that the new rector, Mr. Richmond, was much indisposed at times, and not

able to undertake such a charge. He therefore determined to leave off the sea, and undertake the care of the school, of which he was chosen treasurer in 1714. At that time there was £200 at interest, which was all the stock the school had. "In a little time," says Mr. Blundell, "I saw some of the children begging about the streets, their parents being so poor as not to have bread for them, which gave me great concern, insomuch that I thought to use my best endeavours to make provision for them, so as to take them wholly from their parents, which I hoped might be promoted by a subscription." This subscription produced between £2,000 and £3,000, of which sum, however, Mr. Blundell himself gave £750, being the tenth part of his whole property. He also determined to apply the tenth part of all his future earnings to the same object, and, in fulfilment of this generous determination, gradually made up his £750 into £2,000. Out of these various funds the Blue Coat Hospital of that day was built, at a cost of £2,000 to £3,000, and was finished in 1718. This noble benefactor of the poor of Liverpool continued to prosper in all his undertakings to the end of his life. "So great," says he, "has been the mercy and providence of God, in prospering me in business, that I have made up the £750 to £2,000, which I have paid to the use of the school; and my children (six in number, the youngest of them now near thirty years of age) are so far from wanting and being worse for what I have given to the school, that they are all benefactors to it, some of them more than £100 at a time." In 1726 ten more children were taken into the school, in addition to the original fifty. In 1735 the whole sixty children were taken in to lodge and diet, wholly from their parents, at the cost of the school. In 1742 ten more children were admitted, making the number seventy. In 1744 Mr. Foster Cunliffe gave a thousand pounds to the school. "Our stock by good Providence increasing," says Mr. Blundell, "and being very desirous of seeing one hundred children in the place before I died, I got a second instrument drawn on parchment in 1747, and solicited subscriptions to enable us to take in thirty children more. Accordingly £2,000 was subscribed, upon which we determined to trust to the good providence of God, which hath always made up our deficiencies; and in 1748 we took in thirty children more, so that there are now seventy boys and thirty girls, in all one hundred; a sight I much and earnestly desired to see before I died. The charge is now £700 per annum, towards which we have, by the blessing of God, attained to a stock or income of £100 a-year, the other £300 comes as gifts and

legacies, so that we have never yet wanted at the year's end, but always continue to increase a little. I have now been treasurer thirty-seven years, in which time more than four hundred children have been put out apprentices, mostly to sea, in which business many of them are masters and some mates of ships; several of them have become benefactors to the school, and useful members of society."* Mr. Bryan Blundell lived to the year 1756, and the Blue Coat Hospital, which he thus founded and sustained for so many years, continues to flourish, and that on a much wider scale than he ever hoped to see. Two of his sons held the office of treasurer after his death, and all his descendants, to the present time, have taken a strong interest in an institution which reflects such lasting honour on the founder of their family.

Imperfect as were the means of communicating with the interior in the beginning of the reign of George the First Liverpool continued to increase in population and wealth; and in 1724 the corporation determined to erect a third church for the accommodation of the inhabitants. It appears, from an old minute-book of the corporation, that Mr. Edward Litherland was ordered to pull down the walls of the old castle in 1724; and on the 14th of April, 1725, the following resolution was agreed to, at a meeting of the town council:—"Ordered, that an estimate and plans of a new church, to be erected in the late castle, upon the ground where the old large stone tower, and the stone buildings adjoining the same northward, now stand, being now laid before the council by Mr. Thomas Steers and Mr. James Shawe, and this council having taken the same into consideration, and being desirous to promote so pious a work, which is now much wanted, it is ordered with all convenient speed to erect a convenient church with a proper spire and steeple. Estimated cost, £1,488 3s. 2d." The stone-work of the church was shortly after let to Mr. Thomas Steers, who agreed to finish it for £800; and the new church, to which the name of St. George's was given, was proceeded with, and completed in the year 1734.

As the commerce of Liverpool increased, the income of the corporation increased in the same ratio. The average yearly income of the corporation, during the first ten years of the 18th century, was £1,121; the yearly average, from 1721 to 1731, was £1,723.†

The town dues, which serve as a measure of the commerce of the port, produced £352 18s. 6d. in the year 1708; £500 16s. 6½d. in 1722;

* Narrative by Mr. Bryan Blundell, in Mrs. Trimmer's Life and Writings.

† Memorandum Book of the Corporation.

£527 6s. 4d. in 1723; £483 18s. 2½d. in 1724; £574 0s. 10½d. in 1725; £672 0s. 9d. in 1726; £588 11s. 11½d. in 1727; £561 14s. 8½d. in 1728; £708 9s. 9½d. in 1729; £588 17s. 1¾d. in 1730; £648 16s. 3d. in 1731; £795 15s. 10d. in 1732; and £705 0s. 7d. in 1733. Judging from the rate of increase, the trade of the port more than doubled itself in twenty years, in the reigns of George the First and Second.*

At this time the corporation raised a considerable part of its income by freemen's fines. No one was allowed to carry on any business without buying the freedom of the town; but any one was allowed to buy it, at a moderate price. The fine of a merchant was from £20 to £30; that of a tradesman from £5 to £10; that of a mechanic, or gardener, from 10s. to 20s. The corporation received £300 or £400 a-year from freemen's fines at the beginning of the reign of George the Second.†

The act for constructing the Old Dock, the first dock ever formed in Liverpool, was passed in the year 1709. Twenty-seven years after that date a single dock was found to be insufficient for the commerce of the port; and it was determined to construct a second one, to which the name of the Salthouse Dock was given, from a large salt manufactory which stood near the ground on which it was formed. It was also resolved to run out a pier to the north of the Old Dock, to shelter vessels which had left the dock, and were waiting in the river for a fair wind. The mayor and corporation of Liverpool took the same active and spirited part in constructing the Salthouse Dock and the pier which they had taken in forming the Old Dock. At a meeting of the town council, held on the 11th January, 1737, (the tenth George the Second,) the following statement and resolutions were agreed to by the town council:—"It having been heretofore and is now again represented to this council, that there is an absolute necessity for an addition to be made to the present dock or basin, for lightships to lie in whilst refitting, and other necessary uses: And (also) for a convenient pier to be erected, in the open harbour, on the north side of the entrance into the present dock, towards Redcross-street, for the safety of all ships when ready to sail from the port to lie within till a fair wind happens, and which very often are prevented when in the wet dock or basin by other ships lying before at the entrance, and then all pressing to get out before them, to the manifest prejudice, frequent delay, and often loss of their voyages: And that in case (of) a fire happening in the wet dock (which God avert!) it would be of the greatest consequence and safety to the rest of the ships to fly into and to be preserved from:

* Memorandum Book of the Corporation.

† Ibid.

And that according to a plan and estimate lately made by Mr. Thomas Steers, the same will take up at least seven aeres of the adjaecent waste ground of and belonging to this corporation, and will cost at least the sum of £12,000, to make and perfect such work and conveniences: and the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council now taking the same into consideration, and that the making of such addition and pier will tend greatly to encourage trade, advance his majesty's revenues, and be a public good and safety to all ships trading to and from this port, do order that so much of the said waste ground as shall be sufficient for the making of such addition and convenience, on the south side of the said entrance into the present wet dock, and for such pier and compass within as shall be necessary on the north side entrance, be granted and set apart to and for such use or uses for ever, saving and reserving to the corporation for ever the benefit and advantage of selling, letting, and granting the waste ground adjoining, in such manner as they might have done in case the said addition and pier had not been made: And it is further ordered that the corporation do advance and appropriate out of the town customs, or take up upon the credit thereof, the sum of £1,000 towards the first charge to carry on such pier, which it is conceived should be first made, and will be of great advantage to the harbour and port, and that the treasurer do pay as shall be first wanted, and take it up at interest under the common seal, if occasion be, and be allowed the same in his accounts."*

The act authorizing the forming of this second Liverpool dock, and the running out of a pier into the river, for the protection of vessels arrived from sea or ready to sail on their outward voyages, was passed in the year 1737, the eleventh of George the Second. The act commences with a recital of the provisions of the acts of the eighth of Queen Anne and the third of George the First, for forming and completing the Old Dock. It then proceeds as follows:—"And whereas the said dock or basin has been made, finished, and perfected, pursuant to the directions of the said recited acts, and made capable of taking, receiving, and harbouring a considerable number of ships, which has tended to the increase of navigation and improvement of trade within the said town and port of Liverpool; and in order to enable the trustees to complete or finish the said basin, they borrowed and took up upon the credit of the said recited acts several sums of money, and there now remains due to the persons who have advanced and lent the same the sum of four thousand eight

* Corporation Records, ix., 536.

hundred and thirty pounds at interest : and whereas by reason of the straightness of the entrance into the said dock or basin, from the open harbour of Liverpool, the navigation into and from the said dock or basin is greatly obstructed, and ships or vessels lying in the said dock or basin are frequently prevented from getting out to sea, and ships and vessels lying in the harbour without the said dock or basin are frequently forced on shore and lost, to the great damage of the merchants and owners of ships, and (of) the trade of the said town and port of Liverpool : and whereas, in case the said dock or basin was enlarged, and a pier erected and built in the open harbour of Liverpool, on the north side of the entrance into the said dock or basin, such losses, mischiefs, and inconveniences might in a great measure be prevented, and the harbour be rendered more safe and commodious for the lying, lading, and unlading of ships and other vessels resorting thereto, or trading within the said port : and the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of the said borough and corporation of Liverpool, have agreed to grant another piece of ground, containing seven acres, or thereabouts, parcel of the ground belonging to the said corporation, adjoining to the entrance into the said dock or basin, on the north and south sides of such entrance, where such pier and additional dock may be made and erected, to be held, used, and applied to that purpose for ever ; and have also agreed to lay out, apply, and advance out of the common stock of the said corporation the sum of one thousand pounds, for accomplishing so useful and necessary a work : but as the rates and duties arising by virtue of and under the said recited acts, and the sum so agreed to be collected or advanced by the said corporation, will not be sufficient to answer the expenses of such new works, and discharge the debt due on the securities made in pursuance of the said acts, a design so useful and beneficial to the said town and port of Liverpool, and to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, cannot be effected and carried into execution, unless the said former acts, and the terms, rates, and duties thereby granted and continued, be enlarged, and other provisions made for the purposes before-mentioned : may it, therefore, please your most excellent majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons, in the present parliament assembled : that from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, 1738, the said piece or parcel of ground, containing seven acres, or thereabouts, so agreed to be granted by the said corporation as aforesaid, shall be, remain, enure, and be applied or employed to or for the use before-

mentioned, and to no other use whatever ; and that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of the said borough of Liverpool, and their successors, and they shall have by this act full power and authority to enlarge or make an addition to the said wet dock, and erect or build, or set up, a pier in the open harbour of Liverpool, on the north side of the entrance into the said wet dock or basin, of such materials and dimensions as to them shall seem requisite and necessary for the purposes before-mentioned." For the effecting these objects the act authorizes the collecting of the original dock dues for a further term of thirty-one years, after the expiration of the term of thirty-five years mentioned in the previous acts. It authorizes the borrowing of the sum of £14,000, on security of the rates. It provides that a board, consisting of twelve commissioners, shall be appointed to inspect, audit, and adjust the account of the collections, receipts, and disbursements of all the moneys collected and levied under the act ; four members of this board to be nominated yearly by the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council, and eight by the merchants inhabiting the said town of Liverpool, and being owners or part-owners of ships belonging to the port of Liverpool aforesaid, or the major part of them ; which said twelve so appointed shall be invested with such and the same powers and authority in all respects, and to all intents, constructions, and purposes as were given to and invested in the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the said former acts, or either of them. It further authorizes the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council to erect lamps about the docks, for the security of life and property. This act, like the two previous dock acts, is declared to be a public act. The works were proceeded with immediately, and when completed increased the area of the Liverpool docks from four to eleven acres, whilst the pier erected to the north of the docks served as a breakwater for shipping in the river.

In the years 1745 and 1746 the merchants and other inhabitants of Liverpool had again an opportunity of showing their attachment to the house of Hanover, and to the principles which placed it on the throne of England. The country was at that time involved in a war with France and Spain ; and the young pretender, Prince Charles Edward, thinking it a favourable opportunity to assert the claims of the house of Stuart, landed in the Highlands of Scotland, where he was joined by several thousand Highlanders, under the command of their hereditary chiefs. At the head of this gallant force he seized the city of Edinburgh, defeated General Cope's army at Preston Pans, and advancing boldly

into England, by way of Carlisle, Lancaster, Preston, and Manchester, reached Derby on the 4th December, 1745.

The first news of the landing of the pretender in the Highlands was communicated to the government by the mayor of Liverpool, Owen Pritchard, Esq., having been brought to Liverpool by Captain Robinson, the commander of a vessel trading to the Baltic, who put into the Isle of Skye on his return voyage, a few days after the pretender had landed. An express was immediately forwarded to the office of the secretary of state; and the mayor and principal inhabitants of Liverpool, foreseeing that another attempt would be made to invade England, at once began to make vigorous preparations to defend the town against the Jacobites. A trust-worthy person, Mr. Samuel Street, was sent to Edinburgh, to report as to the number and progress of the rebels; and a sum of £1,000, which was gradually increased, by successive grants and subscriptions, to £6,000, was raised by the corporation and inhabitants to fortify the town, and raise a regiment of eight companies of volunteers. This regiment, which was named the Liverpool Blues, was about seven hundred strong. The private soldiers were clothed and armed, and received 12d. a day from the public purse of the town; and the officers also were paid from the same fund. The regiment was placed under the command of the Hon. Colonel William Graham, a distinguished officer of the regular army, and after he had been raised to the rank of general of brigade, under that of Lieut.-Colonel Gordon and Major Bendish. After having been drilled for about three months, on the approach of the pretender and his army, the Liverpool Blues were ordered to march to Warrington, and other places in Lancashire and Cheshire, for the purpose of breaking down the bridges, and thus preventing the march of the insurgents to the Welsh border, where the supporters of the house of Stuart were supposed to be very strong. After breaking down all the bridges, and capturing a reconnoitring party of Highlanders at Warrington, they returned to Liverpool, to defend the town, if attacked. At the same time all the ships and boats belonging to the town were removed, so as to render it impossible for the insurgents to cross the river at Liverpool, even if they succeeded in obtaining possession of the town. Fortunately, however, the vigorous preparations for defence rendered any actual defence unnecessary. Liverpool was never attacked, although the pretender's army advanced within fifteen miles of it. On the retreat of the rebels and the advance of the royal army, the Liverpool Blues joined the Duke of Cumberland, and marched with him as

far as the Scottish border, where they were left, with some other forces, to conduct the siege of Carlisle, into which city the English Jacobites had thrown themselves. When the blues marched with the royal army, the merchants and other inhabitants formed themselves into five companies of volunteers, did duty regularly, and preserved the peace of the town. During the march of the Duke of Cumberland through Lancashire, the corporation sent an express to ask if there was anything that they could send him for the use of his army; and the duke, having expressed a wish for a supply of biscuit, they forwarded to him thirteen waggon loads, under the care of Joseph Clegg and William Pole, Esqrs., aldermen of the borough, which supplies reached him at Carlisle. These zealous and disinterested services from the town of Liverpool, at a time when the house of Hanover was in greater peril than it had ever been before, or has ever been since, were warmly acknowledged by the government and the Duke of Cumberland.*

The year 1745 is memorable in local annals, not only for the attachment of the inhabitants of Liverpool to the house of Hanover, but for the commencement of a great public charity, which still flourishes. Several addresses had been published in Liverpool from time to time previous to the year 1745, recommending the forming of a public Infirmary. These induced the clergy, physicians, surgeons, merchants, and tradesmen, with some neighbouring gentlemen, to open a subscription for erecting a new building, in the year 1745, upon a well-situated field (the site of the present St. George's-hall,) liberally given by the corporation for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, "which succeeded beyond expectation." In July the work was begun, and carried on with great vigour, but soon after the national disturbances (the rebellion of 1745) so much retarded the prosecution of it, that the house was not finished till the latter end of 1748. Then the two upper wards were furnished with thirty beds, "which was judged nearly equivalent to the yearly subscription for the support of that number of persons." On the 25th day of March, 1749, the house was opened "for the admission of patients." It further appears, from the auditors' report from the 25th of March to the 5th of March following, in the year 1749, that the officers for that, the first year, were the Right Hon. Edward Earl of Derby, president; Foster Cunliffe, Esq., treasurer; Mr. Charles Goore and Mr. Edward Deane, deputy-treasurers; Mr. Samuel Ogden and Mr. Thomas Seel, auditors; Dr. Walter Greene, Dr. John Kenyon, and Dr. Thomas

* Official Report in Corporation Records.

Robinson, physicians; Mr. James Bromfield, Mr. Thomas Antrobus, and Mr. William Pickering, surgeons; and the Rev. Matthew Lowe, chaplain. The subscriptions to the building fund amounted to £1,809 13s. 5d. in Liverpool, and to £438 13s. 6d. in the country; making a total of £2,248 7s. 11d. The yearly subscription list amounted to £486 14s. 6d. The cost of building the infirmary was £2,648 7s. 11d., of which sum about £400 was borrowed. The number of in-patients admitted in 1749 was 122; of out-patients, 72.

The following is a list of the principal subscribers to the building and founding of the Infirmary, or, in other words, of the principal inhabitants of Liverpool in the year 1745:—Alderman Robert Armitage, £5 5s.; William Armitage, £5 5s.; John Ashton, £10 10s.; John Atherton, £10 10s.; Rev. T. Baldwin, £10 10s.; Alderman John Brooks, £15 15s.; Alderman John Bromfield, surgeon, £32 6s.; Alderman Joseph Bird, £5 5s.; Thomas Ball, merchant, £5 5s.; John Bostock, £5 5s.; Alderman Bryan Blundell, Esq., £42; James Barton, brewer, £5 5s.; Jonathan Brooks, merchant, £3 3s.; Thos. Bickersteth, gentleman, £5 5s.; William Blundell, merchant, £5 5s.; John Blackburne, jun., £6 6s.; William Benson, £5 5s.; Roger Brooke, £10 10s.; Thomas Backhouse, £10 10s.; William Bulkeley, £7 7s.; John Brancker, jeweller, £2 2s.; Bryan Blundell, jun., £5 5s.; Jonathan Blundell, £5 5s.; Mrs. Alice Bushell, £10; Mrs. Mary Barton, brewer, £5 5s.; John Colquitt, sen., Esq., £5 5s.; John Colquitt, jun., Esq., £2 2s.; Richard Cribb, £5 5s.; Thomas Crowder, merchant, £10 10s.; James Crosbie, ditto, £10 10s.; Ellis Cunliffe, ditto, £10 10s.; Robert Cunliffe, £21; Madam Elizabeth Clayton, deceased, £5 5s.; Mrs. Sarah Clayton, £21; Alderman Joseph Clegg, £5 5s.; Edward Cropper, mercer, £2 2s.; Alderman Joseph Clegg, £26 5s.; Mrs. Sarah Christian, £10; Seroop Colquitt, gentleman, £2 2s.; Corporation, for Thomas Oliver, £9 15s. 9d.; Joseph Davies, Esq., merchant, £5 5s.; George Dickins, Esq., M.D., £5 5s.; Edward Deane, merchant, £5 5s.; Thomas Dunbar, £5 5s.; John Eden, £10; Catherine Eccleston, ‘plummer,’ £5 5s.; John Eaton, merchant, £5 5s.; Robert Edmondson, ‘plummer,’ £5 5s.; Ralph Earle, merchant, £2 2s.; Joseph Farmer, merchant, £5 5s.; William Farrington, merchant, £5 5s.; Potter Fletcher, £5 5s.; Edward Forbes, merchant, £10 10s.; a person’s fine given, £30; James Gildart, merchant, £5 5s.; George Gildart, ditto, £5 5s.; Francis Gildart, £5 5s.; Richard Gildart, Esq., merchant, £50; Charles Goore, ditto, £10 10s.; John Gorrell, £10 10s.; Richard Golightly, shipbuilder, £10 10s.; Richard Gerard, apothecary, £21; John Hughes Guthrie, £5 5s.; John

Hadwen, merchant, £10 10s. ; Arthur Heywood, merchant, £5 5s. ; Benjamin Heywood, merchant, £5 5s. ; Peter Holme, merchant, £5 5s. ; Mrs. Isabella James, £5 5s. ; James Kelsall, gentleman, £5 5s. ; John Knight, merchant, £10 10s. ; Morecroft Kirks, merchant, £5 5s. ; John Kennion, £5 5s. ; Edward Livesey, surgeon, £10 10s. ; Charles Lowndes, merchant, £10 10s. ; W. A. and A. Lightbody, £5 5s. ; Rev. William Martin, £6 10s. ; Joseph Manesty, merchant, £5 5s. ; John Nicholson, linen-draper, £5 5s. ; Samuel Nicholson, M.D., £5 5s. ; John Okill, merchant, £10 10s. ; Edmund Ogden, merchant, £5 5s. ; Samuel Ogden, £10 10s. ; Alderman Owen Pritchard, merchant, £10 10s. ; Alderman William Pole, £5 5s. ; William Penketh, merchant, £5 5s. ; James Percival, merchant, £5 5s. ; Edmund Rigby, £10 10s. ; Samuel Rigby, £5 5s. ; Thomas Robinson, merchant, £10 10s. ; Edward Roughsedge, merchant, £10 10s. ; Edward Rathbone, merchant, £5 5s. ; Alderman Thomas Steers, £10 10s. ; Alderman Thomas Shaw, £10 10s. ; Thomas Seel, £84 5s. ; Spencer Steers, merchant, £5 5s. ; William Spencer, £5 5s. ; Edward Trafford, merchant, £15 15s. ; John Tyrer, £1 1s. ; John Tarlton, £10 10s. ; Levinus Unsworth, £5 5s. ; George Wilkinson, merchant, £5 5s. ; Rev. Mr. Henry Wolstenholme, £7 7s. ; Rev. Mr. John Williamson, deceased, £10 10s. ; Robert Whittle, gentleman, £57 15s. ; John Williamson, £5 5s. ; Henry Winstanley, £10 10s. ; Peter Whitfield, sugar-baker, £3 3s. ; Thomas Wakefield, sugar-baker, £2 2s. ; John Worral, £2 2s.

Amongst the subscribers to the Infirmary not resident in Liverpool were Owen Brereton, Esq., recorder, £5 5s. ; Nathaniel Basnett, merchant, London, £21 ; Chase, Tennant, and Co., London, £21 ; the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, £50 ; James Farmer, Birmingham, £5 5s. ; Richard Gildart, jun., London, £21 ; Archibald Hamilton, merchant, Rotterdam, £5 5s. ; Henry Lassell, Esq., London, £26 5s. ; Richard Milnes, Wakefield, £5 5s. ; Mr. M'Cannon, Newry, £5 5s. ; Charles Pole, London, £21 ; Richard Pigott, Esq., Chester, £10 10s. ; John Peloquin, merchant, Bristol, £21 ; Thomas Salusbury, Esq., Flint, £100 ; Walter Scott, merchant, London, £5 5s. ; Sir William Smith, London, £31 10s. ; Richard Smith, merchant, Barbadoes, £20 ; and Right Hon. James Lord Strange, £50.*

Two years after the Stuarts had made their last effort to recover the throne of England, it was found that the town of Liverpool had increased so greatly that the three churches of St. Nicholas, St. Peter, and St. George were insufficient to accommodate those of the inhabitants who belonged to the Church of England. A public subscription was conse-

* Auditors' Report for 1749.

quently entered into towards the cost of building a fourth church, which subscription produced the sum of £2,300; and a public-spirited merchant, Mr. John Okill, agreed to surrender his interest in a piece of land in Park-lane, for the site of the church; the mayor and corporation also agreeing to surrender their reversionary interest in it for the same purpose. An act was accordingly applied for, in the session of 1747, with powers to build this new church, to which the name of St. Thomas was afterwards given. The preamble to the act, after mentioning the acts for building the churches of St. Peter and St. George, and referring to the existence of the ancient church of St. Nicholas, sets forth that, "Whereas the buildings and inhabitants of the said town of Liverpool are of late years so greatly increased, that the said three churches or chapels are not sufficient to contain one-third part of the inhabitants of the said town professing the doctrine of the Church of England, it is thought necessary that one or more church or churches, chapel or chapels, should be erected and built in some convenient place or places within the said town: and whereas, for encouraging and promoting so charitable an object and design, the inhabitants of the said town of Liverpool have promised and agreed to contribute several sums, amounting to £2,300, for erecting and building such new intended church; and John Okill, merchant, being possessed of a piece of ground near Park-lane, in the borough of Liverpool, which is held by lease of the corporation of Liverpool for the term of three lives and twenty-one years, is willing to give and convey his interest therein; and the said corporation are also willing and desirous to grant and convey the reversion and inheritance thereof, for the purpose and to the intent that the said new-intended church and chapel may be thereupon erected and built." For the purpose of carrying out the objects of the act, the following gentlemen were appointed commissioners and trustees: namely, Thomas Shawe, Esq., mayor of Liverpool; Joseph Bird and Bryan Blundell, Esqrs.; John Okill, Thomas Seel, Charles Goore, and James Crosbie, merchants; John Gorrell, John Park, Richard Golightly, and William Shaw, timber-merchants; John Seddon and Samuel Irlam, anchor-smiths; and the Rev. William Martin, clerk. This reverend gentleman was appointed the first minister or incumbent of the new church, with a salary of £120 a-year. Sufficient powers were then given for carrying out the purposes of the trust, and the building of the church was immediately proceeded with. The church of St. Thomas was consecrated and opened for divine service in the year 1750.

In the same act of parliament by which powers were obtained to build

St. Thomas's Church, powers were also obtained to establish a nightly watch in Liverpool, consisting of sixty watchmen; to light the town with lamps; and to cleanse the streets and alleys. A board, composed of the mayor, recorder, justices of the peace of the town of Liverpool, and of eighteen commissioners appointed by the ratepayers at a yearly vestry, was appointed to carry out the provisions of this useful act. The board, thus entrusted with the treple duty of keeping the town safe, and light, and sweet, continued in existence until the passing of the municipal reform act, when those duties were transferred to the town council.

The following sketch of the town and port of Liverpool, a hundred years since, is abridged from an account published on the spot, in the year 1753 :*

“Liverpool,” says the author of this account, “is a very ancient borough; situated on the east side of the river Mersey, about three miles from the sea. It is of late the most flourishing seaport (London excepted) in Great Britain. The inhabitants are universal merchants, and trade to all foreign parts, except Turkey and the East Indies.” (From which trades they were cut off by the charters of the East India and Levant Companies.) “It shares the trade of Ireland and Wales with Bristol, and engrosses most of the trade with Scotland. It is both a convenient and very much frequented passage to Ireland and the Isle of Man, there being always vessels going and coming from thence. Ships of any burden may come up with their full lading and ride before the town, which is quite open and unfortified; and vessels of eighteen feet draught of water may go into the docks, which are not inferior to any in Great Britain. On the 14th September, 1749, the first stone of a new Exchange was laid, which is now near finished, and for its size is not to be paralleled in Europe.” The author of this sketch then proceeds to give the following particulars as to the size of the town; the public buildings; the arrangements of the Post-office; the shipping of the port; and the means of communication with London and the interior:

The number of streets, squares, lanes, and alleys in the town of Liverpool in 1753 was two hundred and twenty-two. There were four churches; namely, that of St. Nicholas, built many hundred years before; that of St. Peter, consecrated in 1704; that of St. George, finished in 1734; and that of St. Thomas, consecrated in 1750. In addition to these churches, there was the old Presbyterian chapel in Key-street, the new Presbyterian chapel in Benn's-gardens, the old Anabaptist meeting-

* Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book, for the year 1753.

house, bottom of Dale-street, the new Anabaptist meeting-house, bottom of Stanley-street, the Quakers' meeting-house, Hackin's-hey, the Roman Catholic chapel, Lombard-street, and the Jews' synagogue, Stanley-street. Besides the buildings devoted to the worship of God, there were the following buildings applied to the purposes of charity and education :—The Blue Coat Hospital in School-lane, founded in 1708, chiefly by the exertions of Bryan Blundell, a generous and charitable shipowner of Liverpool, whose memory thousands have had reason to bless ; the Infirmary, founded and supported by subscription, opened in 1749 ; the Work and Poor-house, in Hanover-street ; the Sick and Lame Hospital, Shaw's-brow ; the Sailors' Sixpenny Hospital ; sets of alms-houses in Dale-street, Hanover-street, and on the Heath ; and the ancient Free-school, founded at the time of the reformation. The buildings and establishments connected with trade, commerce, and navigation were, the Exchange and Town-hall, (then rebuilding,) at the top of Water-street ; the Custom-house, erected by Alderman Sylvester Morecroft, “a commodious and very elegant piece of building,” at the upper side of the Old Dock ; the Stamp-offices, at Mr. Williamson and Mr. Fleetwood's, booksellers ; the Excise-office, “kept” by Mr. Johnson, Paradise-street ; the Salt-office, “kept” by Mr. Greenwood, collector, Prince's-square ; the Dock-office, “kept” by Mr. Joseph Valens, Brooks-square ; the Waterside Cart-office, “kept” by Mr. Fox, south-east corner of the Dock ; the Sun Fire-office, “kept” by Mr. William Pole, Fenwick-street ; and the Post-office, “kept” by Mr. Samuel Street, (probably the person sent to Edinburgh, in 1745, to watch the movements of the Pretender,) at the Wool Pack, near the Exchange, Water-street. The following *nota bene* informs us of the Post-office arrangements of 1753 :—“N.B. London and foreign post comes in every Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday morning : goes out every evening about twelve o'clock, the same day it comes in. The Post-office shuts up before eleven o'clock.” The places of public amusement in Liverpool at that time were the “Play-house”, Drury-lane ; the Tennis-court, Dale-street, “opposite Stanley-street” ; two bowling-greens, one situated a little beyond the Salthouse Dock, the other in a commanding position on Martindale's-hill, now Mount-pleasant ; and an Assembly-room at the Tower. The markets were then situated as follows :—The butchers'-market, in High-street, the principal approach to the present Exchange ; the fish-market, in Pool-lane, and at the old fish-house, Chapel-street ; and markets were also held in Castle-ditch, and at the Old White Cross. One part of the ancient tower of the

Stanleys, at the bottom of Water-street, had gone down in the world, so as to have degenerated into a borough gaol. Two watch-houses were situated, the one in Derby-square, near St. George's Church, the other, the tide-surveyors' watch-house, at the bottom of Water-street.

This writer further informs us that there were in Liverpool 101 merchants, in London 135, and in Bristol 157, who were members of the African Company. The shipping belonging to the shipowners of Liverpool was employed as follows:—In the West India and North American trades, 106 vessels; in the African trade, 88; in the trade with Europe, 28; in the coasting and Irish trades, 125; and in the salt, coal, and river trades, 80 sloops, of from 40 to 70 tons each. The latter vessels kept up the communication with Manchester and Warrington, by the Mersey and Irwell river navigation, with the salt district of Cheshire by the Weaver navigation, and with the coal-field of Wigan by the river Douglas.

Travelling between Liverpool and London and Liverpool and the interior was very rare in the year 1753. Not a single stage-coach left the town either for Manchester, London, or any other place. The general mode of travelling for gentlemen was on horseback, and for ladies in hired carriages. The roads were then much infested with highwaymen of the Turpin and Jack Sheppard breed; hence travellers preferred journeying in companies. Thus, every Friday morning, William Knowles, George Glover, William Thornton, or James Lancaster, started from the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane, London, “with a gang of horses”, for the conveyance of passengers and light goods, and reached Liverpool on the Monday evening following.

This was considered very swift travelling. The old Lancashire and Cheshire stage-wagons, which started from the Axe Inn, Aldermanbury, London, every Monday and Thursday, were ten days on the road in summer, and eleven in winter; goods were forwarded from Liverpool at about the same speed of travelling, by various carriers, to Wigan, Blackburn, Preston, Lancaster, Halifax, Leeds, York, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Sheffield. The cost of carrying goods to Sheffield, by wagon, was 3s. 6d. per cwt. There were, at this time, five ferry-boat houses on the river Mersey, in Cheshire, namely, Ince, Carlton or Eastham, Rock, Woodside, and Seacombe, “where passengers for the most part (weather and tide permitting) might meet with accommodations to bring their goods, &c., to Liverpool.”

Although some of the above details are a little old-fashioned, yet

Liverpool was already regarded as a very spirited place. "By the preceding descriptions and lists," says the author of the Liverpool Memorandum Book for 1753, "we may judge of the opulency, trade, &c., of Liverpool, which have increased within these few years more in this port than any other in Great Britain. In the last war (1739 to 1748) trade flourished and spread her golden wings so extensively that, if they had possessed it seven years longer, it would have enlarged the size and riches of the town to a prodigious degree. The harbour being situated so near the mouth of the North Channel, between Ireland and Scotland, (a passage very little known to or frequented by the enemy,) afforded many conveniences to the merchants here, untasted by those of other ports, which invited numbers of strangers from different parts to begin trade and settle here, finding it so advantageous a mart. Trade since the late peace has not been so brisk as formerly, but it appears by the Custom-house books to be much revived. The chief manufactures carried on here are blue and white earthenware, which at present almost vie with China, (large quantities are exported for the colonies abroad,) and watches, which are not to be excelled in Europe. All the different branches are manufactured in and about the town, to supply the London and foreign markets." So far Mr. Williamson; and although his theory, that Liverpool flourished more in war than in peace, was absurd enough, yet there is no doubt that Liverpool suffered much less during the early wars with France and Holland, from the privateers of the enemy, than London, Hull, and Bristol. In the war which broke out three years after this account was written the French privateers found their way into the north passage and the Irish Sea, under Captain Thurot, and kept Liverpool blockaded for many weeks.

In the tenth George the Second, 1737, Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater, the predecessor of the great Duke Francis, obtained an act of parliament for rendering navigable the Worsley Brook, a small stream which flows from the neighbourhood of the Worsley coal mines into the river Irwell. The object of this measure was to furnish water carriage from the Worsley coal-field to Manchester, though by a totally different route, and in a totally different manner, from that afterwards proposed and carried out by Brindley and the great duke.

In the twenty-eighth George the Second the act was passed for making navigable the river or brook, called Sankey brook, and the three branches thereof, from Sankey bridges, near the river Mersey, to the coal-fields of St. Helens. This act sets forth that the Sankey

brook, from the point where it empties itself into the river Mersey, below Sankey bridges, is capable of being made navigable up the stream or brook, and the three several branches thereof, namely, to Boardman's Stone-bridge, near St. Helens, on the south branch; to Gerard's-bridge, on the middle branch; and to Penny-bridge, on the north branch; and that the rendering the same navigable would tend greatly to the advantage of great numbers of tradesmen and manufacturers within the counties of Lancaster and Chester. The act then proceeds to appoint the following parties undertakers, to carry out the purposes of the act:—Charles Goore, James Crosbie, John Ashton, John Blackburne, the younger, and Richard Trafford, Esqrs. To these gentlemen it gives the power to clear, open, scour, enlarge, and straighten the Sankey brook, and its several branches; and also to make such new cuts, canals, trenches, and passages for water as they shall think proper, through the lands adjoining, or near to the said stream. It authorizes them to collect tolls or dues, at the rate of 10d. per ton, on all coal, cannel, store, slate, timber, or other goods and merchandise conveyed along the said navigation. The undertakers are bound by the act to begin the works before the 29th September, 1755, and to finish them before the 16th September, 1766. The most interesting clause of this act is that which enacts that the navigation from Sankey bridges to above Holme-mill brook mouth shall be by a new cut or canal. Out of this clause the Sankey canal, the first formed in England, may be said to have grown.

In the month of May, 1756, the peaceful pursuits of commerce received a rude shock in Liverpool and other parts of the kingdom by the commencement of another war with France. This war continued during the whole of the remainder of the reign of George the Second, and during the first and second years of George the Third. The early part of the war was extremely unsuccessful, both on sea and land; but the latter part of it, which was carried on under the vigorous administration of the first William Pitt, afterwards the great Lord Chatham, was just as successful, Canada and all the other French possessions in North America were conquered by Wolfe and Amherst; the rich province of Bengal was captured by Clive; and the French fleets, after having been victorious over Admiral Byng, were in their turn defeated by Hawke and Boscawen. In this war Liverpool was threatened with attack by Thurot; and the commerce of the port was much injured by French privateers. Great numbers of privateers were also fitted out in Liverpool, some of which were very successful in capturing prizes from the enemy.

The first effect of the war was a rapid rise in premiums on sea risks. The rates of insurance rose on vessels from Liverpool to Jamaica to twelve guineas per £100; to North America to ten guineas; from Carolina to Cowes and a market to twenty guineas; from North America to Jamaica to twelve guineas; from Liverpool to Gibraltar to twenty guineas; and from Newfoundland to the Mediterranean to twenty-five guineas: rates almost or altogether ruinous to commerce.

Trade having come almost to a stand-still, privateering took its place. The *Anson*, privateer, of 150 tons, carrying sixteen guns, twenty-four swivels, and 100 men, was the first of many that sailed from Liverpool. The *Brave Blakeney* followed her very shortly. These two privateers were very successful on their first cruise. The *Anson* returned in a few weeks with two West Indiamen, worth £20,000; and the *Brave Blakeney* with two others, also of great value, named *La Gloire* and *Le Juste*. Immediately the whole port became mad after privateering. Five other privateers sailed immediately. The French, however, played at the same game with equal vigour; and before the end of the year news was received that the *Mary*, Captain Richmond, on her voyage to Virginia, and many other Liverpool vessels, had been taken by French privateers. In 1758 privateering continued with equal spirit. A whole host of armed vessels went on the cruise, one of them, the *Liverpool*, carrying 22 guns and 200 men. Amongst the commanders of these privateers, Captain Fortunatus Wright was particularly distinguished. He fought several sharp actions with the enemy, in which he got and gave many hard blows, and won both prize-money and renown. In this year the French had decidedly the best of the privateering. In March, 1758, no ships of any sort sailed from Liverpool or arrived in the port for some weeks, owing to the boldness of the Frenchmen "which laid an effectual embargo on the coast."* Early in the following year, Captain Lowndes, of the armed ship *Baltimore*, from Liverpool to Maryland, captured the *Resolute*, a French vessel sailing under Dutch colours, having on board 231,901 lbs. of sugar, 35,803 lbs. of coffee, 5,913 lbs. of indigo, and 6,339 lbs. of cocoa. In the course of the year the *Hazard*, of Liverpool, W. Parkinson, fought and beat off two French privateers, the one carrying twelve, the other eight guns, on her voyage to the West Indies. Still the damage done by the French cruizers was so great that the principal shipowners sent in a round-robin to Mr. Williamson, the publisher of the *Liverpool Advertiser*, requesting that he would not publish any more accounts of vessels sailing

* Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, March 17, 1758.

from Liverpool, "as they had reason to believe that it had been of very bad consequence during the war." In the course of this war the practice of ransoming vessels for large sums of money became very common. Thus, Captain Spears, of the *Granville*, who arrived in Liverpool from Edenton and North Carolina, with a cargo of tar and tobacco, and who, on his voyage, had the ill-fortune to meet with the French cruizer *Jupiter*, of Bayonne, 22 guns and 250 men, Captain Jean Maubeaule, agreed to pay the said captain £500, as ransom money for his ship and cargo, on his arrival at Liverpool. The French captain, who was a Frenchman of the good old school, treated Captain Spears with perfect politeness; offered him fresh bread and water, in short, anything that his ship afforded, only begged to carry off Mr. Alexander Scott, the chief mate, to be kept as security for the due forwarding of the ransom money. This practice continued during the whole of this war and during part of the American war, but it was then declared illegal. The present Sir John Tobin, when a boy, on his first voyage narrowly escaped being carried off as "a ransomer," along with the mate and one of the able seamen of the ship. Fortunately for him, the captain of the privateer, who was an Irish Frenchman, Captain Kelly by name, had known his father at Douglas, and, on finding whose son he was, sent him away rejoicing.

About the end of the year 1759 Liverpool was not a little excited by the approach of M. Thurot, a gallant French naval-officer, who entered the Irish sea with a squadron of frigates, landed and took Carrickfergus, afterwards overran the Isle of Islay, and threatened to take everything that came in his way. That he might not take Liverpool, a very strong regiment of volunteers was raised, with great promptitude, and batteries, mounting fifty 18-pounders, were erected on the pier which then projected into the river, near Redcross-street, and in the Old Churchyard, the walls of which were strengthened and made ball-proof. Whether Liverpool was M. Thurot's object is uncertain, for, on the 28th February, 1760, all his plans were put an end to for ever. On that day his squadron of frigates was brought to action, a few leagues south of the Isle of Man, by a squadron of English frigates, under the command of Captain Elliot. After a desperate battle, in which Captain Thurot was slain, and nearly 300 of his officers and men were killed or wounded, the whole of the French frigates were taken. By this victory Liverpool was again rendered perfectly safe; but the volunteers remained embodied till the close of the war.

The commencement of the war with France was followed by a rapid

rise in the price of grain in England. At Liverpool the price of wheat rose between May, 1756, and the close of the year, from 42s. to 59s. a-quarter, which was then considered an extravagant price. In the hope of relieving the distress of the poor, the corporation bought 10,000 bushels of wheat, which they retailed at cost price. They also threatened to enforce the laws against forestallers and regraters, that is against those who bought grain to sell again. One merchant, Mr. Penketh, who was attacked as a regrater of grain, defended himself with great spirit in *Williamson's Advertiser*. He said that he had bought and imported into Liverpool upwards of 26,000 bushels of wheat; that he had made nothing more than a fair profit; and that the people who were abusing him as a regrater would have been starving if it had not been for himself and others like him.*

At this time a quarrel took place between the journeymen shoemakers and their employers, about wages. The journeymen put forth an advertisement, in which they stated that they were still willing to work for nine shillings a week, but that their masters were trying to beat them down below that rate.†

In 1756 Mr. Benen advertised that he travelled regularly post from Liverpool to Lancaster; and that he had "two good double horses" on the road, for conveniency of ladies.‡

The Liverpool gentlemen belonging to the Parkgate club met there on the 27th December, and hunted during the remainder of the week.§

At a meeting of the wholesale ale and beer brewers of Liverpool, held on the 20th December, it was resolved not to sell ale for less than 34s., or beer for less than 8s. the barrel, owing to the high price of barley.||

On the 31st January, 1757, the common council began to sell flour for the relief of the poor, at the rate of 9 lbs. for 1s.: no person being allowed to buy more than 3 lbs. a-week.¶

In the course of that year Mr. John Deltrea advertised that he had to sell, at his office in Union-street, 10 pipes of raisin wine, a parcel of bottled cider, and "a negro boy!"

Contracts were this year entered into for making the "unfinished part of the road between Warrington and Prescot, extending from Bold-heath to Sankey-pavement." The work to be completed in not more than two years.

In November of the same year it was announced by the undertakers of the Sankey-brook navigation, that the navigation was open for flats

* *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, 1756. + *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* || *Ibid.* ¶ *Ibid.*, 1757.

to the Haydock and Parr collieries; that there was a considerable quantity of coal laid near the said navigation, ready for sale, and that three collieries were already opened, which were capable of supplying any further quantity of coal which might be required that season. Mrs. Clayton, of Liverpool, also announced that "two delfs" were opened at her collieries in Parr, and that she was selling coal on the spot, at 4s. 2d. a-ton, beside vessels at Liverpool, at 7s. a-ton, and in Liverpool at 7s. 6d. a-ton.*

On the 9th June in the same year it was announced that a "flying" stage-coach had begun to run from Warrington to London, twice a-week. Liverpool passengers then rode over to Warrington the day previous to the departure of the coach. The following is the announcement in the Liverpool paper:

"WARRINGTON FLYING STAGE-COACH: Sets out from the Red Lyon Inn, in Warrington, every Monday and Thursday morning, and arrives at the Bull Inn, in Wood-street, London, every Wednesday and Saturday evening; and sets out from the Bull Inn, Wood-street, London, every Monday and Thursday morning, and arrives at the Red Lyon Inn, in Warrington, every Wednesday and Saturday evening. Each passenger to pay two guineas, one guinea as earnest, and the other guinea on taking coach; and every passenger to be allowed 14 lbs. of luggage; all above 14 lbs. to pay after three-pence a-pound. Outside passengers and children on safety to pay half-price. To be performed, if God permit, by
"ANTHONY JACKSON and HENRY SECRIE."

Early in 1759 the Dublin Packet, from Liverpool to Dublin, with sixty passengers on board, was lost off the coast of Wales. Every soul on board perished.

Captain William Hutchinson, who afterwards compiled a series of observations on the tides of Liverpool, extending over a period of twenty-four years, was appointed dock-master this year.

In the month of February, in 1758, the publishing of the lists of vessels sailing from the port of Liverpool was suspended, in consequence of the following address having been presented to the publisher of Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser. The names attached to it are those of the principal shipowners of that day:

"To Mr. Robert Williamson, Printer of the Liverpool Advertiser.

"Liverpool, 13th February, 1759.

"Sir,—The publishing a list of the ships that enter outwards and sail from this port every week we have too much reason to apprehend has been

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, 1757.

of very bad consequence this war; we, therefore, desire that for the future you will omit it in your papers, &c.—We are your humble servants,

Matthew Stronge	William Fleetwood	William Crosbie
Robert Cheshire	William Trafford	John Ansdell
John White	Richard Savage	Samuel Woodward
R. Armitage	John Bridge	William Reid
George Campbell	George Drinkwater	Robert Cunliffe
John Clement	Wm. Williamson	John Tarleton
John Stronge	Robert Hesketh	James Gildart
William Gregson	John Maine	<u>John</u> Backhouse
James Brown	John Ashton	John Welch
John Parr	Thomas Mears	A. and B. Heywood
Thomas Rumbald	Henry Hardman	Halliday and Dunbar
John Stanton	John Hughes	John Gonell
John Hanmer	Edward Parr	Campbell and Sons
Ralph Earle	John Crosbie	Scroop Colquitt
Charles Goore	William Earle	James Clegg."

Ranelagh-gardens, Liverpool, in imitation of the London Ranelagh, were opened to the public in 1759.

In the year in which George the Second died, (1760,) Liverpool had the honour of a visit from no less a person than Samuel Derriek, Esq., Master of the Ceremonies, and arbiter elegantiarum at the fashionable watering place of Bath, who has left an account of the town and port, in a couple of letters, addressed to his distinguished friend, the Earl of Cork. From the first of these letters we learn that Mr. Derriek "having no where met with any account of the very opulent town" of Liverpool, and fearing that his noble correspondent might have been equally unfortunate, was induced to hope that his endeavour "to give his lordship something of that sort may not prove disagreeable." The town, he states, (not very accurately,) is situated about six miles from the sea, on the decline of a hill, and is washed by a broad and rapid stream, called the Mersey, where ships, lying at anchor, are quite exposed to the sudden squalls of wind that often sweep the surface from the flat Cheshire shores on the west, or the high lands of Lancashire, that overlook the town, on the east. The banks in the river, he says, are so shallow and deceitful, that when once a ship drives in the river, there is no possibility of preserving her, if the weather prove rough, from being wrecked, even close to the town. This, it seems, happened about three years before to a ship outward bound for America, and richly-laden, which, being badly piloted,

struck and went down. Her mast was still plainly to be seen. On account of these dangers few ships anchor in the river. To guard against them the docks, "which are three in number" (the Old, Salthouse, and Dry Docks,) have been built, "with vast labour and expense." They are flanked by broad commodious quays, surrounded by handsome brick houses. "When the famous Thurot was in the channel," says Mr. Derrick, "this town expected that he would honour them with a visit; and they made good preparation to receive him. The ear of a bastion was run out at the main dock head; the walls of the Old Church-yard, under which he must have passed before he came abreast of the town, were strengthened with stone buttresses and mounds of earth; and the whole furnished with some very fine eighteen-pounders, which were so disposed as fully to command the river. The merchants were regimented under the command of the mayor, as colonel, divided into four independent companies, uniformly clothed and armed, each man at his own expense. Besides Lord Scarborough and Major Dashwood marched from Manchester, at the head of the Lincolnshire militia, upon the first notice of danger, without waiting for orders from above; so that, had this bold adventurer presented himself, there is no doubt but he would have been opposed with a true British spirit of resolution and gallantry." Passing from the arts of war to those of peace, Mr. Derrick informs his noble correspondent that the town of Liverpool seems to be nearly as broad as it is long. The streets are narrow, but tolerably well built; the place is populous, though inferior in that respect to Bristol. Some of the houses are faced with stone, and elegantly finished. The Exchange, he says, is a handsome square structure of gray stone, supported by arches, built at great expense, under the inspection of Messrs. Wood, the father and son, "to whose correct taste and great genius Bath owes some of her finest ornaments and most useful improvements." In the upper part of the Exchange are noble apartments, wherein the corporation transact public business. "The assembly-room, which is also up stairs, is grand, spacious, and finely illuminated: here is a meeting once a fortnight to dance and play cards: where," adds this most condescending of masters of the ceremonies, "you will find some women elegantly accomplished and perfectly well dressed." The proceedings, he adds, are regulated by a lady styled the queen, and she rules with very absolute power. The Theatre, then in Drury-lane, he states, was very neat. "Here a company of London performers exhibit during the summer season, and acquire a good deal of money." Shuter, Holland, and Mrs.

Ward were the principal performers when Mr. Derrick was in Liverpool; Grimaldi, Maranisi, and Signora Provencella the principal dancers.

In another letter Mr. Derrick informs his noble correspondent, that he is credibly informed that vessels of a thousand tons may enter the docks of Liverpool, "which are large enough to contain five or six hundred vessels." Though a small place a hundred years ago, Liverpool then carried on a greater trade with the Coast of Guinea and the West India Isles than London itself.

"Though few of the merchants have more education than befits a counting-house," says Mr. Derrick, "they are genteel in their address. They are hospitable, very friendly to strangers, even those of whom they have the least knowledge. Their tables are plenteously furnished, and their viands well served up; their rum is excellent, of which they consume large quantities in punch, made when the West India fleets come in mostly with limes, which are very cooling, and afford a delicious flavour. I need not inform your lordship," says he, "that the principal exports of Liverpool are all kinds of woollen and worsted goods, with other manufactures of Manchester, and Sheffield, and Birmingham wares, &c. These they barter on the Coast of Guinea, for slaves, gold-dust, and elephants' teeth. The slaves they dispose of at Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the other West India islands, for rum and sugar, for which they are sure of a quick sale at home. This port is admirably situated for trade, being almost central in the channel, so that, in war time, by coming north-about, their ships have a good chance for escaping the many privateers belonging to the enemy which cruize to the southward. Thus, their insurance being less, they are able to undersell their neighbours; and since I have been here, I have seen enter the port, in one morning, seven West India ships, whereof five were not insured."

Mr. Derrick further informs his lordship that when he visited Liverpool the roads in the neighbourhood were deep and sandy, consequently rather unpleasant; "but the views are grand and extensive, particularly from a summer-house on Childwall-hill, about three miles distant, where you have a prospect of fifteen counties, and a good view of the sea." It would have puzzled Mr. Derrick to have named the fifteen counties visible from Childwall; though few views can be finer than those obtained from that spot, and from the ridge on which Childwall stands, of the plains of Lancashire and Cheshire, the river Mersey and the sea, and the mountains of Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Carnarvon. In very clear weather Black Comb, the Isle of Anglesea, and the faint outline of the hills of

Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and perhaps Staffordshire may be seen ; but it would require a strong imagination, as well as good eyes, to make out the other counties.

“ In the skirts of the Childwall ridge,” says Mr. Denrick, “ are several small villages, with gentlemen’s seats scattered about, well covered with trees, and for the most part delightfully situated.”

“ There are at Liverpool,” he adds, “ three good inns. For tenpence a man dines elegantly at an ordinary, consisting of ten or a dozen dishes. Indeed, it must be said, both at Cheshire and Lancashire, that they have plenty of the best and most luxurious foods at a very cheap rate : their mutton is small and juicy ; their fowl, whether wild or tame, brought in very fine order to market ; and of fish they have great variety in the utmost perfection.”

Such was Liverpool at the close of the reign of George the Second.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The reign of George the Third opened in Liverpool with preparations to form a third wet dock, for the convenience of the rapidly increasing trade and commerce of the port, and to erect two new churches for the accommodation of the inhabitants, who were increasing as rapidly as the trade. This dock act also contained powers for constructing a number of light-houses on the coasts of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the guidance of vessels which might arrive off the port of Liverpool in the night, and might be compelled or induced to enter in the dark, either by stress of weather or other cause.

The preamble of the dock act which was applied for in the year 1762, after reciting the principal provisions of the previous dock acts, eighth Queen Anne, (1709,) fourth George the First, (1718,) and eleventh George the Second, (1737,) proceeds to state that, "Whereas the trade and shipping of the town and port of Liverpool of late years is greatly increased, and the ships and vessels now belonging to and trading to and from the port of Liverpool, are more numerous and of larger dimensions, and require a greater draught of water than heretofore: And whereas the wet docks and dry pier already made and constructed in the said port of Liverpool are not sufficient for the reception of the ships and vessels resorting thereto, and for the requisite convenient dispatch in lading and unlading the same: And as there is not a sufficient depth of water in the said docks or pier for the security and protection, as well of his majesty's ships of war, which frequent it, and especially in time of war are stationed at the port of Liverpool, as for large merchant ships trading thereto, to go in or out of the said docks or pier, unless in high spring tides, and which, for want of additional docks, and being obliged to lie in the harbour, are exposed to the rage of tempestuous weather and a rapid tide or current, and in imminent danger of shipwreck, the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of the borough of Liverpool have

taken the premises into consideration, and in order to obviate or remove the said difficulties and inconveniences, and encourage and promote trade and commerce, and for the benefit of navigation, have thought it requisite that another wet dock, with proper piers and other necessary works incidental to the same, should be made and erected at Liverpool aforesaid, and for that purpose have agreed to give, grant, and appropriate another piece or parcel of ground belonging to the said corporation, lying or being at the ends or bottoms of certain streets called James or St. James-street, and Chapel-street, in Liverpool aforesaid, or such part thereof, or any other lands adjoining to the north or west wall of the said dry pier, which shall be thought necessary on that behalf." The act then proceeds to authorize the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council to make, erect, or build another wet dock. This was afterwards named George's Dock, in honour of the youthful king. For this purpose they were empowered to borrow the sum of £25,000, on security of the dock rates; and to collect those rates for a further term of twenty-one years, in addition to the terms mentioned in the previous acts. Various powers were also given for the more convenient working of all the docks.*

With regard to the second great object of this act, the constructing of lights and light-houses at the approaches to the river, it is stated in the 24th clause of the act of 1762, that "Whereas, by reason of the many sand-banks that lie off the adjacent sea-coasts, and the entrance to the said harbour of Liverpool, and by the frequent moving and shifting of the said banks, and thereby choaking up, shortening, or confining the old channels or currents, and making and forming new channels and currents in the sea, and there being at present no light-houses or other lights erected and set out, ships and vessels sailing to and from the said port and harbour of Liverpool are frequently engaged and entangled in dark and tempestuous nights, within the said banks and shoals, and the navigation into and from the said port and harbour is very difficult, preearious, and uncertain; whereby the lives and properties of several of his majesty's subjects have, from time to time, been lost, and are frequently endangered: And whereas, by the erecting of proper light-houses in convenient places, within and near the said port, the navigation into the said port or harbour of Liverpool would be rendered more safe and certain, not only to all trading ships and vessels, but also for his majesty's ships of war:" Therefore, the act authorizes the trustees of the docks to purchase lands, and erect one or more lights or light-houses on the Cheshire coast, between

* Liverpool Local Acts, in Athenæum.

Hilbre Island and the point of the Rock land at the entrance to the river Mersey, and on the Lancashire coast, between Formby point and the town of Liverpool; and, for the purpose of defraying the cost, to collect light dues, varying from a halfpenny to twopence a ton, according to the length of voyage, on all vessels (except ships of war) entering the port of Liverpool.

By this act the property in all the docks, piers, buoys, landmarks, beacons, or perches, light-houses and lights, formed and erected either under this act or the previous dock acts, is vested in the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of Liverpool; who are authorized to bring and defend actions under the name or style of the Trustees of the Docks and Harbour of Liverpool.

In the first year of the reign of George the Third, the income of the corporation of Liverpool was £4,726 6s. 2½d. a-year, having increased nearly four-fold from the year 1720, when it amounted to £1,232 11s. 7½d. The town dues, raised by a small tax on imports and exports, were £1,022 11s. 4½d., having increased more than three-fold for the year 1720, when they amounted to £305 14s. 10d. The dock dues were £2,383 0s. 2d., having nearly trebled themselves since 1724, when they amounted to £810 11s. 6d.

The docks (not including the graving dock) were two in number, with a water space of 37,060 square yards, or about eight acres, and the quays 1,292 yards in length.*

The number of houses in the town was 4,200, which would give a population of about 30,000 inhabitants.† And the rate of relief to the poor was 16d. in the pound on houses and 18d. on land, which shows a tolerably prosperous condition of the labouring classes.

It has been seen, in the previous chapter, that the improvement of the navigable rivers of Lancashire and Cheshire was one of the great works of the reigns of George the First and Second, and that by means of those improved navigations Liverpool was connected, about the same time, with Manchester, with the salt district of Lancashire, and with the coal-fields of Wigan. At the accession of George the Third all that it was possible to effect by the improvement of the rivers which water the valley of the Mersey had been effected. Owing to the smallness of those streams the inland navigation from Liverpool did not extend more than thirty miles in any one direction, nor more than a hundred miles in the whole. At that time, however, the genius of the self-taught engineer,

* Troughton's History of Liverpool, 273. † Enfield's History of Liverpool, 25.

James Brindley, and the enterprize of the great Duke of Bridgewater, were beginning to display themselves in the construction of navigable canals. The impulse given to improvement by these two extraordinary men soon spread through the country, and led to the formation of a great net-work of artificial navigations, most of them connected with each other, and with the great natural navigations of the Severn, Trent, and Thames. Hence, within twenty years of the accession of George the Third, Liverpool obtained all the advantages of internal communication which London, Bristol, and Hull had possessed from remote times, together with many advantages of a similar kind which no English port, however happily situated, had possessed in any previous age. I have already mentioned the circumstances under which the Duke of Bridgewater commenced his great undertakings, but, as the history of the Worsley and Bridgewater Canals is inseparably connected with that of numerous works whose origin and progress it will be needful to trace, it may be convenient to restate those circumstances.

It has been mentioned in the preceding chapter that Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater, the predecessor of the great Duke Francis, obtained an act in the tenth George the Second, for rendering the Worsley-brook navigable from his Worsley estates to the point where the brook falls into the river Irwell. The length of this navigation would not have been more than five or six miles, (exclusive of the subterraneous cuttings in the coal;) nor would the nature of the ground have called for or afforded any opportunity of displaying unusual engineering talent. Neither would the levels of the Worsley-brook, when improved, have been such as to render this cutting of any use in carrying out the great designs which afterwards suggested themselves to Brindley, and his patron and coadjutor, Francis, Duke of Bridgewater. The chief interest of this scheme (which was never carried into execution) arises from the association of names. All the powers which the Worsley-brook act gave were those of opening, enlarging, and straightening the natural course of the stream, and of forming new cuts in the adjoining land, where the windings of the brook rendered them necessary.

The first act granted to Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, although it was a mere embryo of the noble schemes afterwards developed by him and his great engineer, Brindley, was both bold and original. According to this act, which was passed in the thirty-second George the Second, 1758, the Duke claimed and obtained powers for effecting the following objects:—First, for forming an artificial canal from Salford, near Man-

chester, to Worsley-mill, to be supplied with water from the neighbouring brooks; and then of carrying that canal forward, in a westerly direction, so as to join the Mersey and Irwell navigation at Hollin's-ferry, about six miles above Warrington. This plan was afterwards modified and greatly improved; but as the act was the first of the Bridgewater acts, properly so called, the following brief sketch of its provisions will be read with interest.

After referring to the act granted to Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater, for improving Worsley-brook, and stating that the parties appointed to carry that act into effect had neglected to do so, the act of 1758 proceeds to state that a cut or canal, from the neighbourhood of Manchester to Worsley-mill and Middlewood, in the manor of Worsley, and continued to Hollin's-ferry, would be very beneficial to trade, advantageous to the poor, and convenient for the carriage of coal, stone, timber, and other goods, to and from the places and parts adjacent. It then proceeds to state that the most noble Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, being lord of the manor of Worsley, and proprietor of very considerable quantities of coal there, and being also proprietor of a great part of Worsley-brook, and of the lands through which the intended cut or canal will be made for many miles in length, is willing and desirous to undertake the making of it as his own expense. In order that he may have the power of doing so, the act authorizes him to make and maintain a navigable cut or canal, passable and portable for boats, barges, and other vessels, at all times and seasons, from any part of a croft or meadow, known by the name of Master Cooke's Tenter-field, in the township of Salford, and then in the occupation of Master Cooke, to Worsley-mill and Middlewood, and from thence to Hollin's-ferry, (on the river Mersey,) supplying it with water from Worsley-brook and the other streams within five hundred yards of the canal. It provides that the canal and towing-path shall not be more than sixteen yards in breadth when within six feet of the natural level of ground, nor more than a hundred yards in breadth in crossing hollow cloughs, or water-courses. It vests the property of the canal in Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, and his heirs, as their proper estate and inheritance. During the first forty years after the canal is opened, coals from the duke's pits, at Worsley, are to be sold to the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford at no higher rate than 4d. per cwt. of 120 lbs., (6s. 8d. a-ton.) All persons to be authorized to use the canal on paying Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, and his heirs or representatives, 2s. 6d. a-ton, "in consideration of the great charges and expenses the said Francis, Duke of

Bridgewater, must bear and sustain in the making, maintaining, and supplying with water the said cut or canal." The act also provides, that the Duke of Bridgewater shall not have the power of carrying the said navigation further towards Warrington or Sankey-brook than the limits stated, that is, than Hollin's-ferry on the river Mersey, without the authority of parliament for so doing.

In the course of the year following, the Duke of Bridgewater and his great engineer changed their plan, both as to the course and the length of the projected canal. They determined that the Manchester terminus of the canal should be in a certain field called the Dole-field, close to the town, and that the canal should be continued to Longford-bridge, in Cheshire. They also resolved that the canal itself should be carried across the river Irwell, by a lofty aqueduct near Barton-bridge ; a project quite unprecedented, and considered almost impracticable by the engineers of that age. An act was consequently applied for and obtained, in the year 1759, authorizing these variations in the original plan. They were rapidly and successfully carried into effect by the great Brindley, to the wonder and admiration of the country and the age. The successful execution of this grand scheme of carrying a navigable canal over valleys and rivers, may be said to have created the system of navigable canals in Great Britain.

It has been seen that in the first of the canal acts of the great Duke of Bridgewater, he obtained powers for forming a canal from Worsley to the Mersey and Irwell navigation at Hollin's-ferry. This would have given him water-carriage for the produce of his coal-mines to Liverpool and to the salt districts of Cheshire, and would also have created a double line of water communication from Manchester to Hollin's-ferry. On more mature consideration, the Duke of Bridgewater abandoned the plan of a canal to Hollin's-ferry, and adopted the much bolder plan of continuing his canal from Longford-bridge, in Cheshire, to the estuary of the Mersey at Runcorn ; thus rendering himself independent of the river company, shortening the distance, by avoiding the windings of the Mersey, and establishing a second line of water communication from Liverpool to Manchester.

In the second year of George the Third the Duke applied for and obtained powers to construct the canal by which he united Liverpool and Manchester. The portion of this great work which extends from Manchester to Longford-bridge, near Stretford, was formed under the act of 1759 ; the remaining portion, extending for twenty-four miles, from Long-

ford-bridge to the Mersey, at Runcorn, was formed under the act of the second George the Third. That act sets forth the advantages of constructing this canal in the following words:—"And whereas the said cut or canal so begun and carried on may be further continued and extended from Longford-bridge over the river Mersey, and through the townships of Altringham, Dunham, otherwise called Dunham Massey, Lynn, and Thelwall, in the county of Chester, and to and near a certain place called the Hempstones, in or near the township of Halton, below the town of Warrington, and may there fall into and communicate with the river Mersey, whereby the conveyance of coal, stone, timber, and other goods, wares, and merchandises, to and from the great trading towns of Manchester and Liverpool, and the country lying near and contiguous to the said navigation, will be much facilitated and rendered less expensive; and the utility of the undertakings, authorized by the said former acts, will be greatly increased to the public; and the said duke is willing and desirous to extend, continue, make, and complete such new-intended cut or canal, at his own expense, and to do and perform such things as shall be necessary for the supporting, maintaining, and rendering the same effectual for the purposes aforesaid, without any higher tonnage rate or duty, throughout the whole or any part of the said navigation, than is authorized by the said former acts to be taken on the cuts or canals therein mentioned." (2s. 6d. a ton.) The act then gives full powers for constructing the canal; provides that it shall not be more than thirty-one yards wide, (except on artificial ground and turning places,) nor more than six feet deep.

The impulse given to the public mind by the genius of Brindley and the enterprize and perseverance of the Duke of Bridgewater, was felt throughout the kingdom, in a succession of great schemes for creating canal navigation.

The first of these enterprizes was that of joining the river Mersey to the great river Trent, by a navigable canal from the Trent, at or near Wilden-ferry, in the county of Derby, to the river Mersey at or near Runcorn-gap. This canal, which was frequently called the Staffordshire Canal, from its intersecting that county for many miles, was also projected by the Duke of Bridgewater, and his brother-in-law, the Earl Gower, grandfather of the present Duke of Sutherland and Earl of Ellesmere. It was formed by Brindley, supported by a company, of whom they were the chief members. The act set forth that the forming a cut or canal from the river Trent, near Wilden-bridge, to the river Mersey, at or near

to a certain place called Runcorn-gap, for the navigation of boats and other vessels, with heavy-laden burdens, will open an easy communication between the interior parts of the kingdom, and the ports of Hull and Liverpool, “ which will be of great advantage, not only to the trade carried on to or from the said ports, but to several different manufactures which abound in many towns or places through or near which the said canal or cut is proposed to be made ; and will also tend to the improvement of the adjoining lands, the relief of the poor, and the preservation of the public roads ; and, moreover, be of great public utility.” The act therefore authorizes the Right Hon. Earl Gower, his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater, and the other projectors of the canal, to form it, giving them the usual powers for forming a canal twenty-six yards in breadth, and five feet deep ; for raising a capital of £130,000, in 650 shares of £200 each ; and £20,000 more, if necessary. Interest at £5 per cent. to be paid on the works until completed ; and tolls to be taken at the rate of 1½d. per ton per mile. Navigation to be open to all persons on paying those tolls. Powers are also given of connecting this canal with the Bridgewater Canal at Preston Brook, the duke agreeing to make the junction.

Other great schemes followed in rapid succession.

On the 14th Sept., 1766, a meeting of gentlemen connected with Yorkshire and Lancashire, was held at the Union Flag Hotel, Rochdale, Thomas Ferrand, Esq., in the chair, to consider the practicability of driving a canal through the mountain chain which divides Lancashire from Yorkshire, and of thus joining the Mersey and Irwell navigation at Manchester, to that of the Calder, one of the tributaries of the Humber, at Sowerby Bridge, near Halifax, so as to form an uninterrupted line of water communication from Liverpool to Hull. At this meeting careful surveys were ordered to be made, and an adjourned meeting was held at the same place on the 12th November, in the same year, to which all persons were called “ who were disposed to promote an undertaking of such general tendency to the improvement of land, the advancement of trade, and the public welfare.” These proceedings led to the carrying out of the proposed plan, though not until some years after.

Another scheme, equally bold, and directed to the same object of forming a direct line of water communication from the Mersey to one of the tributaries of the Humber, first began to be spoken of with confidence in the year 1767. That was the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. On the 29th January, 1768, the following announcement on this subject appeared in

Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser :—" We hear that the navigable canal proposed to be made from this port to Leeds, in Yorkshire, by the rivers Aire and Ribble, has been deemed practicable, at a meeting of several gentlemen lately held at Bradford, which, if carried into execution, will be extremely advantageous. A committee was appointed on behalf of Yorkshire, which, in conjunction with one to be appointed in this county, is to direct the surveys and resurveys of it." The whole of the year was employed in these surveys and resurveys, and on the 30th December, 1768, the following announcement was put forth in Liverpool and Yorkshire :—" Whereas, at two numerous meetings, in pursuance of announcements in the public papers, of the gentlemen, merchants, landowners, and others of the county of York, held at Bradford the 5th of this instant, December, and of the county of Lancaster, held at Liverpool the 9th, called to receive and consider Mr. Brindley's report of his survey of the proposed navigable canal, from Leeds to Liverpool, it was unanimously agreed, That the said canal is very practicable, and will be of great public utility ; and application should be made to parliament, the present session, for leave and power to effect the same : A meeting is therefore desired of the nobility, gentlemen, merchants, landowners, manufacturers, and others who are disposed to promote this most beneficial undertaking, for the county of York, at the Sun, in Bradford, on Monday, the 9th day of January next ; and for the county of Lancaster, at the Exchange, in Liverpool, on the same day ; when and where a subscription will be opened upon the following scheme, being nearly the same as those of the Staffordshire, Coventry, and other canals, for which acts have been lately obtained : namely, That the power be vested in a company, under the name of the proprietors of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Canal : that the capital sum be divided into shares of £100, and each subscriber to have a vote for every share he is possessed of, but no person to be allowed more than 100 shares : that such shares be made personal estate, and transferable as such : that the money subscribed be made payable by different calls or instalments, and no call to exceed ten per cent. at one time, and between every call that there shall be at least an interval of three months : that an interest of £5 per cent., to be regularly paid at a stated day in every year, attend the sum advanced upon every call : and that when the whole navigation is completed every proprietor shall become entitled to a proportion of the full profits of the shares he is possessed of."*

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, December 30, 1768.

The act for forming the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, or, as it was styled, “a cut or canal from Leeds-bridge, in the county of York, to the North Ladies’ Walk, in Liverpool, and from thence to the river Mersey,” was passed in the tenth year of George the Third, 1769. The preamble sets forth that the making a cut or canal from the town of Leeds, through the various townships of Yorkshire and Lancashire enumerated in the bill, to the port of Liverpool, will open a short, easy, and commodious communication between the several populous towns of Leeds, Bradford, Bingley, Keighley, Skipton, Gargrave, Settle, Colne, Burnley, Blackburn, Padiham, Whalley, Preston, and Ormskirk, and other the interior parts of the counties of York and Lancaster, and the ports of Hull and Liverpool, and will be of great advantage to the trade carried on between those two ports, and of great public utility. It therefore authorizes a company of proprietors, 409 in number, whose names are given, to form it, and incorporates and forms them into a company, under the title of “The Company of Proprietors of the Canal Navigation from Leeds to Liverpool.” The capital to be raised is £260,000, in shares of £100 each; and no works to be begun until the sum of £200,000 is subscribed. A further sum of £60,000 may be raised if required. Proprietors to receive £5 per cent. interest until the canal is finished. The toll payable to the company to be $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile for every ton of brick, clay, or stone; 1d. for every ton of coal or lime; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every ton of timber, goods, wares, and merchandise conveyed along the canal. Navigation to be free on paying these tolls. The act further provides that the Bootle springs shall not be diverted into the proposed canal; and that nothing shall be done to interfere with the act passed in the reign of Queen Anne, authorizing Sir Cleave Moore to bring water into the town of Liverpool. It also authorizes the making of a cut from the river Douglas to the said canal.

It will be seen, from the table of rates given above, that the charge for transporting merchandise along the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was the same as that for carrying it along the Staffordshire Canal; but that the charge for transporting coal and other heavy articles was thirty-three per cent. less, and that for bricks, clay, &c. upwards of sixty-six per cent.

The conveying of coal from Wigan to Liverpool has been one principal source of revenue on this canal.

In addition to the above schemes, many others of equal boldness were projected about the same time, several of which have been carried into effect. Amongst them were the following:—1st. A canal between the Thames

and Severn, with a reduction of the fall at London-bridge. 2nd. From the lowest level or canal leading into the Severn to the Mersey south of Liverpool. 3rd. From Liverpool to Hull. 4th. From Liverpool by Preston to Lancaster. 5th. From Carlisle to Newcastle-on-Tyne. 6th. From Berwick to Carlisle and the Clyde. 7th. From the Clyde by Renfrew, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Hamilton, and West Lothian, &c., into Newhaven or Leith, by north-west of Edinburgh. 8th. From the Trent to the Severn. 9th. From York to Preston. 10th. From Chester to the rivers Mersey and Severn and North Wales.* Smeaton, the great engineer, made two reports on the Forth and Clyde Canal, in the second of which he calculated that a canal seven feet deep and fifty-two feet wide at the top could be formed for the sum of £143,337.† The following announcement relating to the Chester Canal appeared on the 23rd December, 1768:—"We are assured, from good authority, that the subscribers for making a canal from Chester intend to meet every Friday, till the affair is completed. Mr. Brindley's men are still making further surveys, in hopes to avoid going under ground; and it is also under consideration whether it may not be more advantageous to the city of Chester to carry their canal more south than was at first intended, and thereby have a shorter and better communication with Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire."‡

Another bold scheme which has often been proposed but never executed, that of building a bridge from Lancashire to Cheshire, across the tideway of the river Mersey at Runcorn, was also projected at this time, and was pronounced to be practicable by the indomitable Brindley. "On Monday last," says Mr. Williamson, "Mr. Brindley waited upon several of the principal gentlemen of this town and others at Runcorn, in order to ascertain the expense that may attend the building a bridge over the river Mersey at that place, which is estimated at a sum inferior to the advantages that must arise, both to the counties of Lancaster and Chester, from a communication of this sort."§

The following comparison of the rates per ton at which goods were conveyed by land carriage before the opening of the Grand Trunk Canal, and of the rates at which they were carried by it, will show how great was the advantage conferred on the country by the introduction of navigable canals. The cost of carrying a ton of goods from Liverpool to Etruria, the centre of the Staffordshire potteries, by land carriage, was 50s.: the Trent and

* Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, July 19, 1768

+ *Ibid*, October 21, 1768.

‡ *Ibid*, December 31, 1768.

§ *Ibid*, July 19, 1768.

Mersey reduced it to 13s. 4d. The land carriage from Liverpool to Wolverhampton was £5 a-ton: the canal reduced it to £1 5s. The land carriage from Liverpool to Birmingham, and also to Stourport, was £5 a-ton: the canal reduced both to £1 10s. The land carriage from Manchester to Lichfield was £4: the canal reduced it to £1. That from Manchester to Derby was £3: the canal reduced it to £1 10s. That from Manchester to Leicester was £6: the canal reduced it to £1 10s. From Manchester to Newark, £5 6s. 8d.: the canal reduced it to £2. From Manchester to Nottingham, £4: the canal reduced it to £2. From Manchester to Wolverhampton, £4 13s. 4d.: the canal reduced it to £1 5s. From Manchester to Birmingham, £4; the canal reduced it to £1 10s. From Liverpool and Manchester to Shardlaw, six miles from Derby, where the Mersey and Trent Canal joined the Trent, completing the grand junction of those two rivers, the land carriage was £3: reduced by the canal to £1 10s; and from Shardlaw to Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, by the river Trent, 10s. more. Thus the cost of inland transport was reduced to about one-fourth of the rate paid previous to the introduction of canal navigation. Hence coals, salt, iron, timber, and other heavy articles could be conveyed a hundred miles into the country for the same sum which it had formerly taken to convey them twenty-five miles; and wheat, which formerly could not be conveyed a hundred miles from corn-growing districts, to the large towns and manufacturing districts, for less than 20s. a-quarter, could be conveyed for about 5s. a-quarter.* These facts show how great was the service conferred on the country by Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater.

A contested election took place in Liverpool in April, 1761, at which Sir William Meredith, Bart., polled 1,163 votes, Sir Ellis Cunliffe, Bart., 1,138 votes, and Charles Pole, Esq., 1,089 votes. The total number of freemen who voted at this election was 2,164. At a contested election, in the year 1727, the number of freemen was 1,280, so that the number had nearly doubled in thirty-three years.

An act was passed, in the second of George the Third, for erecting two new churches, at the expense of the inhabitants of Liverpool. The former of the two was named St. Paul's, and was built in what was then an open field, called the Dogfield, at the north end of the town, which the parish had bought from Mr. Ralph Earle. The latter, named St. John's, was also built in the open country, on the Great Heath, a piece of ground which the corporation had given for the purpose. The act

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, August 8, 1777.

authorized the raising of the sum of £4,000 by rate on the inhabitants, for the erecting of these two churches; but this sum was found to be insufficient to complete them, and another act was passed, in the seventh George the Third, authorizing the raising of an additional sum of £2,000 for the same purpose.

In 1764 the site of Williamson-square was proposed for a market by the Williamson family. The council offered to take the proposal into consideration, if they would "fill up the swamp", in the land adjoining Frog-lane—the present Whitechapel.*

In 1765 the corporation determined to give part of "the Great Heath" to build another church, St. John's, below the present London and North-western Railway station.†

William Pownall, Esq., mayor of Liverpool, died in the course of his mayoralty, on the 12th of March, 1768, universally beloved and lamented.

The merchants of Liverpool and the other outports had long regarded the exclusive privileges of the East India Company with great jealousy; and their eagerness to obtain a share of the trade with India was greatly increased about this time, by Lord Clive's splendid conquests in Bengal and Southern India, and by the rumours of almost fabulous wealth created by the fortunes of Clive and other East India nabobs. On the 28th January, 1768, a meeting of merchants was held at the Exchange, Liverpool, to consider a proposal for buying a share of the India trade from the government, at the close of the company's then existing charter. The plan proposed was, that a new company should be formed for carrying on the trade with India and China, which should advance the sum of £8,000,000 to the government, at two per cent. interest, as the price of its charter. This large sum it was proposed to raise in the following proportions:—London, £3,200,000; Bristol and Liverpool, £1,600,000 each; and Hull and Glasgow, £800,000 each. In consideration of these sums, it was proposed that a chamber should be formed in each of the ports, the members of which should have the exclusive privilege of trading with India and China.

This scheme, like all the others formed for the same purpose during the next forty years, produced no result except disappointment; but it is interesting as showing the commercial spirit of the port within a few years after the accession of George the Third. Other parties in Liverpool went still further, and called for the abolition of the East India monopoly, and the throwing open of the trade, without any restrictions. These

* Corporation Records.

† Ibid.

spirited and intelligent men put forth the following declaration of the advantages of an open trade to India and China :—"The company," they said, "allow that they send out one year with another 27 ships, whilst, if the trade was laid open, twenty ships for one could be sent, the number of which would amount to above 350 ; and allowing only 50 men to each ship," (the company manned their vessels like ships of war,) "it would employ above 25,000 seamen. What an increase of naval strength ! Again, the company have leave to trade for £2,000,000 ; it is said, they employ £4,000,000, and for proof it is urged, that they have kept in warehouses, in teas only, to the value of £2,000,000. If the company only trade for £2,000,000 yearly, free merchants would employ ten times as much ; they would send ships to many places where the company never did, and by industry open new branches, even in those places where they now do trade, which it is natural for the indolence of rich monopolising companies to neglect. The company complain that their servants cheat them, and take home hundreds of thousands of pounds ; now the free merchants who send their ships, under the direction of men that they can confide in, will, of course, save to themselves as their share as much as the company complain of being cheated of. Lastly, the whole nation will be benefitted ; for, proportionally to the increase of trade, the amount of duties on the vast augmentation will be increased, and thereby the sinking-fund, which was formed to be a means of paying off the national debt and taking off the taxes, will be proportionally increased."*

The number of seamen employed in the Liverpool ships in 1771 was 5,967.†

About the end of the year 1772 Mr. Thomas Earle established a line of packets, sailing at regular times, from Liverpool to Leghorn, the great commercial emporium of Italy. This was the first line of foreign packets established in Liverpool.‡

In consequence of the new stamp act, the price of the Liverpool papers was raised to twopence-halfpenny, "the price at which newspapers were sold in most parts of England."§

The ship *Kent*, of 1,100 tons, launched in Liverpool in April, 1773, was then the largest ship ever built in the north of England.||

The celebrated "Mr. Astley and his pupils," from London, visited Liverpool in February, 1773, and exhibited their wonderful feats of horse-

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 27, 1768.

† Enfield's Liverpool, 26.

‡ Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, December 4, 1772.

§ Ibid, December 18, 1772.

|| Ibid, April 27, 1773.

manship to upwards of 20,000 of the inhabitants of Liverpool, "in a large field near Mr. Roscoe's bowling-green, Mount-pleasant."*

The Rev. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, preached in Pitt-street Chapel, Liverpool, on Sunday evening, March 21, 1773.†

George Alexander Stevens, the Charles Mathews of his day, delivered his facetious lecture upon heads to a Liverpool audience in April, 1773.‡

The Bishop of Chester consecrated St. Anne's Church on Thursday, the 29th July, 1773. A sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Crigan, afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man.

Mr. John Okill, the founder of St. Thomas's Church, died suddenly in August, 1773.§

An Italian opera company first appeared before a Liverpool audience in September, 1773.||

In October, 1773, it was reported that thirty-one miles of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was finished at the Liverpool end; twenty-four miles near Bingley, and that good progress was made in the neighbourhood of Leeds.¶

During the winter of 1774 the Duke of Bridgewater ordered coals to be sold to the poor of Liverpool in pennyworths, at the same rate as by cart loads. Twenty-four pounds of coal was sold for a penny.**

A hundred ladies of Liverpool presented an address to Queen Charlotte, informing her that they felt "unspeakable pleasure," on learning that she was about to introduce the fashion "of wearing the hair in a state of nature, unpowdered and unpomatumed, which will be the means of showing that most excellent natural ornament in its true beauty."††

It was announced that light-houses were to be erected on the Skerries, Tuskar, and on or about Holyhead.‡‡

The months of December, 1773, and January, 1774, were unusually sickly in Liverpool. The number of deaths was 269. The mortality of the corresponding months in the seven years preceding was as follows:—1772, 182; 1771, 171; 1770, 292; 1769, 168; 1768, 179; 1767, 342; 1766, 194. The cause of the great mortality of 1767 could not be positively traced, but it was supposed to have been fever; that of 1770 was owing to the ravages of small-pox, which destroyed 675 persons in three months; and that of 1773, was owing to "a low nervous fever, with more

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 12, 1773.

+ Ibid, March 19, 1773.

‡ Ibid, April 2, 1773.

§ Ibid, August 28, 1773.

|| September 10, 1773.

¶ Ibid, October 29, 1773.

** Ibid, November 5, 1773.

†† Ibid, February 4, 1774.

‡‡ Ibid, January 14, 1774.

or less putridity ;” supposed to be caused by “ poor low diet, confined putrid damp air, and want of cleanliness, perhaps unavoidable in those striking scenes of misery and distress so frequent amongst our numerous poor, of which none but those who have been witness to them can form an adequate idea, and which no humane heart can see without anxiety and commiseration.”*

On Saturday, March 19th, 1774, the Right Hon. Sir William Meredith, who had accepted the office of comptroller of the household, was re-elected member for Liverpool, without opposition.†

The Manchester, Warrington, and Liverpool stage-coach began to run three times a week, on Monday, the 25th April, 1774. It set out from the Spread Eagle, Salford, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and returned from the Bull Inn, Dale-street, Liverpool, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. This coach started at seven in the morning, and the passengers dined at Warrington. Fare, inside, 8s., and only 14 lbs. of luggage allowed.‡

The “ Liverpool and Preston machines, on steel springs,” (coaches,) began to run on the 15th June, 1774. The coaches to and from Liverpool started at, 8 a.m., met and dined at Ormskirk, and each returned to its place of starting “ the same evening.” Fare, inside, 8s. 6d., luggage allowed 14 lbs., and charge 1d. per lb. above that weight.§

A Liverpool academy established. The members met every Tuesday evening “ at their drawing-room, in John-street.”||

A royal proclamation was issued on the 24th June, 1774, authorizing Messrs. Arthur Heywood, Son, and Company, of Liverpool, Thomas Hart, of Uttoxeter, Messrs. Samuel Crompton and Son, of Derby, Messrs. William Haydon and Son, of Guildford, Charles Bushby, of Arundel, and the governor and company of the Royal Bank of England, to receive the light gold then in circulation, and to exchange it for gold of full weight, according to the provisions of a former proclamation.¶

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in July, 1774 :—Nicholas Ashton, Joseph Brooks, jun., John Chorley, Thomas Case,‡ Edward Chaffers, John Dobson, (chairman,) Joseph Daltera, William Earle, Thomas Falkner, Thomas Foxcroft, Arthur Heywood, Benjamin Heywood, William James, Francis Ingram, Richard Kent, Alexander Nottingham, Henry Rawlinson, Gill

* Williamson’s Liverpool Advertiser, February 18, 1774.

+ Ibid, March 25, 1774.

† Ibid, April 15, 1774.

§ Ibid, June 24, 1774.

|| Ibid, July 1, 1774.

¶ Ibid, July 8, 1774.

Slater, Thomas Smyth, (deputy-chairman,) Thomas Staniforth, and William Wallace, Esquires. Samuel Green, secretary.*

The Liverpool race week, ending August 6, 1774, "was one continued scene of gaiety, from the variety of entertainments, consisting of plays every evening, assemblies and balls on Tuesday and Thursday, the races during the last three days, and from the brilliant appearance of the company." The races were run on Crosby Marsh. "The multitudes on the ground, and the coming and returning, was a spectacle of wonder. From the winning chair to the port of Liverpool, seven miles extent over the wide smooth sandy level, was continued a train of carriages, horse, and foot, as far as the eye could carry: a nimble harlequin might have stepped from one carriage to the other, and walked on the heads of the waving multitudes over the wide extended shore. The turf is judged by the jockeys to be the finest, and the regulations of the course the best, in England. The horses are in view every foot of the way from every stand, and into every carriage, and both horse and foot, by moving a few hundred yards into the centre, saw every contested push, and the last great struggle and combat for the prize." Although the glory of Crosby Races has passed away, the natural beauties of the fine sea view described in the following account of these races still remain to charm:—"Besides the spectacle of sport and splendour common to all races and race grounds, were many advantages peculiar to Crosby Marsh. In sight of the stands and theatrical booths which covered one side of the race ground with colours, streamers, and standards flying, lay the open sea, extending to the Ormeshead, Carnarvon-hill, and Snowdon on the west, unbounded on the north-west, and towards the Isle of Man; the sea was covered with sails, sloops, wherries, and boats, loaded with passengers, discharged at the foot of the race ground; to the east the villages and the Leeds Canal with sloops and boats, and colours flying, with people from all parts of the country and inlands."†

Twenty miles of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, extending from the neighbourhood of Bingley to the neighbourhood of Bradford, was opened on the 21st March, 1774. "From Bingley and about three miles down," says a correspondent of *Williamson's Advertiser*, "the noblest works of the kind that perhaps are to be found in the universe are exhibited, namely, a five-fold, a three-fold, a two-fold, and a single lock, making together a fall of 120 feet; a large aqueduct bridge of seven arches over the river Aire, and an aqueduct on a large banking over Shipley-valley.

* *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, 1774.

† *Ibid*, July 5, 1774.

Five boats of burden passed the grand lock, the first of which descended through a fall of sixty-six feet in less than twenty-nine minutes. This much-wished-for event was welcomed with ringing of bells, a band of music, the firing of guns by the neighbouring militia, the shouts of spectators, and all the marks of satisfaction that so important an acquisition merits."*

A stage coach began to run this spring from the Pyed Bull, North-gate-street, Chester, to the New Ferry, and back the same day; fare 4s.†

A correspondent of Williamson's Advertiser informs the proprietors that seventy miles of the Staffordshire Canal were finished on the 29th of March, 1774. "It was thought that if it was not for the stop at Sir Richard Brooke's, the whole canal, from the Trent to the Mersey, would be navigable in twelve months." Thirty-six trading boats were already at work on the canal and fourteen on the Trent.‡ Of the Harecastle tunnel 2,480 yards were completed.

A public notice put forth that parties burning candles on board vessels in the docks, "without lanthorns," would be fined forty shillings for each offence.§

At a vestry held the 6th September, it was ordered that the walls and roof of St. Nicholas's Church should be taken down and rebuilt, nearly on the old foundation.||

On Monday, October 10th, the Right Hon. Sir William Meredith, Bart., and Richard Pennant, Esq., were re-elected members for Liverpool without opposition. Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., of Hope, near Manchester, who had offered himself as a candidate, declined to go to the poll. "The two following days the freemen were plentifully regaled, and on Wednesday a ball and cold collation was given by the members, to near 300 gentlemen and ladies, which was elegantly and splendidly conducted."¶

The Liverpool end of that great work, the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, was opened from Liverpool to Wigan on Wednesday, the 19th October, 1774, "with great festivity and rejoicings. The water had been let into the basin the evening before. At nine, a.m., the proprietors sailed up the canal in their barge, preceded by another filled with music, with colours flying, &c., and returned to Liverpool about one. They were saluted with two royal salutes of twenty-one guns each, besides the swivels on board

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, April 1, 1774.

+ Ibid, April 22, 1774.

‡ Ibid, April 29, 1774.

§ Ibid, August 2, 1774.

|| Ibid, September 9, 1774.

¶ Ibid, October 14, 1774

the boats, and welcomed with the repeated shouts of the numerous crowds assembled on the banks, who made a most cheerful and agreeable sight. The gentlemen then adjourned to a tent on the quay, where a cold collation was set out for themselves and their friends. From thence they went in procession to George's Coffee-house, where an elegant dinner was provided. The workmen, 215 in number, walked first, with their tools on their shoulders and cockades in their hats, and were afterwards plentifully regaled at a dinner provided for them. The bells rang all day, and the greatest joy and order prevailed on the occasion."*

In consequence of "just complaints of housekeepers and others," of delivery of short measure and other unfair practices of the common dealers "in that most useful article, coal," the proprietors of the Sankey navigation announced that they had appointed "sworn agents" in Liverpool, who would deliver coals to housekeepers and ships at the following prices:—Peter Leigh, Esq., to housekeepers at 7s. 2d. per ton, to ships at 6s. 6d.; John Mackay, Esq., to housekeepers 7s., to ships at 6s. 4d.; Thomas Case, Esq., to housekeepers at 6s. 10d., to ships at 6s. 2d.; Sir Thomas Gerard, to housekeepers at 6s. 6d., to ships at 5s. 10d. To accommodate the poor, coals were to be sold at 4d. per cwt. of 120 lbs.†

The earlier part of the reign of George the Third was a period of peace and prosperity, during which, as will have been seen from the preceding details, the facilities of Liverpool for accommodating shipping, for conveying English manufactures to foreign countries, and for distributing the produce of foreign countries through the interior of England, were greatly increased by docks, canals, and other public works. In the year 1760 not more than 1,245 ships paid dock dues at Liverpool, whilst in 1772 the number had increased to 2,262.‡ The tonnage of the vessels which cleared out of the port in the former of those years was 48,820 tons, that of the vessels which cleared out in 1774 was 85,954, an increase of nearly a hundred per cent. in thirteen years.§ The income of the dock trust and of the corporation, and the revenue arising from the town dues, had increased with equal rapidity during this period. The income of the dock trust, which was not more than £2,385 in the year 1760, had increased to £4,554 in 1771: the town dues, which produced £1,022 11s. 4½d. in 1760, had increased to £4,536 3s. in 1773-4: and the income of the corporation, which amounted to £4,726 6s. 2d. in the year 1760, had

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, October 21, 1774. + Ibid, December 9, 1774.

‡ Enfield's Essay towards a History of Liverpool, 69.

§ Troughton's History of Liverpool, 26.

risen to £10,943 7s. 6d. in 1773. Tried by these, and all other tests which can be applied, it appears that the twelve years of peace which intervened between the seven years' war and the first American war were years of great prosperity, during which the commerce and wealth of Liverpool increased more rapidly than they had ever done before.

The causes of the rapid growth of commercial wealth during the above period will be traced more fully in a succeeding chapter; but it may be stated generally, that, so far as Liverpool was concerned, the great causes were the improvement and extension of manufactures in the interior of Lancashire, and the adjoining counties; the rapid increase of population and wealth in the thirteen American colonies; the new acquisitions of England, in Canada; and the improvement and extended cultivation of the West India Islands. Already the influence of the inventive genius of Arkwright and others was beginning to be felt in the cotton manufacture; already from two to three millions of the Anglo-Saxon race peopled the shores of America; and already the industry of the West Indies, stimulated by the capital of England and the labour of Africa, produced immense returns of wealth. According to calculations made at the commencement of the first American war, the value of the American produce imported into England from the thirteen colonies was upwards of three millions, whilst that of the English goods exported to British America was as much. At the same time the amount of capital vested in the West Indies was sixty millions. At that time Liverpool had taken the lead of all the seaports of the empire in the American and the African trades, and also possessed a large share in the trade of the West Indies. Hence the commercial ruin caused by the American war fell more severely on Liverpool than on any other place in the empire. The first blood drawn in the American war of independence was that shed at Lexington, in April, 1775; in 1778, France acknowledged the independence of America, and declared war against England; Spain followed in the steps of France soon after; and Holland before the close of the war. This desperate and wide-spreading contest with America, France, Spain, and Holland continued to the year 1783, when England, finding the attempt to subdue her late colonies hopeless, abandoned the attempt, acknowledged their independence, and made peace with their allies. It is no part of the plan of this work to trace the history of this unjust and disgraceful war; but a sketch of the events arising out of it, which bear upon the interests of Liverpool, will be found in the summary which I now proceed to give. The general result of the war on the position of Liverpool was, that the foreign

commerce of the port, which had doubled itself between the accession of George the Third, in 1760, and the commencement of the American war, in 1775, declined in all its branches from the commencement of the war to its close in 1783; and that the condition of the population of Liverpool was deteriorated so greatly in the latter years of the war, that not less than ten thousand of the forty thousand inhabitants became dependent either on the parish or on charity for their daily support.

In January, 1775, a meeting, consisting of from 300 to 400 merchants, trading with North America, belonging to all the ports and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, was held at the King's Tavern, Cornhill, London, to remonstrate against the violent proceedings of the government towards the colonists, and to petition for the repeal of all acts which had interfered with the friendly and commercial relations with America. "The whole remonstrance," says a writer in Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, of the 20th January, 1775, "was couched in decent, manly terms; and, in point of style, good sense, and precision, showed the committee appointed for drawing it up every way equal to the great trust delegated to them." The Liverpool West India merchants joined with the other West India merchants of the kingdom in a general meeting, held at the London Tavern, on this subject, at which a strong remonstrance was also agreed to, by a majority of two hundred to seven votes. At this meeting Mr. Edwards, of Jamaica, stated that the English capital invested in the West Indies amounted to sixty millions sterling; that the North American colonists consumed 20,000 hogsheads of sugar and 25,000 puncheons of rum yearly, besides 10,000 hogsheads of refined sugar from England; and that the West Indians, in their turn, depended on the North American colonists for food, staves, and great numbers of other articles. "Should, therefore," he said, "any interruption happen in the general system of the commerce and cultivation of those islands, (the West Indies,) should the vast national stock thus employed become unprofitable and precarious, will not Great Britain, with a debt of £140,000,000, be sensibly affected? Sir," said he, "it will shake her empire to its base. Her African trade will be lost, and many other branches of the great commerce with her colonies, which, during the last war, rendered her the arbitress of Europe, will be dried up and exhausted for ever." These remonstrances and warnings unfortunately failed to produce any effect on the government. It plunged madly into war with the colonists, and for a time more than realized all these predictions of commercial ruin.*

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January 27, 1775.

Within a month of the date of the above remonstrances, it was announced that 8,000 tons of American shipping had returned to America without cargoes, the captains knowing well that they would not be allowed to land them. Early in February, 1775, the ship *James*, Captain Wilson, of Glasgow, which had arrived at New York on the 1st of that month, with a cargo of Scotch goods, was compelled to depart without breaking bulk. In the same month the *Beulah*, Captain Russell, of London, was ordered to leave New York, with her cargo, within two days of her arrival there. About a month later the Liverpool brig, *Henry and Joseph*, was refused permission to land her cargo at Baltimore. On the 26th of June Captain Crippen, of the Liverpool ship *Albion*, who had attempted to land a cargo of salt at Philadelphia, was compelled to depart, and a resolution was passed in that city, declaring that Mr. Henry Cour and Nicholas Ashton, Esq., of Liverpool, the owners of the salt, had wilfully violated the orders of the American congress. The inhabitants of Philadelphia were warned not to have any commercial dealings with them.*

In the autumn of 1775 the Americans began to fit out privateers at Philadelphia and other ports. In January of the following year it was announced that there were American privateers in all parts of the Atlantic. In July of the same year, letters from the West Indies announced that American privateers swarmed round every one of the islands. Meanwhile the English government vessels were not idle. In the first half of the year 1776 they captured seventy-two American vessels. Thus the energies of the two nations were turned to the destruction of commerce, and continued to be so till the end of the war. As early as February, 1776, only seven vessels entered at the London Custom-house in a whole week; a circumstance not known before for forty years. The foreign trade of Liverpool rapidly declined, until it sank to a small part of what it had been before the war. There were at that time one hundred and seventy American cruisers at sea. Amongst other prizes, they took twenty-three valuable West Indiamen, in the summer of 1776.†

In November, 1775, it was announced that 600 vessels, formerly employed in the trade with America, were lying idle in the Thames. Precisely the same state of things existed in Liverpool. A writer in the *Liverpool General Advertiser*, of the 29th September, 1775, says, "Our once-extensive trade to Africa is at a stand: all commerce with America is at an end. Peace, harmony, and mutual confidence must constitute the balm that can again restore to health the body politic. Survey our

* Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, August 11, 1776.

+ *Ibid*, September 13, 1776.

docks ; count there the gallant ships laid up and useless. When will they be again refitted ? What become of the sailor, the tradesman, the poor labourer, during the approaching winter ?”

I now proceed with a summary of miscellaneous local events.

A remonstrance was sent to the postmaster-general, in 1775, stating that there was only one letter-carrier for the delivery of all the letters received by the Liverpool Postoffice. An answer was received, stating that there was only one in any provincial town, and that the postmaster did not think himself justified in incurring the expense of more than one. He added, that the merchants of Liverpool might continue any arrangement which they had themselves entered into, for securing a more speedy delivery of letters.*

A floral meeting was held at Mr. Clifton's, Fazakerley-street, on the 25th April.†

On Saturday, July 24, (St. John's day,) “the worshipful the mayor laid the first stone of a new church, near the Infirmary, with the following inscription on it (in Latin):—‘This stone was laid the seventh day before the calends of July, in the year of grace 1775, and on the feast of the greatly venerated and holy John the Baptist, to whom this church is dedicated. Peter Rigby, mayor; John Colquitt and James Gildart, bailiffs; Edward Chaffers and William Hatton, churchwardens.’”‡

The Earl of Sefton founded “the new town of Harrington,” which is now a flourishing suburb of Liverpool, on his estates in Toxteth-park, about this time. A local poet, J. Shewell, jun., by name, thus sang the hopes of infant Harrington :

“From small beginnings, if great cities rise,
And raise their lofty turrets to the skies;
Sure Harrington, beneath the auspicious care
Of Sefton, shall her spacious fabric rear;
And, as she rises in the lists of fame,
The illustrious founder to the world proclaim.
Let Liverpool, still like a faithful friend,
Her infant sister from each wrong defend.
Here be the olive's sacred boughs displayed
To both the kindred towns a peaceful shade;
So shall their riches from their union grow,
As streams from rivers join'd more copious flow.”§

On the 16th of September, 1775, the managers of the navigation from the Trent to the Mersey reported as follows, to the shareholders and the public :—The whole length of the canal, when completed, (they stated,) would be ninety-two miles. Of this eighty-two miles were finished, extending from the river Trent, near Wilden-ferry, in Derbyshire,

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 17, 1775.

+ Ibid, April 25, 1775.

‡ Ibid, June 30, 1775.

§ Ibid, August 10, 1775.

to Booth-lane, near Middlewich, Cheshire, and from the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, at Preston-brook, to Aeton-bridge. Upon these parts of it eighty boats were employed. The number of locks on the whole canal was seventy-five, of which seventy-two were finished, and the remaining three would be in about a month. The fall of the forty locks north of the Harecastle tunnel (the highest level of the canal) was 316 feet; south of it 326 feet. On the line of canal there had been built 163 earthen bridges, 11 foot bridges, and 150 culverts, or aqueducts. At Eggington, in the county of Derby, the canal was carried across the river Dove, and at Rudgely, in Staffordshire, across the river Trent, by means of two aqueducts, the former consisting of twenty-three, the latter of six spacious arches. At Armitage there was a tunnel 160 yards in length, 16 feet in height, and 14 feet in breadth, besides the towing-path, all cut out of the solid rock. Through the great hill called Harecastle, near the Staffordshire potteries, a subterranean passage had been made for the canal, in length 2,850 yards, in height 12 feet, and in breadth 9 feet 4 inches. Out of this tunnel several branches had been made to the coal mines under the hill. The canal was also conveyed through Preston-hill, in Cheshire, by another subterranean passage 1,241 yards in length, $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, "which will admit vessels large enough to navigate the tideway to Liverpool." "Ten miles," they say, "now only remains to finish this great work, and to open the long-desired communication between the ports of Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and the interior parts of this kingdom, which the company are proceeding to accomplish with all possible expedition. But it is much to be regretted that this communication, after so much labour and expense, will still be incomplete, if the obstruction given to it by Sir Richard Brooke, at Norton, in Cheshire, is not removed."* This difficulty, at Norton, was caused by the canal passing through Sir Richard Brooke's park. It was soon after overcome, and thus Liverpool was at length connected, by water-carriage, with Bristol and Hull, the Severn and the Trent, the Staffordshire potteries, the iron and Birmingham districts, and with nearly the whole of the interior of England; a truly great work, and one of the principal causes of the rapid growth of the modern commerce of the Mersey.

The year 1776 opened with a fall of snow, which cut off all communication between Liverpool and London for many days. The mail due on Tuesday in one week did not arrive until the Monday following.†

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, October 12, 1775.

† Ibid, January 19, 1776.

The following advertisement contains the earliest notice that I can find of a great man, whose name will ever be honourably associated with the town of Liverpool:—"The partnership between Messrs. Banister and Roscoe, attorneys, in Liverpool, being by mutual consent dissolved, William Roscoe begs leave to acquaint his friends, that he now carries on the business of an attorney, on his separate account, at his house, No. 10, College-lane, Liverpool."*

The Duke of Bridgewater's Canal from Runcorn to Manchester was completed on Thursday, the 21st March, 1776. "The vessels went through to Manchester on Friday and Saturday, and some of them returned to Liverpool on Sunday evening. To make the junction (near Halton) a mile was completely cut, and four capital bridges built, between the 22d January and 22d March, in which there were twenty-one days of frost and very bad weather. So singular a transaction cannot be equalled."†

Canal boats, "fitted up in an elegant manner," began to run between Liverpool and Wigan, carrying passengers for 1d. a mile.‡

Seamen, though no longer in demand for merchant vessels, were much sought after for the royal navy, into which multitudes were impressed. The attempts at impressment gave rise to desperate battles, in which many lives were lost. In November, 1776, a seaman, forcing his way into a house in Liverpool to impress another, was shot dead.§

In consequence of the attempts of the incendiary, John Hill, commonly known as John the Painter, to set fire to the Portsmouth and others of the naval arsenals, "a very great and most respectable public meeting" of the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and traders of Liverpool was held in January, 1777, at which it was resolved to place a much stronger watch around the docks. Numbers of gentlemen volunteered to keep guard by night in rotation.||

An anonymous Liverpool poet tried the public taste at this time, by publishing a new poetical translation of the Odes of Horace.¶

A Liverpool fire insurance office was established in 1777, with the following gentlemen as directors:—Gill Slater, Richard Heywood, John Tarleton, Thomas Case, B. A. Heywood, Benjamin Heywood, Thomas Tarleton, and Thomas Parke, Esquires.**

The Trent and Mersey or Staffordshire Canal was announced to be finished on the 13th June, 1777.

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, Feb. 23, 1776.

† Ibid, March 29, 1776.

‡ Ibid, May 10, 1776.

§ Ibid, November 22, 1776.

|| Ibid, January 24, 1777.

¶ Ibid, February 14, 1777.

** Ibid, February 28, 1777.

The beautiful Miss Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby, made her appearance on the Liverpool boards in the winter of 1776-7.*

The light-house at the point of Ayr first showed its lights on the night of the 30th September, 1777.† A series of subscription concerts was given in the same winter.‡

Early in the year 1777 the corporation and inhabitants of Liverpool raised a regiment of regular soldiers, which was named the Liverpool Blues. It was commanded by General Calcraft, as colonel; Major Pole, as lieutenant-colonel; Hon. Thomas Stanley, as major; Banistre Tarleton, (afterwards General Tarleton,) William Greaves, Bryan Blundell, Thomas Dunbar, Richard Cribb, Lieutenant Pigot, and Lieutenant Andrew Despart, as captains; Mr. Buckley, as captain-lieutenant; George Headlam, as lieutenant; and Christopher Graves, George Leigh, Thomas Leigh, and James Smith, as ensigns.§

On the 4th June, the birth-day of George the Third, the Liverpool soldiers were reviewed in front of the Goree warehouses.|| A few days afterwards the regiment marched from Liverpool to Warley Common, Essex, where it was encamped with other regiments. On the departure of the Liverpool regiment, the first division of the Leicestershire militia, commanded by the Marquis of Granby, was stationed in Liverpool.

The Penelope frigate, of twenty-eight guns, was launched in Liverpool on the 24th June.

Sheridan's comedy of the *School for Scandal* was brought out at the Liverpool Theatre in July, and performed eight times.

In May, 1777, an American privateer made its appearance in the Channel, and captured a sloop bound from Greenock to Kinsale.¶

In July, 1777, the American privateer General Mifflin, of twenty six-pounders, fitted out at Boston, and commanded by Walter Day, appeared in the Irish Channel and captured the following vessels:—The Priscilla, from Sligo to Liverpool, with linen yarn; the James, from Glasgow to Oporto, taken the day after she left Glasgow; the Rebecca, from Liverpool to Limerick; the Mary and Betty, from Liverpool to Ballyshannon. Most of these vessels, and of the other prizes taken by the American privateers, were sent to France to be sold. The General Mifflin was originally a Liverpool vessel, called the Isaac, and commanded by Captain Ashburner, in the West India trade.**

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, June 20, 1777. + Ibid, September 26th, 1777.

† Ibid, October 17th, 1777. § Ibid, January 26, 1778. || Ibid, June 5th, 1778.

¶ Ibid, May 9, 1777.

** Ibid, July 18, 1777.

It appeared, from a return published in the London Gazette of the 11th July, 1777, that the English cruizers on the coast of America captured, between the 1st January, 1777 and the 22d May following, 203 American vessels, and recaptured 15 English vessels taken by the Americans. Thus the work of destruction and the ruin of commerce proceeded with equal vigour on both sides.*

In the year 1777 the Earl of Sefton sold his reversionary right in the manor and lordship of Liverpool to the corporation, for the sum of £2,500, thus rendering them lords of the fee.

In the month of February, 1778, an inquiry took place before the House of Lords as to the amount of injury done to British commerce from the beginning of the war, in which it was stated, that the number of vessels destroyed or taken since the commencement of the war was 773, or, after allowing for those retaken, 559; that their value, at a very moderate computation, was £1,800,000; that of the ships thus taken 247 were engaged in the West India trade; that all articles imported from America had risen enormously in price: tobacco from 7½d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; pitch from 8s. to 35s. a barrel; and tar, turpentine, oil, and pig iron in the same proportion. It was considered a sufficient answer to this statement to show that the English cruizers had taken 904 American vessels, of the value of £1,808,000. It was forgotten that the enormous sums taken from the merchants of England were not transferred to the merchants of America; nor those taken from the merchants of America transferred to those of England; but that the whole were taken from commerce and turned into prize-money.

In April, 1778, the famous Paul Jones sailed boldly into Whitehaven in the *Ranger* privateer, and set fire to the shipping. He then sailed northward, and afterwards landed in the Scottish isles, remaining on the coast for a considerable time, but occasionally taking refuge in the French and Dutch ports, when hard pressed by English cruizers. The garrison of Liverpool at this time consisted of four companies of the Liverpool Blues, and two companies of veterans, all commanded by General Calcraft. There were three batteries of cannon, the George's Battery, commanded by the mayor; the Queen's, by Captain Hutchinson, harbour-master, and the King's Battery, commanded by Colonel Gordon. The first and second armed with eighteen-pounders, the third with thirty-two-pounders. The *Hyæna* frigate was also kept in the river, to assist in the defence of the town, if required.† The following vessels were afterwards

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, July 15, 1777.

† Ibid, May 1, 1778.

sent to cruize in St. George's Channel :—The Thetis, 32 guns; the Stag, 28; the Boston, 28; the Heart of Oak, the Satisfaction, and the Three Brothers, all of 20 guns.

As a security against privateers, all vessels were ordered to sail under convoy, and in large fleets. In the third week in September, 1778, it was announced that all the principal fleets had arrived safely, namely, the Jamaica fleet at Liverpool and Bristol; the Leeward Island fleet at Plymouth, and the Lisbon and Spanish fleets in the Downs. The arrivals that week were the largest that had been known for many years.*

As soon as the French and Spaniards joined the Americans, privateering became a much more profitable pursuit than it had previously been, and great numbers of privateers were sent out from all the ports of the kingdom. The Liverpool merchants and shipowners fitted out upwards of a hundred and twenty privateers, and made great numbers of rich prizes. The most valuable of these was the Carnatic, East Indiaman. "A box of diamonds," says the Liverpool paper, "was discovered on Friday on board the Carnatic, French East Indiaman, which is arrived in the river, (Mersey,) to the no small satisfaction of the captors.†"

The following is a list of the principal privateers fitted out in Liverpool in this war, with the names of their owners and commanders :

LIST OF LIVERPOOL PRIVATEERS IN THE WAR WITH AMERICA,
FRANCE, SPAIN, AND HOLLAND.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	OWNERS.	TONS.	GUNS.	MEN.
Marchioness of Granby	Rogers.....	Marquis of Granby and Nicholas Ashton, Esq.	260	20	130
Wasp	Byrne	Kennion and Co.....	220	14	95
Ellis.....	Washington ..	Boats and Gregson	340	28	130
Gregson	Jolly	Ditto	250	24	120
Knight	Wilson.....	Hindley Leigh and Co.	220	18	80
Tartar	Allanson	J. Backhouse and Co.	90	14	80
Hornet	Naylor.....	Liversley and Co.	120	16	90
St. George	Hanley	Warren and Co.....	110	14	75
Dragon	Briggs	Ditto	112	14	75
Arethusa.....	Jones	Nelson and Co.	150	18	92
Bellona	Fairweather ..	Bolden and Co.	250	24	140
Revenge	Ramsay	Hughes and Co.....	120	14	80
Catcher	Fletcher	Salisbury and Co.	110	14	80
Eagle	Bond	Ditto	110	14	80
Retaliation	Townsend ..	Syers and Co.....	160	16	100
Sturdy Beggar...	Cooper	Davenport and Co.....	160	16	100
Griffin	Grimshaw ..	Hall and Co.	130	14	90
Rover	Bancroft	Kennion and Co.	120	14	80
Townside	Watmouth ..	Mitton and Co.	130	16	90

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, September 18, 1778.

† Ibid, November 27, 1778.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	OWNERS.	TONS.	GUNS.	MEN.
Viper	Cowell	Birch and Co.....	160	18	80
Sarah Goulborn	Lewtas	Brown and Jones.....	340	26	120
St. Peter	Holland	Holme, Bowyer, and Kennion.....	320	22	147
Dreadnought ..	Taylor	Wagner and Co.....	200	20	120
Terrible	Ash	Nottingham and Co.....	250	20	130
Molly	Kendall	Gregson and Co.....	260	16	70
Rumbold	Fayrer	Caruthers and Co.....	250	20	57
Mary Fearon ..	Caton	France and Co.....	280	16	60
Jenny	Ashton	Ashton & Co., of the Island of Tortola	80	12	30
Delight	Dawson	Rawlinson and Co.....	120	12	39
Mentor	Dawson	Baker and Co.....	400	28	102
Young Henry ..	Currie	Hartley and Co.....	270	18	60
Brothers	Fisher	Roberts and Co.....	150	16	39
Benson	Ball	Rawlinson and Co.....	360	20	79
Little Ben	Bostock	Radcliffe and Co.	110	14	50
Greenwood	Reid	Crosby and Greenwood.....	250	16	50
Nancy	Hammond ..	Fowden and Berry.....	250	20	59
Atalanta	Collinson.....	Ditto	180	16	54
Juno	Beaver	Hartley and Co.....	90	14	40
Jenny	Walker	Tarleton and Co.....	140	14	40
Nancy	Nelson	Pringle and Co.....	150	16	50
Mernaid	Smith	Sparling and Co.....	250	16	50
Nanny	Beynon	Hindley Leigh and Co.....	220	14	50
Liverpool	Wilcox	S. Shaw and Co.....	210	16	45
Bess	Perry	Slater and Co.....	270	18	100
Spy	Rigmalden ..	J. Zuill and Co.....	120	14	40
Rose	Jackson	Ditto	120	14	40
Mary	Bonsall	Drinkwater and Co.	130	14	40
Queen	Gee	Richard Kent.....	800	20	100
Jenny	Adams	Chorley and Co.....	130	14	35
Tom	Davis	Clement	100	12	36
Molly	Woods	Rawlinson and Co.....	240	14	40
Jenny	Wade	Thos. Moss and Co.....	250	14	70
Pole	Maddocks ..	Nelson and Co.....	320	24	100
Tyger	Qualtrough..	Ditto	200	14	70
Tyger	Amery	Jas. France and Co.	300	16	60
Jamaica	Fletcher	Birch and Co.....	350	18	110
Nanny	Harrison	Watts and Rawson	220	14	70
Sally	Rimmer	Ditto	180	16	70
Success	Niven	Crosbie and Greenwood	120	12	30
Richard	Lee	Rawlinson and Co.....	150	16	70
Enterprise	Pearce	Brooks and Co.....	250	20	70
Hawke	Bradley	Mason and Co.	120	16	70
Hercules	Wright	Whitaker and Co.	1200	30	100
Sisters	Webster	Ditto	800	20	100
Ellen	Fell	France and Co.	200	20	70
Isabella	Wiseman	Gill Slater	300	16	80
Resolution	Beard	Holme and Co.	400	22	100
Adventure	Hanit	Newby and Co.....	160	14	80
Spitfire	Bell	Zuill and Co.....	200	16	100
Lady Granby ..	Powell	Ashton and Co.....	45	10	60
Mersey	Gibbons	Whitaker and Co.	1400	28	100

On the 29th May, 1777, Messrs. Marshall and Morris informed “the public in general,” that in consequence of the Staffordshire canal being navigable to Northwich, they would despatch vessels almost every day from the South Dock, Liverpool, by which goods would be conveyed “with the greatest care, quickest despatch, and on the most reasonable terms,” to the following places:—Northwich, Middlewich, Namptwich,

Sandbach, Congleton, Leek, Newcastle, Burslem, and all parts of the Pottery; Stone, Stafford, Lichfield, Dudley, Ridgley, Wolverhampton, Stourbridge, Kidderminster, Stourport, Bewdley, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, Cheadle, Utcester, Derby, Ashburn, Loughboro', Nottingham, Lincoln, and Gainsboro'.

A gentleman who had the curiosity to count the equipages and horses, and to estimate the company at the Liverpool races, in July, 1777, made them out to be—coaches, post chaises, phaetons, cabrioles, and single horse chaises, 143; covered waggons or carts, 93; horses, double or single mounted, 3,400; people, about 40,000 *

The first Liverpool Dispensary was formed in the year 1778. The annual subscription to Easter, 1779, amounted to £117 12s., to which the parish added £105, making an income of £222 12s. The number of patients relieved up to September, 1779, was 5,337.†

In 1779 the corporation granted the ground on which the fort was erected to the government, which retained it until the year 1817.

A regiment of Yorkshire militia, commanded by Sir George Saville, did duty in Liverpool in the year 1779. At the close of the year Sir George gave £50 to the Infirmary, £50 to the Dispensary, and £50 for the relief of the French and American prisoners.‡

In March, 1780, two additional frigates and two cutters were stationed in the Irish Channel, in consequence of a petition of the Liverpool merchants, in which they stated that the force previously on the station was insufficient for the protection of trade.§

In September, 1780, Bamber Gasgoyne and Henry Rawlinson, Esqs., were elected members for Liverpool, after a five days' contest, defeating Mr. Pennant, one of the old members.

On Tuesday, the 25th April, 1780, the West Riding Division of the Yorkshire militia, which had been quartered in Liverpool all the winter, marched from Liverpool for Leeds; and, on the same day, the Cheshire militia entered the town.||

During this critical part of the war, the Royal Liverpool Blues formed part of the garrison of the beautiful island and rich colony of Jamaica, which was in the utmost danger, until Rodney's great victory gave the English forces the complete ascendancy in the West Indies. Lieut. Despart, of the Liverpool Blues, died in Jamaica early in the year;¶ and a very

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, July 4, 1777.

+ Ibid, October 22, 1779. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid, March 30, 1780.

|| Ibid, April 27, 1780.

¶ Ibid, May 18, 1780.

small portion of the regiment survived the climate of the West Indies. The Manchester regiment, raised at the same time, formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar, under General Elliot, where it earned the highest reputation for courage and discipline. The history of that memorable siege was afterwards written by Lieut. Drinkwater, of that regiment, and was published by subscription in Manchester and Liverpool.

The *Dædalus* frigate, of 32 guns, was launched from the building-yard of Mr. Fisher, in Liverpool, on the 19th May.*

Amongst other curiosities exhibited in Liverpool, in 1780, was a zebra, shipped on board a Spanish ship, the *St. Inez*, at the Cape, as a present for the King of Spain, and captured, along with the *St. Inez*, by the Liverpool privateer *Amazon*.†

The *Albion*, Hutchinson, from Liverpool to Archangel, was taken on the 8th July, by three American letters of marque, bound to Amsterdam, with tobacco; the *General Washington*, of 18 six-pounders, and seventy-three men, with 160 hogsheads; the *Alexander*, of 12 four-pounders, and 50 men, with 110 hogsheads; and the *Maryland*, of 10 four-pounders, with 50 men, and 120 hogsheads. Captain Hutchinson (who was put on board a vessel which landed him at Inverness) also reported that the ship *Ashton*, and three brigs, which sailed with her from Liverpool, had been taken by American privateers.‡

The best contested battle fought by any of the Liverpool privateers, during this war, was that fought by the *Watt*, Captain Coulthard, and the American ship *Trumbull*, Captain Nicholson. The armament of the *Watt* was 32 twelve and six pounders, that of the *Trumbull* 36 twelve-pounders. They fought for several hours, often within pistol-shot of each other, and were both of them pretty nearly knocked to pieces. The *Watt* lost eleven men, killed, the *Trumbull* its captain and fifty-seven men. It was a drawn battle, and both the vessels were nearly sinking when they got back into port, the *Watt* into Liverpool, the *Trumbull* into New London.§

The year 1781 began with the heaviest fall of snow ever known in Liverpool. It came down for forty-eight hours, without ceasing, and lay three feet deep on the ground, without drifting.||

England was now at war with Holland as well as with the United States, France, and Spain. Two valuable Dutch prizes, laden with 400

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, May 25, 1780.

+ Ibid, June 8, 1780.

‡ Ibid, June 29th, 1780.

§ Ibid, July 27, 1780.

|| Ibid, January 26, 1781.

hogsheads of sugar, 119 hogsheads tobacco, and 800 bags of coffee, arrived in the port of Liverpool, on the 1st February.*

The Wiltshire militia, commanded by Lord Porchester, marched into Liverpool early in April, and took the place of the Cheshire militia in garrisoning the town.†

In a debate in the House of Lords, on the 27th March, the Bishop of Chester mentioned several remarkable instances of the growth of population in the Lancashire portion of his diocese, especially at Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, and Rochdale. He said that there had been an increase of houses in one of the archdeaconries of 11,000 since the year 1717, and that the population of Liverpool was six times as great in the year 1770 as it had been at the beginning of the century, that is, that it had increased from about 6,000 to upwards of 30,000.‡

The Count de Guichen, French privateer, was taken by the English frigate *Aurora*, Captain Collins, with the following ransom bills, or promises to pay ransom, given by English merchant ships to the commander of the Count de Guichen:—The *Peace*, of Whitehaven, 2,000 guineas; the *Spooner*, of Glasgow, 1,800 ditto; the *Fortitude*, of Greenock, 1,500 ditto; the *Six Sisters*, Isle of Man, 1,500 ditto; the *William*, of Bristol, 1,500 ditto; the *Sally*, of Strangford, 500 ditto; the *Lark*, of Workington, 300 ditto; the *Glory*, of Workington, 150 ditto; and the *Elizabeth*, 110 ditto.§ Scores, if not hundreds, of Liverpool ships paid ransom in the same way during this war.

In spite of the war, internal communication, both for passengers and merchandise, continued to improve. The London and Liverpool Flying Machine started from the Angel Inn, Liverpool, every Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday afternoon, at two o'clock, and arrived in London in forty-eight hours, being twenty-four hours less than the time in which the Warrington Flying Machine made the journey from Warrington to London, in the year 1758. The London and Liverpool Diligence, which took matters more easily, gave the Liverpool passengers a rest of ten hours the second night, at Stony Stratford, and arrived in London at five o'clock in the afternoon of the third day.|| Inside fare to London, £2 5s.; outside, £1 5s. The journey was made from Liverpool to Carlisle in one day and a half; to Glasgow in two days and a half.¶ The Manchester

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February, 1, 1781.

+ Ibid, April 12, 1781.

† Ibid, April 19, 1781.

§ Ibid, May 31, 1781.

|| Prestwich's MS. History of Liverpool, 245.

¶ Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, June 21, 1781.

coaches started from Liverpool at six in the morning; the passengers breakfasted, instead of dining, at Warrington; and they arrived in Manchester in time for dinner. Inside fare 7s.

Liverpool was still more decidedly the port of communication with Ireland than it had been in former times. An unpublished manuscript, written in Liverpool in the year 1779, informs us that "this port may justly boast of being the most frequented passage into Ireland; so it is likewise allowed, in the summer season, to be the safest and most convenient port of embarkation for the following places, situated on the east part of that kingdom; namely, Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, and Belfast. Between Dublin and this port a company of merchants, of this town, fitted out six packets for the accommodation of passengers; but now (owing to our unhappy troubles) these are lessened to four, namely, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Leinster, the Hawke, and the Fly, which are all well and completely fitted out, to sail three times a week between this port and Dublin, with passengers and in ballast only. Each vessel is elegantly furnished with state-rooms and cabins, with every desirable convenience suitable for ladies and gentlemen. The proprietors have been exceedingly careful in the choice of skilful and humane captains and pilots, for which attention they have merited encouragement, as well as the praise and thanks of the public in general. With a fair wind and good weather the passage is but fourteen hours; but at other times it is uncertain, like every other voyage. Here follows the price:—For cabin passage, with luggage, £1 1s.; for steerage, 10s. 6d.; for the hold, in which the poor labourer, with his wallet, on which he rests his weary head, 2s. 6d."*

This year (1781) the Dublin linen ships, said to be worth £150,000, were convoyed from Dublin to Chester fair by the Boston frigate and two armed cutters.

The pilots' committee gave notice that, after the 1st October, 1781, the Liverpool pilots would be stationed at the Point of Lynas, the north-east point of the isle of Anglesea. "All ships and vessels wanting pilots for Liverpool or the adjacent ports, may steer boldly for this point; hoist their colours by day, and show lights or fire guns by night; run close in shore, and bring too either in Williams' or Pilots' Bay, within the race of the strong tides off the point, according to the wind, that they may be boarded in smooth water, with greater safety both to themselves and pilots."†

* Prestwich's MS. History of Liverpool, 178.

† Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, September 6, 1781.

Threats of a French invasion were very confidently given out about this time; and, in the beginning of September, the following alarming announcement was received, by the commanding officer in Liverpool:

Dublin, in *Homoaze*, Aug, 30, 1781.

Sir,—I think it necessary to acquaint you, by express, that, on the evening of the 28th inst., the combined fleets of the enemy, (French, Spanish, and Dutch,) consisting of thirty-four or thirty-five sail of the line, were seen five or six leagues to the east of Scilly, and that there is great reason to apprehend that they are now in the channel; in order that you may make the same known to the captains of any of his Majesty's ships that may be within your reach, as well as the merchants of Liverpool, to prevent any of their trade from falling into their hands. Vice-Admiral Darby, with his Majesty's squadron under his command, is now in Torbay.—I am, sir, yours,

SHULDHAM.*

A line of canal-boats from Liverpool to Shardlow, on the river Trent, began to run in September, 1781, in connexion with regular stage wagons from Shardlow to London, by which "goods requiring a speedy conveyance" were delivered in London, on the tenth day after leaving Liverpool.†

At a sale of tobacco, in Liverpool, on the 23rd October, 1781, the leaf was sold at 3s. per lb., duty free.‡

At the beginning of the year 1782, the whole country had begun to be weary of the war. Petitions and addresses against the further prosecution of it began to pour in. In January the corporation of Bristol unanimously voted a petition to the House of Commons, against the further prosecution of the war in America, and requested the house "to advise the king, to a total change of the unhappy system which has involved the nation in such complicated misfortunes."§

At the beginning of 1782, it was announced that the canal navigation had been opened from Liverpool into the river Ribble, and that goods were forwarded regularly by canal from Liverpool to Preston.||

Friday, the 7th February, having been appointed a general fast, by royal proclamation, "was strictly and devoutly observed throughout this town," (Liverpool)¶

On Sunday evening, March 3rd, as two of the press-gang were conveying a man to the press-room, whom they had just impressed, he

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, September 6, 1781.

† Ibid, October 11, 1781.

‡ Ibid, October 25, 1781.

§ Ibid, January 31, 1782.

|| Ibid, February 14, 1782.

¶ Ibid, February 14, 1782.

suddenly turned upon them, drew out a loaded pistol, shot one of them dead, and escaped. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter.*

On the 14th March, 1782, the nation being utterly weary of the war with America, a bill was introduced into parliament, by the government, authorizing the king to put an end to the war, by acknowledging the independence of the late thirteen colonies, henceforth the United States of America.

On Monday morning, the 19th May, 1782, at six o'clock, an express arrived in Liverpool from the admiralty, bringing dispatches to the mayor, with "the great and glorious news" of Admiral Rodney's victory over the French fleet, in the West Indies. As soon as the news was made public the bells began to ring, and so continued the whole of the day. Flags were displayed on all the public buildings. At noon a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from George's battery; at one o'clock the Westminster militia (then on duty in Liverpool) were drawn up before the Exchange, and fired three volleys, amidst the acclamations of many thousands of the inhabitants. This victory, which restored confidence to the public mind, after so many disasters, was particularly prized in Liverpool, which was deeply interested in Jamaica and the West India Islands, both on the ground of property, and because so many hundred Liverpool men were on military duty in the former island.† After this great victory all the West India ships sailed for England, and arrived in safety. Amongst them were eleven rich Jamaica ships for Liverpool, which arrived in July.

On the 8th October, 1782, the *Grampus*, a ship of war, of fifty guns, was launched into the Mersey from Mr. Fisher's building-yard.‡

The *Liverpool Advertiser* of the 17th October, 1782, contained two pieces of intelligence, which spread universal joy throughout the nation. The first was, that the grand attack of the Spaniards and French on the fortress of Gibraltar had been totally defeated by sea and land, by General Elliot; the second was, that Messrs. Fitzherbert and Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, had exchanged credentials with Messrs. Franklin and Jay, the ambassadors of the United States, preparatory to the arrangement of the terms of peace between the two countries.

On the 24th January, 1783, Mr. Secretary Townshend announced, in the House of Commons, that preliminaries of peace had been signed with

* Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, March 7, 1782.

† Ibid, May 23, 1782.

‡ Ibid, October 10, 1782.

21 Oct 1782

The *Liverpool Advertiser* of the 17th October, 1782, contained two pieces of intelligence, which spread universal joy throughout the nation.

France, Spain, and the United States.* The definitive treaty of peace appeared in the London Gazette on the 27th January, 1783, and in the Liverpool papers of the 30th. In the same paper there appeared the following paragraph:—"The mercantile world is in a hurry and bustle unknown at any former time. The merchants are endeavouring to outstrip each other in the race of traffic. European goods, and particularly the produce of England, being greatly wanted in the ports of America, the destination of many of the vessels, now in the river, is altered from the West India islands to the American ports, where it is expected the cargoes will sell at an immense profit."†

* Both the French and Spaniards sustained great losses and defeats in the year 1782. A Liverpool poet, Edward Rushton, published some spirited verses on the victories of that year, of which the following are a specimen :

"STANZAS ON THE YEAR 1782.

"Britain! thy fame in eighty-two
Outswells the boast of fifty-nine,
Gallia was vanquished then, 'tis true,
But now a host of foes combine;
A host combine to pull thee down,
And strip thee of thy nautic crown;
Whilst proud rebellion towers on high,
And millions from their duty fly:
Never, oh, Britain! did the warring storm
Howl round thy rocky coast in such a threatening form.

To keep such numerous foes at bay,
Is one continued victory;
But now old ocean owns thy sway,
And vanquished foes confounded fly.
As skims the flying finny brood,
When by the Albicore pursued,
So, in this great, this wondrous year,
When 'bove themselves thy sons appear,
Proud Gallia's navy fled in dire dismay,
And had Cordova dared, so had he winged his way.

Britain! 'tis done, and grim despair
Has fastened on each vengeful foe;
The Rock's* relieved; and through the air,
Hark! how the sounds of triumph flow.
And now, ye unassisting powers,
What think ye! is the trident ours?
Ye baffled foes, what arts, ah! say,
Can wipe the foul disgrace away?
For wondering Europe ey'd the important deed,
And, spite of every boast, beheld your foes succeed."

* Gibraltar.

† Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January 30, 1783.

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Nothing was wanting at the close of the American War to insure a rapid return of national and local prosperity, except the continuance of peace, and the revival of commercial intercourse with America. It has been already mentioned that the first twenty years of the reign of George the Third had been distinguished by immense internal improvements, and numerous discoveries in the arts. During that period the northern and central and the eastern and western districts of the kingdom had been united by navigable canals. The newly-invented cotton machinery of Arkwright and Hargreaves had given an immense impulse to the cotton trade, which increased the consumption of cotton five-fold in a dozen years. The woollen and linen trades more than kept the position which they had so long maintained. The taste, skill, and ingenuity of Wedgwood had given beauty and cheapness to the manufacture of earthenware. A new mode of extracting iron from the ore, by means of coke instead of charcoal, had given an impulse to the iron trade of England, scarcely less powerful than that which the invention of machinery had communicated to the cotton manufacture. The science and perseverance of James Watt had changed the steam-engine from a slow and clumsy instrument, suited for only a few purposes, to an inexhaustible source of power, applicable to every description of machinery. And the steady improvement of agriculture, less seen but not less felt in its results, had insured to the country several years of cheap and abundant food. Everything was thus prepared for an immense advance of national prosperity on the return of peace. Nor was there any part of the kingdom to which these various improvements promised greater results than to the port of Liverpool. The Trent and Mersey, the Leeds and Liverpool, and the Bridgewater canals connected Liverpool with all the principal seats of manufacturing industry. The port already possessed the most extensive docks in England, recently increased by the formation of the George's Dock, so as to supply 91,750

square yards, or about nineteen acres of water-space, and 2,666 yards of quay frontage. "The singular advantage of these docks can only be seen", says a writer of that age, "by comparing the great ease and convenience with which goods are discharged at Liverpool with the labour and delay of unloading ships at Bristol."* Whilst the port had been rendered more commodious its approaches had been rendered much safer than they had ever been before. In addition to numerous buoys, rendering the approaches safe by day, three light-houses had been constructed, which rendered it tolerably secure by night, namely, the Bidston Light, in an octagonal tower, on a lofty hill, seen far off sea; the Leasowe Light, in a tower upwards of a hundred feet high; and the lake light at Hoylake, in a tower fifty feet high. With these greatly increased facilities for carrying on foreign trade, the only doubt that existed was whether the American trade would resume its former course, now that the former colonies had become an independent state. Before the close of the first year of peace these doubts were entirely removed, by the arrival of large orders from America. A similar revival took place in the West Indian and African trades. Hence the next ten years of peace were years of extraordinary activity and prosperity, during which the trade of Liverpool increased more rapidly than it had done during any previous ten years in the history of the port. With these general observations I proceed to trace the history of Liverpool in the present chapter, from the close of the American War, in 1783, to the commencement of the war with France in 1793.

On the 17th, 18th, and 19th of February, 1783, the Westminster militia, the last regiment quartered in Liverpool during the American war, took its departure. The only force left in the town was a body of one hundred volunteers, called the Military Association, commanded by Gill Slater, Esq. They were soon after disbanded, and men turned their minds altogether from war to peace.†

In consequence of the ravages of that fatal disease, the smallpox, it was resolved, in the month of March, that a general inoculation of the inhabitants should take place. The following medical men were formed into an inoculation Society, for that purpose:—Drs. Houlston, Brandreth, Binns, Worthington, Camplin, Currie, and Lyon, and Messrs. Alanson, Blundell, Buddicum, R. and J. Gerrard, Goldie, Hughes, Moss, Park, Renwick, Shortcliffe, and Tetlow.‡

* Prestwich's MS. History of Liverpool.

+ Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 20, 1783.

‡ Ibid, March 13, 1783.

During the equinoctial gales of this year, a fine new ship, the *Count Belgioso*, was wrecked on the Kish Bank, three days after sailing from Liverpool. The commander, Captain Pearce, 147 persons, comprising passengers and crew, and a cargo worth £130,000, were swallowed up in the waves.*

The distress of the poor of Liverpool continued until the summer set in. In the month of March the following quantities of corn, and other articles of food, were supplied to the poor, weekly, at very reduced prices : namely, 38,780 lbs. of wheat flour ; 9,633 lbs. of oatmeal ; 138 bushels of peas, and 448 bushels of potatoes. Upwards of 10,000 persons were thus supported.†

About the month of June another great work was announced, by means of which a line of internal water communication was first established between London and Liverpool,—the Thames and the Mersey. This was a canal from the Severn to the Thames. “It is proposed,” says the notice of this undertaking, “that the transit of heavy goods between London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool, shall be conducted by this route.” The sum subscribed for the work was £130,000, but a million could have easily been had in London alone, if it had been required, for the south was then becoming emulous of the canals of the north.‡

Amongst other results of the return of peace was a great influx of country visitors into Liverpool from the interior, consisting of persons who had been deterred from visiting Liverpool during the war, by fear of falling into the hands of press-gangs. “For the last week,” says the *Liverpool Advertiser*, “the town has been uncommonly crowded with country people from the vicinity of Rochdale, Blackburn, Manchester, &c. It is computed that there were upwards of 3,000 of them. They came to bathe and drink salt water. During the war very few of them durst come down, on account of the warmth of the impress ; and it is, therefore, supposed that this is the most crowded bathing season ever known here.”§

A bold plan was proposed in the autumn of 1783 for facilitating intercourse between England and Ireland, by forming an embankment across the Menai Straits, with a lock and a drawbridge in the middle of it, near the spot where Telford’s beautiful bridge now stands ; but it was strongly opposed in Liverpool, and other western ports, from a

* *Williamson’s Liverpool Advertiser*, March, 1783.

† *Ibid*, April 3, 1783.

‡ *Ibid*, June 26, 1783.

§ *Ibid*, August 14, 1783.

fear that it would ruin the navigation of the strait, and was in the end abandoned.*

It appeared, from a report of the Liverpool Dispensary, that the total number of persons relieved by that most useful charity, from the time when it was established, in the year 1778, to January, 1784, was 53,228.†

In the spring of 1784 the great struggle for office took place between William Pitt, then a young man of twenty-four years of age, supported by the king, and the coalition of Fox and North. William Pitt was the favourite in Liverpool, from which place an address was presented to the king, signed by 814 of the inhabitants, thanking him for appointing the young minister, and expressing a confident hope that he would prove worthy of his distinguished office.‡

In the autumn of this year mail coaches were first introduced in England, by which the carrying of letters and passengers was greatly accelerated. The first mail coach left London for Bristol on the 8th of August, 1784. It started at eight in the morning, and reached Bristol about eleven o'clock the same night. The mail from Bristol started at four in the afternoon of the same day, and reached London at eight the next morning. The Liverpool merchants immediately addressed Mr. Pitt, begging that a mail might run between Liverpool and London. Their request was shortly afterwards complied with, and thus the time of communication with London was reduced from forty-eight to thirty hours. The mails were at first small vehicles, drawn by two horses, which were changed every six miles. They carried four passengers, besides the guard and coachman, both of whom were armed with blunderbusses, as a security against highwaymen.§

In September of this year a grand festival of music took place in Liverpool, "which by the cognoscenti was allowed to have surpassed anything of the kind ever performed in the kingdom, beyond the bounds of the metropolis." It commenced on Tuesday, the 14th of September, with the performance (in St. Peter's Church) "of the sublime and sacred oratorio of the Messiah", and "this great work undoubtedly went off the best of all the performances. Mrs. Kennedy sang 'He shall feed his flock' divinely; so did Miss Phillips, with exquisite taste, 'Come unto him'; and that sublime air, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth', was sung with such sentiment and delicacy by Miss Cantelo as to ravish the ears of the judicious." Judas Maccabeus was performed the next day, and a

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, November 20, 1783. † Ibid, January 8, 1784.

‡ Ibid, March 18, 1784.

§ Ibid, August 12, 1784.

grand selection from the works of Handel the day following. The orchestra consisted of 150 performers, "amongst whom were our famous Lancashire chorus singers, whose abilities are universally admired." The receipts were £2,000, and, from the success of the performance, it was determined to have a festival in Liverpool every third year.*

According to a calculation of the number of inhabitants in Liverpool at the beginning of the year 1785, founded on the returns of births and deaths during the previous seven years, the population at that time amounted to 41,000 souls.†

A society for the cultivation of music was founded in Liverpool in May, 1785. The members met monthly, and began boldly with Handel's Messiah. Mrs. Siddons performed in Liverpool three times during the same month, to the unspeakable delight of her audiences.‡ After she left, the celebrated aeronaut, Lunardi, visited the town, with his balloon. He ascended from the fort, and came down safe and sound at Simon's-wood.§

The increase of the commerce and shipping of Liverpool on the restoration of peace was so rapid, that it was found necessary to apply for powers to form additional docks in the year 1785. Under the powers then obtained two capacious docks were formed, one called the King's, the other the Queen's. This increased the number of docks to five, and enlarged the area of the docks from about 20 to nearly 34 acres. When the King's and Queen's Docks were formed the line of docks extended about a mile in length, from George's Basin to the southern boundary of the borough of Liverpool.

The preamble of the act for forming the King's and Queen's Docks, after reciting the principal provisions of the previous dock acts, and stating that the debt of the dock estate amounted to £22,550, proceeds as follows:—"And whereas the trade and shipping of the said town and port of Liverpool, of late years, are greatly increased, and the ships and vessels now belonging to and trading to and from the said port are more numerous than heretofore: and whereas the three wet docks already made in the same port, by virtue and under the authority of the said former acts respectively, are not sufficient for the reception of the ships and vessels resorting thereto, and for the requisite convenient despatch in lading and unlading the same; and which, for want of an additional dock, and being obliged to lie in open harbour, are exposed to the rage of tempestuous weather, and a rapid tide or current, and in imminent

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, September 30, 1784. + Ibid, January, 1785.

‡ Ibid, June 2, 1785.

§ Ibid, June 27, 1785.

danger of shipwreck." For these reasons, the act states, the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council have granted part of the land extending from the Duke of Bridgewater's basin to the boundary of Toxteth-park, and sold another part of it to the dock estate, for the constructing of two additional docks. The act then authorizes the trustees of the docks to collect the then existing rates for a term of forty-one years, in addition to the terms mentioned in the act of the second George Third; and also to borrow the sum of £70,000, for the purpose of forming the proposed new docks.

According to the report of the Dispensary, published at the beginning of the year 1786, it appeared that 66,359 persons had been relieved up to that time.*

At the commencement of the parliamentary session of 1786 a bill was introduced, giving the corporation of Liverpool the power of widening the streets and beautifying the town.† At that time there was not one wide or well-constructed street in Liverpool; even Castle-street was still described by a writer of that time as "the crooked and incommodious street called Castle-street." Under the ample powers given by this act, the corporation set to work vigorously, beginning with that street, which they soon rendered handsome, wide, and commodious. The sum expended under the powers of the act of 1786 was £150,000; and nearly a million has been spent under the powers of that and subsequent improvement acts.

In July, 1787, an exhibition of the works of living artists was announced as about to take place in Liverpool. The official announcement stated that amongst the artists who had agreed to furnish pictures for the exhibition, were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Wright of Derby, Fuseli, and Stubbs, the last a native of Liverpool. It was added, "It is expected that the artists of this town and neighbourhood will not neglect the present opportunity of convincing the public, that the attempt to establish a school of painting, and to diffuse a taste for the arts in this part of the kingdom, has not been without effect."‡

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January 9, 1786.

† Ibid, February 20, 1786.

‡ Roscoe took an active part in promoting this School of Painting. He wrote some fine lines on the subject, to which he appended a note, containing his first public reference to Lorenzo de' Medici, whose life he afterwards wrote with so much eloquence and learning. The lines and note are as follows:

"In elder Greece, when arms and science reign'd,
The finer arts an equal rank maintain'd,
High 'midst the rest, the Muse of Painting shone,
And bade the admiring world her wonders own;
To nature true, the graceful outline flow'd,
With more than life the vivid colours glow'd;
Applauding nations saw with grateful joy,
And wealth and honours crown'd the fair employ:

At the close of the year 1787, during the mayoralty of Thomas Earle, Esq., the town of Liverpool was divided into four districts, each of which was placed under the care of a head-constable.*

On Saturday, the 22nd December, 1787, that great and good man, John Howard, the friend of the friendless, arrived in Liverpool to inspect the public prisons. He visited the New and Old Gaols, the Workhouse, the Infirmary, the House of Correction, and the newly-erected Alms-houses. He expressed his approbation of the New Gaol, and of the internal arrangements of the old one, "and gave a dinner on Christmas Day to the prisoners confined in it." He inspected the gaol three times during his stay. This was his fifth visit to Liverpool, for purposes of benevolence, in fifteen years.†

In January, 1788, the Society formed in the previous year, in London, for the Abolition of the African Slave trade, made its first appearance before the public of Liverpool, with a long and well-written address, designed to prove that the trade in African slaves, which was then bringing a profit of from two to three hundred thousand pounds a-year into the port of Liverpool, was immoral and unjust, and one which ought to be abolished, as unworthy of a Christian nation. Along with this address appeared a list of the original members of the Society for the Suppression of the Slave trade. Only two Liverpool names figure in the list; which I mention for the sake of honour. They were those of William Rathbone, the father of the present William, Richard, and Theodore Rathbone, and Dr. Binns, uncle of the late Thomas Binns. These, however, were not the only enemies of the slave trade in Liver-

Yet whelm'd amid the wreck of former days,
Lie the gay monuments of ancient praise,
And though revolving years have spared the name,
Dimm'd is the radiance of the painter's fame.

"Long droop'd the sacred art—but rose at length
With brighter lustre and redoubled strength;
When great Lorenzo,* 'midst his mild domain,
Led the gay Muses and their kindred train;
Then, as the bard the imagined story drew,
The kindling artist bade it rise to view;
Till the strong comment shamed the sister art,
And found a nearer passage to the heart."

* "Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, (born in 1448, died in 1492,) was the director of the Florentine republic for upwards of twenty years, and the father of John de' Medici, afterwards Pope, by the name of Leo X. To the munificence and taste of Lorenzo is principally to be attributed the sudden progress of the fine arts in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century. But this is only a small part of his praise. If a full inquiry be made into his life and character, he will appear to be not only one of the most extraordinary, but, perhaps, upon the whole, the most extraordinary man that any age or nation has produced."

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, December 10, 1787. + Ibid, December 31, 1787.

pool, even at that early period. Ten years previously William Roscoe, a native of Liverpool, and one of its brightest ornaments, had expressed, in his juvenile poems, an abhorrence of the slave trade, which he never ceased to entertain or to express, until he had communicated it to the majority of his fellow-townsmen, and had received from them the honourable mission of voting and speaking in parliament for the total abolition of the trade. Edward Rushton, who had himself, as a sailor-boy, witnessed the horrors of the slave trade; whose life had been saved by a generous negro; and who had lost his sight in an attempt to relieve the sufferings of a cargo of negro slaves, suffering from ophthalmia, also sang the wrongs of the African race in vigorous manly verse. And Dr. James Currie, the father of the late William Wallace Currie, a native of Annandale, in Scotland, but then rising into notice in Liverpool, as a physician, had the courage to risk popularity and practice by writing in defence of the negro, and in reprobation of the slave trade. These were the men who first raised the standard of justice and truth in Liverpool, against a profitable traffic, which had been sanctioned for centuries by the practice of every European nation, which had been recognized in numerous national treaties, and which did not want defenders even amongst the ministers of religion themselves.

Two months after the society for the abolition of the slave trade had broken ground in Liverpool, it found an antagonist, in the person of the Rev. Raymond Harris, a Spanish Jesuit, and native of Seville, who had been expelled from Spain, along with the rest of his order, a few years before, and who had settled in Liverpool. This intrepid defender of the slave trade put forth a pamphlet in the month of March, 1788, under the following title:—"Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade, showing its conformity with the principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, delineated in the sacred writings of the Word of God; by the Rev. Raymond Harris." In this pamphlet the reverend sophist contended that no one could doubt the licitness of the slave trade who believed that the Bible was the Word of God. In proof of this assertion he first laid it down as an axiom, that whatever practices were mentioned in either the Old Testament or the New, with implied approbation, were sanctioned by God, and would continue to be lawful through all time. This, he contended, was the case with slavery and the slave trade. His first example was that of Hagar, slave of Sarah, Abraham's wife, who, having fled from her mistress, in consequence of having been hardly dealt with by her, was ordered by God to return, and humble herself under the hand

of her mistress. A second example was that of the patriarch Joseph, who had bought the whole people of Egypt for King Pharoah, during the seven years of famine. A third was that of the Gibeonites, who had been condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for ever, to the Israelites. Many other instances, equally apposite, followed, and the general inference which the author drew from them all was, that the slave trade was a "licit" occupation, and that those who did not believe it to be so did not believe their Bibles. Such was the reverend gentleman's argument and conclusion.

This astounding vindication of the slave trade was promptly answered by several parties; amongst others, by the Rev. Mr. Dennett and the Rev. Mr. Hughes; but the most eloquent of the answers to Harris's pamphlet was that of William Roscoe, entitled, "A Scriptural Refutation of a Pamphlet lately published by the Rev. Raymond Harris, entitled, 'Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade', in Four Letters from the Author to a Friend."

They all showed that if the reverend gentleman's argument proved anything, it proved a great deal too much; for it proved that the marrying of three or four wives at one time was a commendable practice; made it a matter of duty to stone all blasphemers to death; and justified true believers not only in making slaves of heathen nations, but in exterminating them with fire and sword.

One of the answers to Harris's work contained the following contemptuous notice of him:—"Mr. Locke has observed that slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it; I hope I may add, much less a clergyman of the Church of England. Many readers, living at a distance from Liverpool, may be led to imagine from the title of the Scriptural researches, that the author of them is a clergyman of the Church of England. In justice, therefore, to the respectable body of our clergy, and in honour of my countrymen, I must observe, that the Rev. R. Harris is a native of Spain, and of the order of the Jesuits: the last information is perhaps unnecessary to those who are at all conversant in their writings."

Nevertheless, the reverend father returned to the charge in another pamphlet; but, very soon afterwards, his death put an end to the controversy. After the death of the Rev. Raymond Harris no one had the assurance to defend man-stealing as a practice expressly sanctioned by

God. From that time the question was argued as one of profit and political necessity by the defenders of the trade, not of right and wrong. The following may be considered fair specimens of this controversy, as it was carried on in Liverpool for twenty years.*

One writer resisted the abolition of the slave trade on the following grounds:—That the number of negroes in the West Indies was not sufficient to carry on the cultivation of the islands without an annual supply from Africa; that half the estates would become useless if the trade were abolished; that the population could not be supplied by natural causes, as the females slaves were to the males as only one to ten; that there must be an import either of whites or blacks, unless the islands were to be abandoned; that to send Europeans there was to send them to their graves; that to abandon the islands would be to sacrifice our commercial marine, and the naval greatness of the country; that all Europeans who had lived in the West Indies were of opinion that the negroes were an inferior race, incapable of living as freemen; that working-people, in all parts of the world, were more or less slaves, and that the principal difference between the free labourers of Europe,† and the negroes of the West Indies, was that the former could choose their masters, the latter could not; that the idea of setting the negroes

A * The following extract of a letter of Dr. Currie's will help to show what was the state of public opinion as to the slave trade, in Liverpool, in 1788:—"The general discussion of the slavery of the negroes has produced much unhappiness in Liverpool. Men are awaking to their situation, and the struggle between interest and humanity has made great havoc in the happiness of many families. If I were to attempt to tell you the history of my own transactions in this business, I should consume more time than I can spare. Altogether I have felt myself more interested, and less happy than is suited to my other avocations. The attempts that are continually made to justify this gross violation of the principles of justice, one cannot help repelling; and at the same time it is dreadful to hold an argument, where, if your opponent is convinced, he must be made miserable. A little scoundrel, a Spanish Jesuit, has advanced to the assistance of the slave-merchants, and has published a vindication of this traffic from the Old Testament. His work is extolled as a prodigy by these judges of composition; and is, in truth, no bad specimen of his talents, though egregiously false and sophistical, as all justifications of slavery must be. I have prompted a clergyman, a friend of mine, to answer him, by telling him that if such be religion, I would 'none on't.' Whatever be the issue of the present efforts for the parliamentary abolition of the slave trade, much good, I am persuaded, will be done by the discussion of the subject. We shall, in future, find fewer persons so abandoned in their modes of reasoning and practice towards the unhappy negroes as many now are, for there is something in the censure of man which the greatest villain dreads, and does much to avoid. It likewise gives one a better opinion of the present generation, to find that they can be roused by the pure dictates of humanity, independent of all party questions or distinctions; and there can be no doubt that sooner or later the voice of freedom and truth will exert itself on this subject with irresistible influence. Priestley, who spent an evening with me lately, is of opinion that no effort even of the humblest individual is ever lost. Let there be but agitation of any question, and the interests of truth and virtue are promoted;—no matter in what direction the motion comes, let there *be* motion, that is enough: the tide-mill goes equally whether the water runs with the flood or the ebb. This is a great man, and a most agreeable one."

† Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January, 28, 1788.

free, and giving compensation to the masters, was "extravagant beyond all measure," as there were in the island of Jamaica alone 200,000 negroes, worth four millions of money.

Another defender of the slave trade professed to give an account of the number of slaves held by each nation, which he stated to be as follows:—The British, in the West Indies, and Anglo-Americans, on the American continent, together, 1,500,000; the French, chiefly in St. Domingo, 400,000; the Spaniards, 2,500,000; the Portuguese, 1,000,000; the Dutch and Danes, 100,000: total number of negro slaves in America, 5,500,000.* The inference which he drew from these facts was, that this was too vast an interest to be touched.

A third writer, signing himself "Spectator", contended that the slaves were either prisoners of war, or criminals, in Africa; and that if not bought by Europeans "they would have nothing to hope for short of death, and that, perhaps, with all its accumulated horrors." Still, he denied that the nations of Africa went to war with each other to procure slaves. In proof of this he stated that the number of slaves exported from the Fantee country, on the Gold Coast, had been 7,000 to 8,000 annually, for the last fifteen or twenty years; and, yet, that the Fantees had not been at war with any nation. One-fourth of them were their own criminals; the remaining three-fourths were brought from the interior of Africa, and were equally unknown to the natives and to Europeans.

A fourth writer undertook to show the importance of the trade from Great Britain to Africa. He argued as follows:—The manufactures sent to Africa were all of our own producing; the returns were gold, ivory, wax, dye-woods, and negroes; the four first articles for home consumption or manufactured for export; the last affording a prodigious employment to our people, both by sea and land. Without them the plantations could not be cultivated, nor the shipping employed. There was no rivalry from the natives in the African trade. In this trade great improvements might be introduced. "Consider," said the writer, "the vast continent of Africa, the extent of coast within the limits of our trade, by act of parliament, (from Port Salce, in Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope,) an extent of near 3,000 leagues, most advantageously situated for commerce; the inland parts rich in gold and other valuable commodities beyond description, watered with innumerable rivers, navigable for many hundred leagues up the country, the soil amazingly fruitful, and the people numerous. In what light, then," adds

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 11, 1788.

he, "but in that of enemies of their country, can we look upon those who, under the specious plea of establishing universal freedom, endeavour to strike at the root of this trade, the foundation of our commerce, the support of our colonies, the life of our navigation, the first cause of our national industry and riches? What vain pretence of liberty can infatuate people to run into so much licentiousness, as to assert a trade is unlawful, which custom immemorial, and various acts of parliament, have ratified and given a sanction to?"*

Another, and much abler, writer addressed a letter to the gentlemen of Manchester, "calling themselves a Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade", in opposition to their proceedings. He informed them that their plans and attempts to abolish the African trade were "totally inconsistent with the true interests and safety of their country." Could they prevail on the other nations of Europe, he says, to abolish the trade, as France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, &c., the consequences might not be so fatal; but if not, it was to very little purpose that our Rodney's, Hoods, and other great commanders had fought our battles, and conquered the French, Spaniards, and Dutch in the West Indies; if, after all these victories, "the great bone of contention," our West India Islands, "those very islands from which manufacturers are supplied with cotton,—those very islands which have cost England so much blood and treasure to gain and keep possession of," were to be given up to our national enemies, which, he contends, would be the certain consequence, so soon as ever the planters found that England refused to supply them with slaves for the cultivation of their estates. When the islands had thus been compelled to change their allegiance, the governments of France, Spain, Portugal, or Holland, to which ever of those powers they might belong, would compel them, "as they do at present with their own planters, under pain of death and confiscation of property," to send all their produce home to Europe in their own vessels. Should this be the case, the French or other foreign nations would carry all the sugars, coffees, cocoa, rum, dyewoods, cotton, and other West Indian products to their own country, England must become dependent upon them for those articles, and either pay them their own prices, (out of which their government would raise a revenue,) or else do without them. "In that situation", says this writer, "what will become of the town of Manchester and the county of Lancaster at large, when France tells you 'Gentlemen you shall have none of our cotton for the supply of your manufactories, without paying

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, February 11, 1788.

us 1s. or 2s. a pound duty upon it.' I do not need," he continued, "to point out the reasonableness of what I say on this head, since it is a fact, well known to every man who has imported cotton from France, that France always exacts a duty of 12 livres (10s. 6d. English) per hundred pounds, on all raw cotton leaving her ports; and no longer ago than the year 1787 (the previous year) she increased the duty to 33 livres per hundred pounds, in consequence of a petition from the cotton manufacturers of Rouen, in Normandy, who represented to the Court of France that the English cotton dealers purchased such very large quantities of cotton at the French ports, that their own manufactures would be left without a sufficient quantity for their consumption." Supposing France to obtain the monopoly of raw cotton, it would be in her power to say, "Except you pay such prices for our cotton as we choose to demand, or allow us free liberty to import British wool in exchange, (which would be the certain ruin of our woollen manufactures,) you shall have no cotton from us." By so doing France would annihilate the British cotton manufacture. So far was France from being disposed to follow the advice of the English abolitionists, by suppressing the slave trade, that she was giving it every encouragement. France admitted into her ports, free of duty, all goods whatsoever, and wherever manufactured, which were proper for the purchase of slaves in Africa. She did this before the commercial treaty with England; and, as a further encouragement to the slave trade, she gave a bounty equal to £7 of English money per head on every slave imported into her West Indian Islands, in a French ship; and at one of these settlements, Caïes St. Louis, (Aux Cayes, in St. Domingo,) this bounty amounted to £10 a-head. The effect of this had been that the number of French slave ships had increased surprisingly from 1780 to 1788; "during which period she has procured some Liverpool captains to command her ships, and many vessels have been fitted out at Havre de Grace, by a gentleman well known to the manufacturers of African goods in Manchester and Birmingham." As for Spain, whose islands and settlements used formerly to be supplied with slaves by the British merchants, the Spanish government had become so anxious to create a slave trade of its own, that it had recently despatched vessels from Cadiz to the East Indies, with hard dollars, to buy up goods suitable for the slave trade. Spain, in order to encourage her slave trade, had also relinquished to Portugal her claim to the valuable island of St. Catharine's, "which was the cause of the last war between Spain and Portugal", in exchange for the islands of Fernando Po and Anna Bona, in Africa, which Portugal had ceded to her.

The writer then proceeds to ask the Manchester abolitionists in what manner they intend to employ the ships and seamen which were then employed in the African trade? In order to show the advantage and the necessity of the trade, he produced the following statements, which he had received from Mr. Oliphant, late of the Liverpool Custom-house, and which applied to the slave trade of Liverpool alone, excluding the slave trade of London, Bristol, &c.:—"For several years past ninety vessels have sailed annually from the port of Liverpool to purchase slaves on the coast of Africa; these ninety vessels carry out 2,700 hands, with goods, (including said vessels' outfit,) to the amount and value of between £800,000 and £900,000 English money, purchased from the East India Company, the manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham, &c.; consume prodigious quantities of provisions brought from Ireland, and employ vast numbers of workmen, as carpenters, joiners, ironmongers, painters, sail-makers, braziers, boat-builders, coopers, riggers, plumbers, glaziers, gunsmiths, bread-bakers, carters, labourers, and consume great quantities of copper for ships' bottoms." "In case we abolish the slave trade," demands this writer, "what must become of all these people, who will be left without employ? Will you compel them to stay at home and starve, or will you tell them to go to France and Spain to get bread? Should they go, your enemies will receive them with open arms, to the irreparable loss and injury of England. What other markets," asked he, "shall we find out for all the East India goods, Manchester, Birmingham, and other manufactures, which are carried out to purchase slaves, as well as for the consumption of the West India Islands? What satisfaction do you propose making to the West India planters, whose estates are very valuable whilst cultivated, but will be worth nothing, and their families reduced to beggary and ruin, whenever the cultivation is stopped by want of hands? which is not the only evil the planters have to dread, for your violent writings, and attempts to abolish the trade will, in all probability, be made public to the slaves themselves in your islands, cause insurrections amongst them, and the loss of thousands of lives, both whites and blacks."

Although opposed to the abolition of the slave trade, this writer declared that he was friendly to a reform both of the trade and of slavery itself, on which subject he proceeded to state his views, which were not founded on hearsay, but upon what he had seen in the West India Islands belonging to France, Spain, Holland, and England. The French, he said, treated their slaves with greater humanity, fed and clothed them better,

than any other European nation ; caused them to be properly instructed in the principles of religion, and obliged them to attend constantly and regularly to Divine service on Sundays and holydays. For this end they had built churches, and fixed clergymen in very town and almost every large village throughout their West India Islands ; and they, from experience, had found that it was the true policy so to do, as the French slaves were more faithful than those of other nations, and in case of attack by an enemy had generally proved true to their masters, “ who reside upon their estates, and acquire an esteem and attachment for their slaves, which British planters who reside in London, and commit the care and management of their negroes to hired overseers, cannot hope for.” The Spaniards, he said, treated their slaves better than the English, but not so well as the French. Proper attention was paid to them in point of religion, but they were not so well fed and clothed, and they were made to work more than the slaves in the French islands. The English and Dutch were pretty much upon a par in the treatment of their slaves. Some planters behaved very well to them, but others did not treat them as well as they might do, “ which is certainly a great shame and disgrace to civilized people,” and ought to be prevented. In point of religion, neither one nor the other gave, or caused to be given, the least religious instruction ; nor were there a sufficient number of churches and chapels established in the English islands for the necessary purposes of religion. This, however, the writer contended, might be remedied, without abolishing the slave trade, which neither the French nor Spaniards would ever think of doing ; certainly not the Spaniards, who could not work their mines without slaves, and would thus lose a revenue of from twenty to thirty millions of hard dollars, which were brought at particular times by the register ships from La Vera Cruz to Cadiz. “ Were these gentlemen,” said he, “ now so violent for abolition, to become a little more moderate in their ideas, and to open their purses with liberal subscriptions, they might do a great deal, and be of real benefit to the slaves in the English islands. With money raised for the purposes of humanity, churches might be built, and clergymen be established to instruct the slaves in religion, with as much success as is practised in the French islands ; and a sufficient fund might be established for the purpose of prosecuting and punishing such planters as may hereafter treat their slaves improperly or with want of humanity. This would prove the means of bringing about a reformation, and put a stop to such practices in future.”

This letter was promptly answered by an Abolitionist writer, in the

Liverpool paper of the 18th February, 1788. He began by informing the author of the above defence of the slave trade, that as the gentlemen of Manchester, calling themselves "a Committee for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade", might not think it necessary to notice an anonymous writer, he would take the liberty of offering some observations "on his very elaborate performance." When he found this "Friend of Old England" attacking the Manchester committee for the violence of their resolutions, their ignorance of the true interests and safety of the country, and of the consequences which must follow from the abolition of the slave trade, he admired his great assurance, and felt a desire to have his opinion of the resolutions and petitions of many counties, cities, and towns, which had since expressed the same opinions as those expressed at Manchester. For example, he wished to know what he thought of the resolutions of the city of Bristol? What he said to those of the inhabitants of Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham? Did they not understand the true interests of the country? Had they not considered the consequences of abolition? or were they only understood by profound geniuses like himself? He then proceeded to inform the defender of the slave trade that he would have served his cause much more effectually if, instead of pronouncing general censures on the resolutions agreed to at Manchester, he had combatted and overturned the principles on which those resolutions were founded. This he had not done, because he was aware that the African slave trade could not be defended on a principle of religion, or "on the ground of common honesty." His long letter was therefore confined to an exaggerated account of its commercial advantages, and a false representation of the consequences that will result from the suppression of this "infernal traffic; a mode of reasoning which in private life would justify the profession of a highwayman or a pickpocket." One sentiment of these resolutions he would recommend very earnestly to the consideration of this defender of man-stealing. It did honour to British manufacturers, and to adopt it would not disgrace the British merchant. "That this meeting, though fully sensible of the importance of manufactures and commerce to the real interests of the nation, is yet too jealous of that reputation which all honest men ought to desire, to wish the promotion of any traffic, however lucrative, by means inconsistent with humanity and integrity."

The writer then proceeded to inform his opponent that the object of the present application to parliament was the abolition of the slave trade from Africa to the West Indies, and such regulations respecting the

slaves now in our islands as shall immediately improve their condition, and prepare the way for gradual emancipation. Even his opponent acknowledged the necessity of a reform in the mode of treating the slaves in the British colonies, and admitted that many of our planters treated them in a manner which was a disgrace to a civilized people. With regard to the inquiry as to whether the evils of slavery could not be remedied without totally abolishing the trade, he said, "It is curious to observe that, till the question of an abolition of the slave trade became agitated before the public, we heard nothing of the reforms now taken up so warmly by the advocates of its continuance. Why has your humanity, sir," said he, "slept so long? You, who have seen the condition of the unfortunate African in the settlements of France, Spain, and Holland, why did you not come forward sooner with your appeal? And how can you, who feel so much for his situation in the West Indies, justify the commerce that placed him there? Your own experience must convince you that nothing but the abolition of the trade in question will remedy the evil complained of; and the consequence will be, that those will be compelled to be humane, from interest, who are not so from principle; and the planter will eventually be a gainer, unless you can prove, what you have not attempted, that a continued importation of slaves from Africa is absolutely necessary to the cultivation of his land. It, however, fortunately for the cause of humanity, appears that the contrary is the fact; and that many instances can be adduced of estates in the West Indies, on which the number of slaves has been not only supported, but increased, without any foreign supply, for many years; a circumstance which affords the strongest proof which the nature of the case will admit, that a proper attention to the principles of humanity, in their treatment, would preclude the necessity of any further supplies from the coast of Africa." In concluding this part of the argument, he begged, that when next his opponent wrote in defence of this humane traffic, he would inform the public what bad consequences had arisen to the planter during the American war, from the want of a constant supply of slaves, when the import of slaves was so nearly annihilated? With regard to the West India Islands, he assured his antagonist, that the planters were not likely to give the islands to a foreign power, until they met with one who could afford them a better market for their produce, or could supply their wants on better terms.

"With respect to our cotton manufacture," said the writer, "can you be ignorant that our islands do not produce of the raw material more

than one-fifth of the general consumption ; and that, if your arguments were founded in truth, we should now experience some of the inconveniences you mention ; and you must also know that the produce of the French islands, notwithstanding the duty you allude to, comes to this market in competition with our own. When the French shall consume the whole produce of their settlements, and when the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Turks (all cotton-growers) shall commence cotton-manufactures, we may be a little inconvenienced ; but, till then, never fear that our money, and the exertions of our good friends, the cotton speculators, will keep us in good stock ; and when you cast your eye over the map of the countries that produce this valuable article, you will easily see that the growth can be extended beyond the utmost possibility of consumption. Your predictions, therefore, of the French refusing us cotton, of our own people being under the necessity of emigrating into France, and of the ruin of woollen manufactures are truly laughable, and of a piece with your dread of losing the West India Islands, reducing the planters to beggary, injuring the revenue, starving such vast numbers of carpenters, joiners, ironmongers, &c., as if the whole commerce of the kingdom was centred in the slave trade, or the very existence of the empire depended upon a continuance of it." "Why should you, my good friend," he adds, "be alarmed for our manufacturers and mechanics, when they have no fears ? They are convinced that there is honourable commerce sufficient for honest men, and that we may still hold the same distinguished place in the scale of commercial nations, when this foul exuberance shall be lopped off." In concluding this well-written, well-reasoned letter, the writer added, "It will be time enough to consider the propriety of building churches in the West Indies when the planters, and others concerned in the slave trade, shall become Christians. They are at present unacquainted with the first principles of religion, and 'to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us,' is not, I am afraid, to be found in their gospel. If you are inclined to appear again as the advocate of the slave trade, remember that its *principles* ought to be justified before its *policy* can be defended ; the latter only you have attempted, with what success the public will determine."*

The above may be taken as fair specimens of this great controversy. It continued to be carried on in Liverpool with great spirit, and sometimes with great vehemence, for the next twenty years. I shall have to notice, in the course of this work, the different aspects which it assumed

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, Feb. 18, 1788.

at different periods, until it was finally closed by the abolition of the slave trade.

I now proceed to trace the course of local events of a less exciting character.

On the 15th of February, 1788, Patrick Bourne and John Silvester Dowling were hung in front of the gaol at Liverpool, in the presence of 20,000 spectators. They had been convicted at Lancaster of burglariously breaking into the house of Mrs. Graham, of Liverpool. Hanging was at that time the universal infallible specific for all moral diseases; and the judges, thinking that the sight of a public execution might deter others, sent the prisoners to be hung at Liverpool. At the spring assizes, in the previous year, no less than 240 prisoners were capitally convicted in England, and 82 were left for execution.

On the 5th November, 1788, the centenary of the English revolution of 1688 was celebrated in Liverpool by a grand banquet; William Roscoe contributed a fine ode to the pleasures of the entertainment. The French revolution had commenced, but nothing had yet occurred to excite apprehensions that it would be carried further than the revolution of 1688.

The communication between Liverpool and Dublin was considered almost perfect at the beginning of the year 1789, three packets, the Earl of Charlemont, the Duke of Leinster, and the St. Patrick having sailed in two days. The following was mentioned in a Liverpool paper as an instance of expeditious travelling, "which now frequently occurs." A gentleman left London on Monday evening by mail, and arrived in Liverpool on Wednesday morning; found a packet ready to sail for Dublin; arrived there on Thursday; did the business that occasioned his going there; returned by another packet on Friday; arrived in Liverpool on Saturday; and was in London again on that day week that he left it. "Compare this," adds the editor, "with a few years back, when the sober citizen used to make his will before he undertook a journey of two hundred miles into the country, and was a week in effecting it."*

In April, 1788, great rejoicings took place in Liverpool on the restoration of the king to health, after a period of mental aberration. The town was brilliantly illuminated, and a grand ball and banquet was given at the Town-hall. The following gentlemen formed the committee who conducted the festivities:—John Blackburn, Esq., Mayor, Mr. John Gregson, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Statham, Mr. Staniforth, Mr. Crosbie, Mr. Earle, Mr. Clayton Tarleton, and Mr. Steers.

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January 4, 1790.

In 1789 William Roscoe was elected President of the Liverpool Library. That institution has now flourished for upwards of ninety years, and has attained a magnitude and value which its founders never anticipated. It was established near the end of the reign of George the Second, in the year 1757, when several of the principal merchants, professional men, and tradesmen of the town, "including nearly all the members of the St. Paul's-square Club," with a view, as the prospectus states, "of furnishing an ample fund of amusement and improvement at the easiest expense," formed themselves into a society, for establishing a circulating library. The original list of subscribers contained 109 names; the first catalogue, that of November, 1759, gave a list of 450 volumes, which then formed the whole intellectual wealth of the library. The books were originally kept in a large chest, in a room in St. Paul's-square; they were then removed to the parlour of a house in Prince's-street, a small street leading out of Dale-street; and after that to a building belonging to Mr. Everard, the first librarian, situated in John-street. In the year 1760 the number of books had increased to 650 volumes; and in 1770, to 1,547. Mr. Everard ceased to be librarian in 1770. He was succeeded by Mr. Brodick, who held the office of librarian for two years; and on his retirement from the office Mr. George Barker was appointed librarian, and held the office for forty-six years. In the year 1786, the books having increased beyond the accommodation which the room in John-street afforded, the library was removed to a room twice the size, situated in Lord-street. "The library" (says the introduction to the catalogue of 1850) "was by this time considered as one of the most important institutions of the town, being one of the largest, if not the largest collection of books in this part of the kingdom. The society had counted amongst its members the greater part of those inhabitants of Liverpool most distinguished for intellect or acquirement. Besides the illustrious Roscoe, the following may be mentioned as having been active members of the committee:—Dr. Curric, Dr. Bostock, the Rev. John Yates, Mr. Rathbone, Dr. Worthington, Dr. Rutter, Dr. Lyon, Mr. Evans, (afterwards Sir William D. Evans and Recorder of Bombay,) Mr. Daulby and Mr. Brooke. Of these the sole survivor is the last-named gentleman, who, now in his ninetieth year, still retains a lively recollection of Liverpool, as it was seventy years since, and to whose information, kindly communicated by his son, Richard Brooke, Esq., this account is under great obligations." The subsequent progress of the library has been a

continual success. In 1794 the number of books had increased to 5,095. In 1800 the plan of building a library—the present Lyceum—was agreed upon, and in 1803 the books were removed to it. At that time the number of volumes was 8,157; in 1814 it had increased to 11,831; in 1830, to 21,400; and, in 1850, to 36,751.

This fine collection of books is divided into the following classes:—Theology and mental philosophy, 2,753 volumes; natural philosophy, &c., 2,318; history and biography, 5,499; antiquities and topography, 1,190; geography, voyages, and travels, 2,981; law, politics, &c., 3,251; language, logic, &c., 579; miscellaneous literature, 7,064; fine arts and mechanics, 657; poetry, 1,379; novels and romances, 6,832; drama and dramatic literature, 502; Greek and Latin classics, 286. Having traced the history of the Liverpool Library from its origin, I proceed to the events of the year 1791.

The Blind Asylum, one of the most interesting and successful of the Liverpool charities, was established in that year. The idea of forming such an institution originated with Edward Rushton, the poet, who was himself entirely blind during thirty years of his life. The following lines were written by him, to excite sympathy for sufferings which he was so well able to feel and to describe :

“BLINDNESS.

“ Ah! think, if June's delicious rays
The eye of sorrow can illume,
Or wild December's beamless days
Can fling o'er all a transient gloom.
Ah! think, if skies obscure or bright,
Can thus depress or cheer the mind,
Ah! think, 'midst clouds of utter night,
What mournful moments wait the blind.
And who shall tell his cause for woe,
To love the wife he ne'er must see,
To be a sire, yet not to know
The silent babe that climbs his knee?
To have his feelings daily torn,
With pain, the passing meal to find;
To live distress'd, and die forlorn,
Are ills that oft await the blind.
When to the breezy uplands led,
At noon, or blushing eve, or morn,
He hears the redbreast o'er his head,
While round him breathes the scented thorn.
But oh! instead of nature's face,
Hills, dales, and woods, and streams combined,
Instead of tints, and forms, and grace,
Night's blackest mantle shrouds the blind.
If rosy youth, bereft of sight,
'Midst countless thousands, pines unblest,
As the gay flower withdrawn from light,
Bows to the earth where all must rest;
Ah! think, when life's declining hours
To chilly penury consigned,
And pain has palsied all his powers,
Ah! think what woes await the Blind.”

The three years which preceded the commencement of the wars of the French revolution, were years of extraordinary prosperity, during which an immense number of new canal schemes were launched.

In the year 1791 an act was obtained for forming a canal from the Mersey and Irwell Navigation, at Manchester, to the flourishing manufacturing towns of Bolton and Bury. The length of the canal was fifteen miles and one furlong. The rise 187 feet from the river Irwell. This canal followed the windings of that river during great part of its course, and traversed a country rich in minerals, and crowded with inhabitants.

In the following year an act was obtained for forming a canal from Manchester to Ashton-under-Lyne and Oldham. The length of this canal was about eleven miles, and its rise 152 feet. Coal, lime, timber, raw cotton, and manufactured goods are the principal articles of transport upon it.

The Huddersfield and Ashton, like the Rochdale Canal, joins the Manchester and Oldham Canal and forms a means of communication with the populous towns of Ashton, in Lancashire, and Huddersfield, in Yorkshire. The act for forming this canal was passed in the year 1794. The Huddersfield Canal, after passing by Ashton and Staleybridge, enters Yorkshire in the manufacturing district of Saddleworth: it passes through the hills by a tunnel three miles in length. The rise of this canal is 334 feet on the Lancashire side of the hills, and it falls 436 feet before it joins Sir John Ramsden's canal from Huddersfield to Cooper-bridge. That canal is connected with the river Calder, and thus forms a fourth line of water-carriage across the island from Liverpool to Hull.

In the same year, powers were obtained for forming a canal from the limestone district about the Derbyshire Peak, by Chapel-le-Frith, Disley, Marple, and Mellor, to join the Ashton and Huddersfield Canal, near Duckinfield-bridge.

In the month of February, 1791, the plan of forming a canal from the Mersey and Irwell Navigation, at Manchester, to the river Calder, at Sowerby-bridge, near Halifax, was again revived. A meeting of gentlemen, merchants, and others interested in the project, was held at Rochdale, on the 10th of February, at which it was determined that new surveys should be made. These, with the original plans and estimates of Brindley, made in the year 1766, were produced at an adjourned meeting, held in the month of April, at the same place, at which it was unanimously resolved to proceed with the canal. So great was the eagerness to obtain shares in the undertaking that £60,000 worth of scrip was subscribed for in an hour. The act for forming this canal did not receive the consent

of parliament until the year 1794, the early attempts to obtain it having been defeated by the opposition of the mill-owners, whose works stood on the streams, from which the supplies of water for the projected canal were proposed to be drawn. This canal, which is called the Rochdale Canal, commences close to the town of Manchester, passes by Denton, Chaderton, Middleton, and Hopwood, to within a short distance of Rochdale, whence it sends off a small branch to that town. From Rochdale the main line proceeds to Littleborough. At Dean Head, between Littleborough and Todmorden, it reaches its highest level, to which it is raised by a series of locks. The rise from Manchester is 438 feet. From this point it descends through the valley of Todmorden to the river Calder, at Sowerby-bridge, falling 278 feet, by a succession of locks, before it reaches the Calder. This canal is supplied with water by large reservoirs, formed in the hills, so as to render it unnecessary to draw any part of its supplies from the running streams which furnish water-power to the manufactories of the district.

In the autumn of the year 1792 meetings were held at Shrewsbury, Ellesmere, Whitchurch, and other places, to consider a proposed plan of forming a canal from the river Severn at Shrewsbury to the Dee at Chester, and the Mersey near Stanlow. At the Ellesmere meeting it was resolved that such intended canal would be highly beneficial to the landed and commercial interests of the country in general; that it was practicable to make it so as to pass near to, or communicate by branches with, several extensive coal, lime, and slate works, in the parishes of Chirk, Ruabon, and Llangollen, in the county of Denbigh, and Oswestry, in the county of Salop. Surveys were also ordered to be made, to ascertain whether it could not be extended to the neighbourhood of Wem and Whitchurch. At a subsequent meeting held at Newport, Shropshire, it was unanimously resolved that the canal should be large enough to be navigable for vessels of fourteen feet beam. Commencing in the basin of the Chester Canal, it was to complete the grand commercial communication between the Severn, Dee, and Mersey, by a canal capable of navigating barges of eighty tons, through the whole length of fifty-two miles, without a tunnel.* There were at first two rival canal schemes on this line, the Eastern and the Western Canals, but before the work was completed one canal was found to be quite enough both for the shareholders and the public.

Another project launched at this time was the Grand Junction Canal, by means of which the Oxford Canal, which was connected with all the

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, October 1, 1792.

Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire Canals, was joined to the river Thames. The canal making this junction commenced at Braunton, in Warwickshire, and extended through the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Middlesex, joining the Thames at Brentford.

These, however, were only a small portion of the schemes then in agitation. The canal fever of 1792 was not less intense than the railway fever of 1845; nor were the undertakings projected at the former period less bold than those of the latter, if allowance be made for the inferiority of the national resources at the former time. It will be remembered that the only canal which existed when George the Third ascended the throne, in 1760, was the Sankey Brook Canal, fourteen miles in length, whilst, according to a list of canals published in Liverpool, in 1792, the number of canals then constructed was thirty-one, with an aggregate length of 890 miles. Fully as many more were projected and planned in that year. The total length of the English canals is 2,614 miles, so that it appears that two-thirds of all these canals were formed or planned within forty years after the opening of the first. The canal share market in 1792 very much resembled the railway share market in 1845. At a sale of canal shares in October, 1792, the shares in the Trent navigation sold for 175 guineas each; those in the river Soar Canal, in Leicestershire, for 765 guineas; those in the Erewash Canal for 642 guineas; one share in the Oxford Canal for 156 guineas; one in the Cromford Canal for 130 guineas; one in the Leicester Canal for 175; ten shares in the Grand Junction Canal, of which not a sod was dug, sold for 355 guineas premium; a single share in the same canal for 29 guineas premium; and ten shares in the projected Mersey and Severn Canal for 29 guineas.

I have shown, in the first chapter of this work, that Liverpool was naturally much inferior to the other great ports of the kingdom, in the means of transporting merchandise and produce into and from the interior. That whilst the stream of the Thames furnished London with a navigable channel, communicating with many of the richest counties of England, and flowing through a course of more than two hundred miles; that whilst the Severn gave nearly equal advantages of inland communication to Bristol; the Trent and Humber to Hull; and the Ouse and Nene to the once-flourishing port of Lynn, in Norfolk; Liverpool possessed no means of communicating with the interior beyond the banks of the estuary of the Mersey, owing to the smallness of the streams which discharge

themselves into it. This great disadvantage, which rendered the cost of transporting goods into or from the interior four times as great as it was in places possessing the convenience of water-carriage, continued to be felt until the accession of George the First. Soon after the final settlement of the constitutional quarrels of England, the work of improvement commenced; and before the close of the century, Liverpool, from being worse supplied with the means of internal transport than any port in England, was much better. The systems of canals, which terminate in the estuary of the Mersey, were four in number, and served all the purposes of internal communication as well, if not better, than the four finest rivers in the kingdom would have done.

The Leeds and Liverpool Canal was the first of these systems of inland navigation. By its connexion with the navigable rivers Aire and Calder, on the east side of England, it formed a line of water communication across the island, from Hull and the East Riding of Yorkshire, to Liverpool. In a winding course of nearly two hundred miles, this series of navigations passed by or communicated with the port of Hull; with the ancient and populous city of York; with the fruitful corn-growing district of Driffield, in the East Riding; with Leeds, the capital of the Yorkshire woollen district; with Bradford, the chief seat of the stuff and worsted manufacture; with Bingley and Keighley, bustling towns engaged in the woollen manufacture; with Gargrave and the district of Craven, rich in limestone, in cattle, and in the products of the dairy. Then, entering Lancashire, it passed near the populous and flourishing towns of Colne, Burnley, Blackburn, and Chorley, on to Wigan, the chief place in the Lancashire coal district. Near that place it received the canal from the north, which commenced at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and passed southward by Lancaster, through the rich district of the Fylde, and by the pleasant and improving town of Preston, until it joined the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. From Wigan the main trunk of the canal passed forward to Liverpool and the estuary of the Mersey.

The Bridgewater Canal and the Mersey and Irwell Navigation served as two grand trunks, by which another great system of natural and artificial navigations, reaching from the eastern side of the island, was connected with Liverpool. This system of navigations commences in the great corn-growing district of Lincolnshire; passes by Doncaster; communicates with Sheffield, for many centuries the seat of the cutlery trade; with Barnsley, one of the few English towns in which the linen trade has flourished in modern times; with Wakefield, the capital of a district

rich in corn, cattle, and minerals; with Halifax, Huddersfield, and Dewsbury, all great seats of the woollen manufacture; and with the crowded, populous, and industrious villages of the West Riding. From Todmorden, where the cotton manufacture of Lancashire appears, and by Rochdale, where the woollen manufacture dies out, it passes on until it reaches Manchester, the centre and capital of the industry of Lancashire. There it is joined from the north by the navigations of Bolton, Bury, and Worsley; and from the south and south-east by those of Derbyshire, Stockport, Oldham, and Ashton. From Manchester the line of this vast internal communication passes down to Liverpool by the Bridgewater Canal and the Mersey and Irwell Navigation; receiving the trade of Warrington and St. Helens on the north, and that of the Cheshire salt-field on the south.

A third great system of internal navigation is that of which the Grand Trunk, or Staffordshire Canal, and the Grand Junction Canal form the main channel. This commences in the valley of the Thames, and forms the means of communication between London and Liverpool. After intersecting several of the richest agricultural counties, it enters the Birmingham district. There it receives the trade of that great hive of industry, as well as of the Dudley, Walsall, Stourbridge, and Wolverhampton iron districts. It communicates with Leicester, Newark, Nottingham, and Burton, by the river Trent, and after that passes through the middle of the Staffordshire potteries, and over the great plain of Cheshire, until it joins the Bridgewater Canal, at Preston Brook, and the Mersey, at Runcorn.

The fourth and last of these great systems of internal communication is the canal by which the Severn, the Dee, and the Mersey are united, commonly known as the Ellesmere Canal. By one branch this canal communicates with the valley of the Severn, in Montgomeryshire; by another with that of the Dee, at Llangollen; by a third with Whitechurch and the fine agricultural district of Shropshire; whilst the main line passes from Shrewsbury, by Ellesmere, to Chester, and is continued from that ancient city to the river Mersey, at what is called Ellesmere Port.

When it is considered how large a portion of the wealth, the natural resources, and the population of England is found along the banks of the four great lines of internal communication above described, it will not be matter of wonder that the effect of uniting them to Liverpool, by the cheap and easy medium of navigable canals, should have been to give an immense and lasting impulse to the prosperity of that port.

Had the peace and plenty which England enjoyed from 1783 to the end of 1792 continued for ten years longer, the great projects of 1792 might possibly have been accomplished, without any extreme difficulty; but war and scarcity were rapidly approaching; and, though most of the projects were ultimately effected, it was not until many of the projectors had been ruined. The harvest of 1792 was the first of a succession of bad harvests. The rain seldom ceased during the summer, there being only twenty-six dry days between the 30th April and the 5th November in that year. Hence the prices of grain began to rise rapidly. This, however, was only a small evil, in comparison with that which followed, in January, 1793. On the 28th of that month, Louis the Sixteenth was executed at Paris; and immediately after that event, M. Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, received an intimation from the English government, that his mission was entirely terminated by the fatal death of his late most Christian majesty, and that "the king could no longer permit his residence in Great Britain." War followed immediately; and thus commenced that great conflict which was not brought to a final close until the year 1815.

Before entering upon the history of Liverpool during the twenty years of war which followed the rupture with republican France, it may be well to bring together a few facts, which show the progress of the port, from the accession of the House of Hanover to the commencement of the revolutionary war.

The average amount of shipping which entered and cleared from the port of Liverpool, for the seven years, ending in 1716, was 18,371 tons; the average of the second period of seven years, ending in 1723, was 18,607 tons; the average of the third period, ending in 1730, was 18,564 tons; the average of the fourth period, ending in 1737, was 19,921 tons; the average of the fifth period, ending in 1744, was 22,404 tons; the average of the sixth period, ending in 1751, was 32,702; the average of the seventh period, ending in 1758, was 44,168; the average of the eighth period, ending in 1765, was 62,390; the average of the ninth period, ending in 1772, was 84,792; the average of the tenth period, ending in 1779, was 79,470; the average of the eleventh period, ending in 1786, was 151,347; and the average of the twelfth period, ending in 1792, was 260,380. Thus, in a period of seventy-seven years, the tonnage entered and cleared from Liverpool had increased from 18,371 to 260,380 tons. Comparing the tonnage which cleared out of Liverpool in 1716, with the amount of the tonnage cleared out of all the ports of England, it formed the twenty-fourth part of the whole; comparing that of 1792, it formed the sixth part of the whole.

In 1716 the whole tonnage which entered and cleared from English ports was 456,309 tons, of which 18,371 tons cleared from Liverpool; in 1792 the whole tonnage cleared was 1,565,154, of which 260,380 cleared from that port.*

The Customs' revenue collected in the port of Liverpool increased rapidly during the eighteenth century. In the year 1700 it produced £50,000; in 1733 it had increased to £93,466 13s. 4d.; in 1755 to £201,367 9s. 2d.; in 1760 to £248,312 1s. 9d.; in 1765 to £269,435 8s. 1d.; in 1770 it had declined to £231,994 12s. 5d.; in 1775 it had again increased to £274,655 3s. 1d.; in 1780, during the heat of the American war, it had declined to £188,830 6s. 1d., (that is to less than in the middle of the reign of George the Second;) and in 1785 it had increased, with astonishing rapidity, to the sum of £680,928 19s. 10d. The Custom-house books, from 1789 to the end of 1792, cannot be found; but, as that was a period of great prosperity, it is probable that the Customs' revenue of Liverpool, at the commencement of the French war, was little short of a million a-year.†

The quantity of cotton imported into Liverpool in the year 1790 was 9,608,741 pounds; that imported in 1791 was 12,198,805 pounds; and that in 1792 was 14,064,573 pounds.‡

No regular or complete census of the population was taken in England until the year 1801; and it is not possible, therefore, to give the population either of Liverpool or of any other English town with strict accuracy, previous to that date. The following, however, are the results of the best data which exist:—In the year 1700 the population is supposed to have been 5,715 souls; in 1710 it had increased to 8,168; in 1720 to 11,833; in 1730 to 12,074; in 1742 to 18,000; in 1752 to 18,500; in 1766, on the accession of George the Third, to 25,787; in 1770, previous to the American war, to 35,600; in 1777, owing to the distress caused by that war, it had diminished to 34,107; in 1786 it had again increased to 41,600; and in 1790, two years previous to the breaking out of the great French war, to 55,732.§ As the years 1790, '91, and '92, were years of wonderful activity in business, it is probable that the immigration and the number of births were both great, and that the population of the port, at the commencement of the war, in 1793, was fully 60,000 souls, or more than ten times as great as it had been at the commencement of the century.

* Chambers's Estimate. † Table in Appendix of Liverpool Municipal Inquiry.

‡ Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, Jan. 28, 1793.

§ Appendix to Municipal Inquiry.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,
1793 to 1815.

From the commencement of the year 1793 to the close of 1814 the commerce of Liverpool was exposed to all the dangers and chances of war, with only one short interval of rest during the peace of Amiens. It is no part of the plan of this work to discuss questions of national policy. It will, therefore, be sufficient to state, that the differences between the English government and the revolutionary government of France, were brought to a crisis, by the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, and by the murder of Louis the Sixteenth. By the first of these acts the government of France seized upon a military and naval position, from which it shortly afterwards invaded Holland, and from which the successive governments of France never ceased to threaten England with invasion, until the city of Antwerp, and the magnificent harbour of the Scheldt, were wrested from them at the close of the war. By the murder of the king the Jacobin leaders excited a general feeling of pity for their victim, of horror of their crime, and a vehement desire to avenge so great an outrage on humanity.

When the news of the execution of Louis the Sixteenth arrived in Liverpool it produced an universal feeling of despondency and gloom. The colours at the Exchange and Custom-house were hoisted half-mast high, and the shipping in all the docks exhibited the same signs of mourning.* Similar feelings of sorrow were expressed throughout the whole kingdom; but they soon gave way to anger, and to the most resolute preparations for war with "republican and regicide" France. Early in February a meeting of merchants was held in Liverpool, at which a letter was read from Mr. Pitt, requesting that a deputation might be appointed to proceed to London, for the purpose of communicating with the government, on the "protection necessary to be afforded to the shipping of the port." Messrs. George Case, Richard Walker, and John P. Richard

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, January 28, 1793.

were appointed to make the needful arrangements.* For the purpose of depriving the enemy of naval and military supplies, and of arming the English fleet more rapidly, an embargo was laid on vessels taking out naval and military supplies. Greenland ships proceeding to the northern fisheries were ordered to be well armed; and letters of marque were issued against French ships and commerce.† On the 5th of April the armed Liverpool ship *Harriet*, Captain *Caitcheon*, owner *Mr. Thomas Barton*, brought the first French prize into the port. She was a cedar-built West Indiaman, named *L'Agréable*, *P. M. Cuillé*, master, laden with coffee, indigo, sugar, and cotton, of the supposed value of £6,000 to £9,000, and was taken on her voyage from Port-au-Prince to Bordeaux. Early in May the *Victoire*, of *Honfleur*, from *Guadaloupe*, laden with 125 hogsheads of sugar, 80 casks of coffee, and 18 bags of cotton, was brought in as a prize, by the *Earl of Derby*, privateer.‡ By the 1st of July no less than sixty-seven Liverpool privateers were either at sea or preparing to sail; and the number of prizes taken up to that time was from fifteen to twenty. Great numbers of privateers were fitted out afterwards, and an extraordinary number of prizes was taken. The French were too much distracted by internal dissensions, and attacks from abroad, to carry on this mode of warfare with any success. In three or four years their commerce was swept from the ocean; whilst, from the commencement of the war, the English commerce was carried on in tolerable safety under the protection of ships of war.§

The commencement of the war with France was attended by a commercial panic, which prostrated upwards of five hundred mercantile houses, including in the number many provincial banks, between the beginning of February and the end of May, 1793. The only Liverpool bank which was borne down by the storm was that of *Charles Caldwell and Co.* All the others stood firm; and the merchants and corporation made extraordinary efforts to restore confidence in their stability. On the 23d March, 1793, a meeting of merchants and traders was held, to consider the most probable means of restoring confidence, at which *Messrs. John Brown, Edward Falkner, Richard Walker, Thomas Hazlehurst, Thomas Leyland, and Jacob Nelson* were appointed a committee, to consider what was best to be done. The town council held a special meeting, for the same purpose, at which they also appointed a committee, to communicate and act with the committee of merchants. The committee of the council

* *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, March 11, 1793.

+ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1793.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1793.

consisted of Messrs. Clayton Tarleton, (mayor,) William Crosbie, George Case, Thomas Earle, Joseph Brooks, and Richard Statham. An address to the inhabitants was drawn up by the joint committee, and signed by them, and by two hundred and twenty of the principal firms in the town, in which they recommended all parties to whom bills were due to make payments as easy as possible; and pledged themselves to receive the bills of all the Liverpool banks at one or two months' date, "as has been the usual custom." The banks named in the address were those of Messrs. William Clarke and Sons; Arthur Heywood, Sons, and Co.; William Gregson, Sons, Parke, and Morland; and Staniforth, Ingram, Bold, and Dealtra; being all that then existed. The town council afterwards went much further. They applied to Parliament, and obtained powers to issue from £200,000 to £300,000 in promissory notes, to be loaned to the merchants of Liverpool, on security of merchandise and shipping. The government was still more anxious to restore confidence and re-establish commercial credit. In the month of May, Mr. Pitt applied to Parliament, for permission to issue five millions, in exchequer bills, on security of produce and merchandise. The advances were to be to the amount of half the value of the goods, and were to be repaid in instalments of three, six, nine, and twelve months. The bills were to bear an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cent. a-day. All goods and produce on which advances were made were to be deposited in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, or Edinburgh. The result of these measures was to restore both general and local confidence, and to give the government credit and the means of carrying on the costly struggle in which it was engaged.*

Amongst the local events of the year 1793, of less stirring interest, were the following:—In the month of February, in compliance with the request of the merchants of the port, the mayor and corporation appropriated the lower part of certain new buildings, north of the Town-hall, (which buildings have long since been pulled down,) as a place of meeting for the merchants, instead of the flags in front of the Town-hall.† In April the Warwickshire militia, then on duty in the town, rendered good service, in extinguishing a dangerous fire in Park-lane. As usual then, and for many years afterwards, there was a great want of water at the commencement of the fire. The 19th of April was kept as a national fast and day of humiliation, under the scourge of war.

During the year 1794, the principal West Indian colonies of France fell into the hands of England; and during the same year the navy of

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser.

† Ibid, February 18, 1793.

France received a blow from which it never recovered. On the 28th of April the mayor of Liverpool, Henry Blundell, Esq., gave a grand banquet, in honour of the capture of the island of Martinique, in which feat one of his brothers, Lieut.-Colonel Blundell, greatly distinguished himself. On Friday, May 21st, the bells of the churches rang all day, in honour of the conquest of Guadaloupe; and early in July news was received of the capture of Port-au-Prince, in the island of St. Domingo. But the great event of the year was Lord Howe's naval victory, on the 1st of June. "On Friday morning, when the news of Lord Howe having defeated the French fleet arrived in Liverpool, it gave rise to the most unbounded joy. The bells of the different churches rang incessantly; flags were displayed from the ships and steeples; the ships in the different docks were gaily decorated; pendants and ensigns were hung out from the various dwellings throughout the town; and, where those could not be obtained, quilts, handkerchiefs, curtains, &c. At one o'clock a royal salute was fired from the great guns of the fort. On Saturday the flags were again displayed."* Although this victory greatly diminished the apprehensions of invasion, it did not altogether remove them. A county subscription was entered into, to raise volunteer regiments, which was headed by the corporation of Liverpool, with a subscription of £1,000.†

During the spring of 1794 the press for seamen was very hot. In May a press-gang stopped the Warrington boat coach and the York mail, at Low-hill, to look for sailors. During the scuffle the horses of the mail took fright, galloped off, and upset the coach, seriously injuring two of the passengers.

A suite of new baths, built by the corporation, were opened in the month of May, which were much superior to anything that had been seen in Liverpool previously.‡

A benefit was given at the theatre, in the month of July, for the widows and children of the seamen killed in the battle of the 1st of June. It produced £208 18s. 6d.§

In August the public was congratulated on the fact that the directors of the Phoenix Fire-office had sent down a capital patent balloon fire-engine, "made by the ingenious Mr. Bramah, of Piccadilly," which would throw water to the perpendicular height of ninety feet.

There were great floods of rain this autumn, by which the lower

* Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, June 16, 1794.

† Ibid, October 14, 1794.

‡ Ibid, May 26, 1794.

§ Ibid, July 21, 1794.

part of Liverpool, built in the bed of the ancient pool, was laid under water.

The year 1795 commenced with a great local catastrophe—the burning of the interior of the Town-hall. The fire burst out on Sunday, the 18th of January, but it had been smouldering amongst the timbers of the building for some days. The whole interior of the building was destroyed, but all the most important muniments of the corporation were preserved, and the walls stood uninjured, as they do to this day.*

In the same month the pressure of the war began to be felt in the distressed condition of the poor. Grain, which had been advancing from the commencement of the war, rose to a famine price before the the harvest; the average price of wheat being 106s. 9d. a-quarter in the month of August, 1795. A very liberal subscription was entered into in Liverpool for the relief of the poor.

In the course of the year 1795 Liverpool was deprived, by death, of two of the patriarchs of its commerce—Arthur and Benjamin Heywood. Arthur Heywood, the elder brother, who died on the 11th of February, was the oldest and most respected of the merchants of Liverpool, at the time of his death, and was the founder of the bank which still bears his name. He descended from a Lancashire family, but was born at Drogheda, in Ireland, where he possessed a paternal estate, and came to Liverpool in very early life, where he was placed in the counting-house of John Hardman, Esq., member for the borough, in the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. He resided in Liverpool for sixty-four years, and was alike distinguished for his enterprise as a merchant, his judgment as a banker, and his generosity and kindness as a man. Benjamin Heywood came to Liverpool about the same time as his brother, and was equally distinguished for his commercial and civic virtues. He commanded a company of the regiment of Liverpool Blues, raised to defend the crown, in the rebellion of 1745, and died at the age of seventy-five, on the 10th of August, in the same year as his brother.

At the beginning of the year 1795 about fifty of the merchants of Liverpool, who had been opposed to the war from the beginning, presented a requisition to the mayor, requesting that he would call a meeting to address the king in favour of peace. He declined to do so, having received a memorial from upwards of two hundred merchants, in which they expressed the opinion that any such meeting would not only be useless but mischievous.† Exactly the same thing happened at Man-

* Billinge's *Liverpool Advertiser*, January 19, 1795.

+ *Ibid*, February 9, 1795.

chester. There and here, and, indeed, everywhere, the peace party was still a small minority.

A bill was passed in February, 1795, enacting that no British ship should be allowed to go to sea from any port, until that port had supplied the royal navy with the number of seamen which the government considered it able to furnish. The following are the number of seamen which each port was considered competent to furnish:—London, 5,725; Liverpool, 1,711; Newcastle, 1,240; Bristol, 666; Hull, 731; Whitehaven, 700; Glasgow, 683; Sunderland, 669; Whitby, 573; Dartmouth, 394; Yarmouth, 506; Beaumaris, 207; Cardigan, 139; Dover, 259; Exeter, 184; Falmouth, 121; Feversham, 147; Harwich, 166; Lancaster, 163; Lynn, 193; Poole, 279; Rochester, 134; Scarbro', 275; Southampton, 133; Weymouth, 139; Aberdeen, 219; Borrowstoness, 155; Campbeltown, 125; Dundee, 139; Irvine, 131; Kirkaldy, 136; Leith, 206; Montrose, 107; Rothsay, 168; Isle of Man, 126. In order to quicken the recruiting in Liverpool, the town council added greatly to the bounties given by the government. The bounty paid in Liverpool was £31 5s. for each able seaman, £23 10s. for each ordinary seaman, and £17 10s. for each landsman. In order to give a still further impulse to enlistment, the mayor, bailiffs, and leading merchants daily marched round the docks, with drums beating and colours flying, inviting seamen to join. After some little time the Liverpool contingent was supplied, and then the embargo was removed.*

On Friday, the 17th of April, in this year, the Queen's Dock was opened. The first vessel which entered it was the American brig *Baltimore*, Captain Johnston, commander. Soon afterwards Thomas Naylor, Esq., and other commissioners, met and marked out the quays of the Queen's Dock as legal landing quays, according to the commission issued from the Court of Exchequer.†

In June, 1795, the Ellesmere and Chester Canal was so far advanced, that canal-boats began to run from Ellesmere Port, on the Mersey, to Chester. "On Monday last," says a public writer of that day, "an elegant passage-boat was launched into the new branch of the Ellesmere Canal, from Chester to the Mersey. Her first passage, it is expected, will be in a few days. By this easy conveyance, considerable advantages will be reaped by the inhabitants of that city and this town, as the passage will now be no more than a cheap and pleasant trip."‡

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, April 13, 1795.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, June 15, 1795.

The freedom of Liverpool was this year voted to Sir Edward Pellew, (afterwards Lord Exmouth,) in consideration of "his great humanity and noble-hearted exertions", in saving the military, passengers, and crew on board the Dutton, West Indiaman.

In the spring of 1796 a great work was completed on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, by which the communication between Liverpool and Yorkshire was still further facilitated. "On Tuesday," says the Liverpool paper of May the 9th, "the grand tunnel on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, at Foulridge, between Colne and Burnley, was opened. A number of ladies and gentlemen passed through it, attended by a grand band of music, and proceeded down to Burnley, accompanied the whole way by vast crowds of people, who expressed their satisfaction with repeated and loud huzzas; and, what adds to the happy circumstance, one of the vessels was laden with different kinds of grain. The tunnel is 1,630 yards in length, and has been five years in completing."*

During the whole of the year 1796 the country was threatened with invasion, a large French army being drawn up on the coast of Normandy, ready to embark, if an opportunity should be offered of crossing the channel. An additional force of 60,000 militia was raised to meet this threatened attack. Of this new levy, Yorkshire furnished 6,915 men; Middlesex, 5,820; and Lancashire, 5,160. No other county furnished more than 2,000 men.†

The year 1797 opened with alarms. On the 2d of January, the Beresford packet, belonging to Messrs. Lake and Brown, arrived at Liverpool, from Dublin, bringing the news that a French fleet of seventeen line-of-battle ships was lying off Bear Island, in Bantry Bay, with a large body of troops on board, commanded by General Hoche. This alarm was dissipated, almost immediately, by the arrival of another vessel, bringing the news that the French ships had been driven to sea in a gale, and that they were either dispersed or returning to France. On Saturday evening, the 25th February, Liverpool was again aroused, by the arrival of an express, with the intelligence that another French expedition was in Cardigan Bay, and was advancing to Liverpool, to burn the shipping and destroy the docks. On the following day (Sunday) a meeting of the inhabitants was held, to consider the best mode of putting the town and harbour in a state of defence. At this meeting, "which was the most numerous ever held in Liverpool", the utmost unanimity prevailed amongst all ranks and description of people; "every one

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 9, 1796.

† Ibid, November 7, 1796.

vieing with the other in zeal to forward the general cause, and readiness to enrol himself for the defence of the port." The gentlemen who had offered themselves to the government as a volunteer troop of light horse, agreed to patrol the approaches to the river, in any manner which might be thought useful; and another set of gentlemen, who had learnt the use of arms as infantry, also stood forward, to accept any service which the commanding-officer of the district might think them qualified to undertake. Several of the merchants, who had warlike vessels nearly equipped for sea, offered them as floating batteries, to be placed at the entrance of the river; and temporary batteries, of five to seven guns, were erected at all prominent points on the river, with a furnace to each, for the purpose of heating shot. Upwards of a thousand men were enrolled as volunteers immediately; "and we doubt not," says an eye witness, writing on the day after the arrival of the news, "that, in the course of another day, this valuable port, which has hitherto appeared so vulnerable, except for its sandbanks, will be put into such a state of defence as to defy any attempt of the enemy." The same writer, a few days later, says, "We have great pleasure in being able to inform the public that, from the unremitting attention and spirited exertions of the general committee appointed at the moment of alarm, consisting of the mayor and magistrates, the naval and military officers, and some of the first and most respectable merchants and other gentlemen of the town, who have continued to sit daily; and from the surprising promptitude, zeal, and alacrity with which their orders have been carried into execution by all ranks and descriptions of the inhabitants, that this town and port, with all its valuable docks and shipping, have, in the course of one week, been put into a most complete state of defence; for, in addition to twenty guns, 32 and 18 pounders, mounted on their carriages in one single day, at the fort, (which had been for a considerable time disused,) there have, in the course of the week, been ten more 18-pounders mounted there, and twenty-six of the same weight of metal placed on temporary batteries of wood, erected on the occasion, at the commanding and projecting points of the river and dock piers, &c., making, in the whole, a strong line of fortifications of 56 guns and 576 men, being well appointed and manned, ten or twelve men to each gun, consisting of masters, mates, and seamen, all volunteers, and interested in the defence of the town, and, what is equally important, all trained and tried, and used to service and real action, in defence of their own and employers' property, and in support of their king and country."*

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, March 6, 1797.

In the following week reinforcements arrived, consisting of two troops of the Ayrshire fencible cavalry and a regiment of the East Kent militia. In the course of the month of March, 1797, the Liverpool volunteers were organized into six companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry, under the following officers :—Captain Dunbar, Captain George Case, Captain Birch, (afterwards Sir Joseph Birch, Bart.,) Captain Thomas Earle, Captain Doran, Captain Goring, and Captain Edward Falkner. These companies formed the nucleus of the several regiments of volunteers which were afterwards raised in Liverpool. They were trained regularly in the Mosslake-fields, and soon became well-disciplined, as well as spirited and resolute, soldiers. They were composed of “respectable gentlemen, merchants, and the principal tradesmen and their sons,” and were armed and clothed at their own expense, not costing the government a shilling.

In January, 1796, the underwriters presented a piece of plate, of the value of one hundred guineas, to Captain Jacob Fletcher, of the ship *Elizabeth*, of Liverpool, for his gallant and seamanlike conduct in action with a privateer of superior size. In the following month there was launched from Edward Grayson's building-yard a fine three-decked vessel, called the *Watt*, built for Richard Walker, Esq., and intended for the Jamaica trade. She was pierced for twenty-two guns. A great crowd of spectators was present at the launch. The vessel glided into the water to the sound of martial music. At this time war and commerce were commonly blended together.

In June, 1796, Colonel Gascoyne and General Tarleton were re-elected members for Liverpool.

Mrs. Siddons again appeared before a Liverpool audience in the month of June. Her benefit produced £208. Miss Mellon also made her first appearance in Liverpool during the same season, in the comedy of the “*Way to Get Married*.” She afterwards discovered the way to get married, first to the millionaire, Coutts, and afterwards to the Duke of St. Albans.

Charles Jenkinson, the personal friend of George the Third, was made an earl in 1796, with the title of Earl of Liverpool. At the request of the corporation, he was allowed to assume the arms of the town of Liverpool, along with those of his own family.*

Considerable progress was made this year with the canal by which Kendal was united to Liverpool. “The engineers,” says the Liverpool

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, August, 1796.

paper of Nov. 29, 1796, "are now completing the survey of the canal from Kendal to Burton, the making of which will commence in a short time. It is expected the canal from Burton, by Lancaster, Garstang, &c. to Preston, will be navigable in the course of next summer."*

The frost of January, 1797, was the severest known in England since 1739-40. On Christmas eve the thermometer stood two degrees lower than it had done in that intense frost.

In January, 1797, it was proposed to erect a convenient building for the use of the Blind Asylum in Liverpool. The plan was taken up with great spirit, both in Liverpool and the adjoining counties, which enjoyed the advantages of that excellent charity; and numerous subscriptions were received from a distance, in addition to large sums raised in Liverpool.

This year, 1797, Owen Salisbury Brereton, Esq., resigned the office of recorder of Liverpool, having held it for the extraordinary period of fifty years. Francis Hargrave, Esq., of Lincoln's-inn, a much more celebrated lawyer, was appointed his successor.

In the year 1797 the useful plan of bringing water into Liverpool, from the fine spring at Bootle, originally proposed by Sir Cleave Moore, in the year 1708, was revived. "The water from Copperas-hill," says a writer of that time, "may well supply the eastern part of Liverpool; whilst the water from Bootle may supply the western district. It may be hoped that a time will come, after the blessings of peace are obtained, and the magnitude of the town is further increased, that Liverpool will require the aid of both sources." At this time water was taken about in carts, and sold from house to house. "Knowles's pump," says the writer whom I have just quoted, "lately was not able to supply its customers with water, (fourteen carts :) the whole number of carts at present employed is forty-one, and this is no small nuisance."†

In December, 1797, a meeting of the Liverpool Choral Society was held, at which it was determined that the performances of that society should be modelled on the plan of the ancient concerts at the King's Theatre, London. In the same month the plan of erecting the Lyceum Library and Newsroom was first brought before the public.‡

In the autumn of 1797 the English fleet was victorious at Camperdown; but Bonaparte's brilliant victories in Italy gave the French equal grounds for triumph on land. The 18th December was, however, celebrated as a thanksgiving day, for the great naval victories

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, Jan. 2, 1797.

† Ibid, June 5, 1797.

‡ Ibid, December 25, 1797.

of that year. There were, at that time, 1,332 French prisoners in Liverpool.

In the month of February, 1798, the government being greatly pressed for money to meet the enormous expenses of the war, a voluntary subscription was entered into, for its assistance, in all parts of the kingdom. The sum raised for that purpose in Liverpool amounted to upwards of £17,000, which is equal to a contribution of about £100,000, in the present state of the population and wealth of the town. At the same time, it was determined to raise an additional volunteer force, to meet the double danger of a threatened invasion from France and an approaching rebellion in Ireland. At this time of peril, upwards of eight hundred new volunteers came forward in defence of their country. The whole volunteer force of Liverpool was then formed into two battalions of infantry, the first commanded by Colonel George Case, the second by Colonel Pudsey Dawson; a strong body of artillery, commanded by Jacob Nelson, Esq.; and a troop of cavalry, commanded by Edward Falkner, Esq., of Fairfield. These different corps remained embodied until the peace of Amiens. They, with similar regiments in all parts of the kingdom, formed a large part of the defence of the country, many of the regulars being on foreign service, and upwards of 88,000 of the militia quartered in Ireland. During the rebellion of 1798 the marching of troops through Liverpool was almost incessant. No less than 7,000 militia sailed from Liverpool for Ireland in a single week. The suppression of the Irish rebellion in the summer of 1798, and Nelson's victory of the Nile in the autumn of that year, which, for a while, cut off the already formidable Bonaparte from Europe, restored confidence, but did not cause any relaxation in the preparations for the defence of the country. At the close of 1798 there were 4,009 French prisoners in Liverpool.

Amongst the voluntary subscriptions contributed in Liverpool for the support of the government were the following:—John Bolton, £500; Thomas Staniforth, mayor of Liverpool, £300; John Sparling, £200; John Brown, £200; Thomas Barton, £200; William Dickson and Sons, £300; Moses Benson, £300; Venables, Taylor, and Taylor, £400; Nelson and Pearson, £300; Neilson and Heathcote, £300; John and James Stanton, £200; Thomas Leyland, £300; James Orrell, Blackbrook, £100; Samuel Staniforth, £100; John Kirkpatrick, £105; John Weston, £100; Edward Atherton, £100; William Gregson, jun., £105; James Astley, £100; George Case, £100; Pudsey and R. Dawson, £100; Roger Leigh,

£100 ; John Gregson, £500 ; William Pole, £200 ; Thomas Hanson, £200 ; Edgar Corrie, £300 ; Thomas Corrie, private in the 1st company of Liverpool volunteers, £10 10s. ; James Sutton, £100 ; Henry Parke, £100 ; John Drinkwater, £100 ; Thomas Molyneux, £100 ; Edward Chaffers, £100 ; Patrick Black, £100 ; John North, £100 ; J. Jackson, Firgrove, £200 ; Ewart and Rutson, £200 ; Edward Falkner, £100 ; White and Beckwith, £100 ; Ford North, £100 ; Titherington and Smith, £100 ; Peter M'Iver, £100 ; James Penny, £100 ; Thomas Parke and Son, £300 ; Brooke and Owen, £42, yearly during the war ; Cornelius Bourne, £100 ; Edward Mason, £300 ; William Bolden, £105 ; Richard Statham, £50 ; Richard Wicksted, £50 ; John Leigh, attorney, £50 ; Marwode and Bird, £50 ; Wm. Denison, £50 ; J. and H. Matthews, £50 ; J. and S. Matthews, £50 ; R. H. Roughsedge, £50 ; John Renshaw, £50 ; Thomas Naylor, £50 ; William Ripley, £50 ; John Hornby, £50 ; George Hutton, £100 ; T. M. Tate, £100 ; J. Tomlinson and Son, £50 ; Jonathan Ratcliffe, £50 ; J. Myers, Wavertree, £100 ; John Taylor, £105 ; Isaac Knowles, £50 ; James Hargreaves, £50 ; Valentine Byrom, £100 ; J. and James Aspinall, £100 ; John Keay, £50 ; James Gerard, £50 ; J. Kitchin, £50 ; Stephen Waterworth, £50 ; John Wilson, £50 ; Edward Ashburner, £50 ; Richard Richmond, £50 ; J. Smith, Colquitt-street, £50 ; William Roe, £50 ; Elijah Cobbon, £50 ; Richard Woodward, £100 ; John Fowey, £50 ; Thomas Holland, £50 ; Leicester and Gouthwaite, £100 ; Henderson, Rodie, Begge, and Co., £200 ; Richard Barton, £150 ; G. Preston, £50 ; Peter Marrow, £50 ; William Colbourn, £40 ; Robert Waln, £50 ; Thomas Foxcroft, £100 ; Dr. Worthington, £50 ; Davies, Jones, and Co., £60 ; Edward Rigby, £200 ; Bancroft and Lorimer, £200 ; John Shaw, £100 ; John Foster and Son, £52 10s. ; John Gregson, £200 ; Roger Owen, £50 ; William Crosbie, £100 ; R. Formby, £50 ; J. Wright, £50 ; James Swan, Olive Mount, £100 ; W. Naylor Wright, £50 ; William Harper, Everton, £200 ; Robert Ward, £50 ; John Henley, £50 ; Richard Wood, £50 ; Thomas Parr, £50 ; Thomas Capes, £50 ; Plato Denny, £50 ; G. and J. Hornby, £50 ; Christopher Shaw, £50 ; J. Henry, £50 ; Arthur Onslow, £100 ; T. C. Clemens, £100 ; A. Rigby, £200 ; Scroop Colquitt, £50 ; D. Backhouse, £100 ; J. Backhouse, Wavertree, £100 ; F. Holland, £50 ; C. Alexander, £100, Wilkins and Migault, £50 ; William Naylor, £50 ; John Tarleton, £300 ; Richard and Aikin, £200.

In the year 1799 the Court of Exchequer decided a cause on which that part of the revenue of the corporation of Liverpool which is derived

from town dues depended. According to the charters of the city of London, the citizens were exempt from the payment of those portions of the ancient *Jura Regalia* which are now known as town dues, in all the cities and boroughs of the kingdom, precisely as the burgesses of Liverpool and other boroughs were exempt from the payment of the same dues in London. Knowing this fact, a number of long-headed men, resident in Liverpool, bought the freedom of the city of London, from some of the smaller companies, which willingly sold it to them for a few pounds; and, having done so, attempted to pass their goods as those of freemen of London. The town council of Liverpool, regarding this as a mere evasion, refused to let the goods pass without paying town dues. On this the case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, which decided that the goods of freemen of London, resident in London, were free from the payment of Liverpool town dues, but that those of London freemen resident anywhere else were liable to pay them. This decision secured the revenue of the corporation of Liverpool, and put an end to the attempt to evade the dues under colour of the freedom of London.*

At the Easter vestry of the parish of Liverpool, in the year 1799, the parishioners voted that two pieces of brass cannon should be presented to the Royal Regiment of Liverpool Volunteers.†

In the session of 1799 application was made to parliament for permission to form two new docks near the sites of the present Prince's and Albert Docks. "The two projected new docks," says the paper of June 3d, in that year, "when completed according to the plan, will form a most capital addition to the appearance and accommodations of this port. The line of shipping along the shores of the river will then reach an extent of nearly two miles, and will indisputably constitute one of the grandest naval spectacles in the world. The following is the intended situation of the new docks, according to the bill now lying at the Exchange. The northermost of the docks will reach from north to south, namely, from the north side of George's Dock Basin northwardly to a place called Hog's-hey Nook; and from east to west, namely, from the high to the low water-mark of the River Mersey. The southermost dock will extend from north to south, namely, from the north side of the entrance into the Old Dock southwardly, to the north side of certain land belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater; and from east to west it will extend from the west side of the Salthouse Dock to the low water-mark of the river."‡

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, April 22, 1799. † Ibid, May 6, 1799. ‡ Ibid, June 3, 1799.

In May, 1799, the sugar-house of Messrs Wakefield and Okill was burnt down. This private misfortune had the effect of securing to the corporation of Liverpool the services of the late Mr. Charles Okill, a man whose unwearied industry and great knowledge of local and national antiquities enabled him to place the title of the corporation, to its estates, in a much clearer light than it was ever placed before. The mass of evidence which he collected from the national records, and from the muniments of ancient Lancashire families, extends over a period of seven hundred years, and forms a noble monument of his persevering industry and historical sagacity.

In the course of the year 1799 the corporation, after having made several abortive attempts, during the previous hundred years, to induce different parties to carry out various plans for supplying the town of Liverpool with water, succeeded in forming a company, to which it delegated its powers of effecting that most useful and necessary object. The powers thus unwisely conceded were eagerly grasped by a joint-stock company, and in two days the subscription-list was filled up.* similar powers of supplying another part of the town with the same necessary article were conceded to the Bootle Water Company. That company carried out the plans which had been authorized by the act granted to Sir Cleave Moore in the year 1708.

In July, 1800, the Grand Junction Canal, which had been upwards of eight years in forming, was opened. This completed the canal communication between Liverpool and London, and also completed the junction of the Thames, the Severn, the Mersey, and the Humber.†

At the close of the year 1800 that madman, the Emperor Paul, of Russia, declared war against England, and suddenly seized on all the English vessels in Russian ports. By way of reprisal, all Russian vessels which were in English ports were seized and confiscated. The only one in the port of Liverpool was the *Angola*, which was seized, and the crew sent to prison. This easy seizure gave the commander of the port, Captain Hue, £800 of prize-money.‡

In April, 1801, the plan of forming an Exchange, worthy of the growing importance of the commerce of Liverpool, was first proposed. The project was brought forward on Saturday, the 11th of April, and in three hours the subscription-list was filled up. "The spirit and opulence of this flourishing place were strikingly exemplified on

* Billinge's *Liverpool Advertiser*, June 24, 1799.

+ *Ibid*, July 21, 1800.

‡ *Ibid*, Jan. 5, 1801.

Saturday last," says the paper of the 13th of April, "when the scheme for erecting an extensive and ornamental range of public buildings, and of forming a spacious square, to the northward of the Town-hall was submitted to the public, and the subscription, amounting to £80,000, was actually filled up in three hours after the book was opened, although no one was allowed to subscribe for more than ten shares. By this plan it is proposed that a large quadrangle, or area, shall be formed, to the northward of the Town-hall, which is intended to be enclosed on the northeast and west sides by a uniform range of buildings, in a style of architecture similar to that of the north front of the Exchange, so as to connect the whole under one general denomination of the Liverpool Exchange, with piazzas, streets, and avenues, for the convenience of the public at large." On Friday, the 24th April, a meeting of the subscribers was held, at which plans of the projected Exchange were exhibited, and a committee of twenty-three gentlemen was appointed to carry them into execution.*

In the spring of 1801, the first year of the nineteenth century, a complete census of the population of Great Britain was taken by public authority, and a similar one has been taken every ten years from that time to the present. These returns furnish much better means of tracing the progress of the country, and of all the localities comprised in it, than any which existed previously. At the date of the census of 1801 Liverpool had become the port of the northwest of England, almost without a rival, and statements of its population at that time will serve as a starting point for comparison at the succeeding censuses of 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, and the census of the present year 1851.

The population of the parish and ancient borough of Liverpool at the date of the census of 1801 was 77,653 souls, exclusive of about 6,000 seamen belonging to the port, who were absent from home on various voyages, and were not therefore returned with the resident population. The population of the townships of Toxteth-park, West Derby, Everton, and Kirkdale, of which large portions are now included in the parliamentary borough of Liverpool, was as follows:—Toxteth-park, 2,069 inhabitants; West Derby, 2,636; Everton, 499; and Kirkdale, 393. The districts of Birkenhead, Seacombe, Liscard, Tranmere, and Oxtan, which are now suburbs of Liverpool, were then very thinly peopled by an agricultural population. The returns of 1801 gave them the following population:—Birkenhead, 110; Oxtan, 137; Tranmere, 353;

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, April 27, 1801.

Seacombe, 178 ; and Liscard, 211. According to the whole of these returns, the population of the ancient borough of Liverpool, in the first year of the present century, was 77,653, or, including 6,000 seamen, 83,653 ; the population comprised within the present limits of the borough, which include Toxteth-park and the more populous part of West Derby, Everton, and Kirkdale, was about 89,250 ; and the population on the Cheshire bank of the river, opposite to the town of Liverpool, was 989. These returns give a total population for the town and suburbs of Liverpool of 90,239 inhabitants, at the date of the first complete census of the British islands.

At the close of the year 1800, the nation being weary of the war with France, Mr. Pitt retired from office, and Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, took his place. Although the professed ground of Mr. Pitt's retirement was a difference between the king on the Roman Catholic question, yet it was generally understood that that retirement would facilitate the restoration of peace with France. That proved to be the case, for, in October, 1801, it was announced that the peace, commonly known as the Peace of Amiens, had been concluded between England and France. This news was received with great rejoicings in all parts of England, and no were greater than in the town of Liverpool, which was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the event. The public, however, was kept uneasy, by the long delay in the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, which was not signed until March, in the following year. The news was received in Liverpool on the 30th of March, having been brought down to Manchester by the Defiance coach, in eighteen hours and a half, or eleven hours less than the mail. "The arrival of the news created great joy ; the bells rang throughout the two following days, and flags were displayed from the steeples of the different churches, and in various parts of the town. On Thursday the whole of the garrison, namely, the Lancashire and Cheshire regiments of militia, and the troops of dragoons, together with the Royal Regiments of Liverpool Volunteers and the artillery, drew up on the shore, and fired three vollies on the occasion. The day was unusually fine for the season, and the concourse of people immense."* On the following Monday 320 French prisoners of war were sent from Liverpool to France, and on the Thursday following 1,083. In the month of May following the Liverpool Royal Regiments of Volunteers were disbanded, having attended church in full uniform on the 3d May, on which occasion the Rev. F. Hodson preached

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, April 5, 1802.

an appropriate sermon. Services of plate were afterwards presented to Lieut.-Colonel Dawson, Lieut.-Colonel Case, and Major Birch, in acknowledgment of their public services. The colours of Major Birch's regiment, originally presented by Mrs. Birch, were deposited in St. Thomas's Church.

In January, 1802, life-boats were first introduced into the port of Liverpool by the Dock Committee, after a dreadful storm, in which many lives were lost. Since that time the life-boat service has been so much improved and extended as to give the greatest possible amount of security in all parts of the port of Liverpool, from the mouth of the river Dee to that of the Ribble. There are six life-boats maintained and worked at the cost of the Liverpool Dock Estate, at Hilbre Island, Hoylake, the Magazines, Liverpool, Formby, and Southport, giving security along a line of coast thirty miles in length.

The Liverpool Athenæum was founded in the year 1797, chiefly by the exertions of William Roscoe, Mr. Edward Rogers, and Dr. Rutter,* all eminent scholars and true lovers of learning. Their object was to form a collection of standard works, not for the purpose of circulation, but of reference, and to encourage a taste for the higher branches of knowledge, by forming a library in which all the noblest productions of the human intellect might always be found. It appears, from a report of the Athenæum published in the year 1802, that the library already contained 6,226 volumes. Of these volumes 3,705 were in the English language, 848 in the Greek, Latin, and Oriental languages, 1,502 in the French, 162 in the Italian, 5 in the Spanish, and 4 in the Dutch. The annual subscription furnished a fund of 400 guineas a-year for the purchase of new books. "The prosperity of the Athenæum," adds the author of the report of 1802, "unparalleled, we believe, in the history of similar institutions, has been chiefly derived from the general union of public sentiment in its favour, and the remarkable unanimity with which its affairs have been conducted. May these continue : may the happy omens which attend its infancy be accomplished in its progress ! its friends having nothing better to hope or wish." A writer in the paper of that date adds, most truly, "To the above account may be added, that, considering its comfort and convenience, its elegance of accommodation, distinctness of arrangement, and every appropriate appendage of which such an institution is susceptible, the Athenæum is perhaps one of the greatest literary luxuries in Great Britain."†

In March, 1802, the committee for erecting the New Exchange

* Life of William Roscoe, by his son, Henry Roscoe, i. 229.

† Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, March 8, 1802.

succeeded in buying all the land required for building and forming it, without being obliged to have recourse to any Parliamentary powers.*

It appears from the report made at the parish vestry in April, 1802, that the cost of supporting the out-door poor of Liverpool had increased between the years 1794 and 1802 from £3,000 a-year to £10,000, and that the total cost of the poor had increased from £18,000 to £33,000 a-year. The rate for parish purposes in 1802 was 2s. 9d. in the pound for the poor, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the church, and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for land tax : total 3s. in the pound.

In June, 1802, the Liverpool St. George's Fire Office was opened, for insuring houses, warehouses, buildings, manufactories, farmers' stock, goods, wares, merchandise, ships in harbour or dock, and their cargoes, ships building, and vessels, barges, and other craft and their cargoes, in port or used on navigable canals, and other property within Great Britain, from loss or damage by fire. The capital of this company amounted to £300,000, and the following gentlemen were proprietors:—Trustees, Moses Benson, P. W. Brancker, George Case, John Gregson, A. Heywood, and Thomas Leyland. Directors:—Joseph Birch, George Booth, Thomas Booth, C. Bonner, Alexander Carson, James Currie, Thomas Earle, William Ewart, Caleb Fletcher, John Leigh, William Naylor, William Rathbone, Thomas Rawson, S. Staniforth, and John Wilson. Proprietors:—J. B. Aspinall, James Atherton, Ashton Byrom, Henry Clay, Pudsey Dawson, Thomas Downward, William Earle, John Foster, J. R. Freme, John Gladstone, Thomas Golightly, Nathaniel Heywood, Joshua Lace, Joseph Leigh, Ellis Lorimer, Duncan M'Vicar, Wm. Marsden, Thos. Molyneux, Samuel Newton, Thos. Rodie, James Swan, Christopher Sidebotham, John Wakefield, Kendal, Nicholas Waterhouse, and Ralph Wright.

The St. George's Office came into existence at an unfortunate time for its proprietors. Within three months of its formation, the vast pile of the Goree warehouses was burnt to the ground. No less than seventeen immense warehouses, full of the most valuable property, were destroyed, and, owing to the utter insufficiency of the existing means of extinguishing fires to contend with so terrible a catastrophe, almost without an effort to save them. The following account of this great conflagration is from the pen of an eye-witness:—"On Tuesday last, the 14th September," says the writer, "this town was visited by a calamity as singularly awful in its appearance as it was disastrous and destructive in its effects. About ten o'clock in the evening a smoke was observed to issue from a room in the warehouse belonging to Thomas France, Esq.,

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, March 22, 1802.

at the Goree, whose spacious and lofty front has long attracted the admiration of strangers, and which, if equalled, was not surpassed in magnitude by any similar structure in the kingdom. The alarm of fire was rapidly spread through the town, and an immense crowd was soon assembled, where the danger had been first discovered. For a time appearances seemed to justify a hope that the tremendous mischief which had been announced and apprehended might be subdued without much effort; but no sooner were the doors and windows of the building forced than the flames, which had been smothered, burst out with horrid fury, extending their ravages in every direction with equal rapidity and violence. In a few hours this immense pile, together with that large and commodious range of warehouses which was erected in front, at the distance of sixteen yards, as well as that which extends from it in a line to Water-street, was a heap of ruins, and a great proportion of all that rich and various produce with which every apartment of those buildings had been stored and crowded was consumed. The mildness of the evening, and the tide, accompanied with light and variable breezes, being fortunately at flood, gave an opportunity to remove the shipping beyond the reach of the flames, and so prevented the devastation which was spreading on the shore, from being aggravated by a scene of confusion and ruin which the imagination even shudders to contemplate. The solemn grandeur! the majestic horror of the scene no tongue, no pencil can describe. Throughout a great part of the immense crowd that was assembled scarcely a whisper disturbed the awful stillness that prevailed; and, without an effort to resist the devouring element, it was left for a while to act its dreadful part alone, every eye being fixed on the tremendous spectacle, and every countenance marked with emotions of profound astonishment or silent despair. Of the immense property which perished no adequate estimate can yet be given, and we trust that, upon investigation, it will turn out less than is apprehended; but the disasters of that night will long be remembered and deplored.”*

The military force which preserved order at this great catastrophe was commanded by Captain Stapleton Cotton, the present gallant Viscount Combermere. After the lapse of half-a-century, and after witnessing the storming of Badajos and Bhurtpore, the noble lord still retains a vivid recollection of the great fire of Liverpool.†

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, September 20, 1802.

† My authority is Mr. Harold Littledale, to whom the noble lord recently gave a most vivid account of the burning of the Goree.

The peace of Amiens proved to be nothing more than a truce, a short breathing time between two desperate conflicts. Whilst the victories of Jemappes, Ruremonde, Hohenlinden, Lodi, Arcola, and the crowning triumph of Marengo had placed the continent of Europe at the feet of France, the naval victories of the 1st of June, of St. Vincent, Camperdown, and the Nile, with innumerable smaller triumphs, had given England the undisputed possession of the ocean. Each party had sustained heavy losses, but they had served only to irritate, not to intimidate. England had seen, with profound regret, the overthrow of all her allies on the continent, and the establishment of the military dominion of France, under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte, on a scale of greatness which the Grande Monarque had never dreamt of. France had seen, with a regret not less profound, an uninterrupted succession of naval victories, by which all her colonies had been placed at the mercy of England, and by which the military and commercial navies of France, Holland, and Spain had lost 81 line of battle ships, 187 frigates, 248 smaller vessels of war, 934 privateers, and 5,453 merchant vessels. The war which had ruined the allies of both had left the principals in possession of immense strength, and unbroken courage. It had also added to their national pride, and given bitterness to their hereditary jealousy. Hence grounds of difference sprang up almost immediately, during the short interval which divided the two wars. England complained of the unprovoked attack made on Switzerland by Bonaparte; of the avowal of designs on the integrity of the Turkish empire in the report of Colonel Sebastiani; of the official insolence of the *Moniteur*; and of the conduct of French agents who exercised the office of consul in the English ports in the spirit of spies. Bonaparte, on the other hand, complained with still greater bitterness of the incessant attacks made on his character and conduct by the English press and French refugees resident in England. Matters were brought to a crisis by the refusal of the English government to evacuate Malta, which island Bonaparte had seized, without a shadow of right, from the knights of Malta, and which the English had taken from him. After a scene at Paris between Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, unexampled in the annals of diplomacy, both parties began to prepare for war, each with a determination to humble the pride of the other, or perish in the attempt. Bonaparte immediately collected an army of 200,000 at Bologne for the invasion of England, and caused upwards of 2,000 gun-boats to be prepared to carry it across the Strait. The *Moniteur* even went so far

as to announce the day on which the victorious armies of France would arrive in London. The English people received these threats with shouts of defiance. The armed vessels of England scoured the channels, sinking every gun-boat that ventured to leave Bologne, and even attacking them under the batteries ; whilst hundreds of thousands of men rushed forward as volunteers to defend the country, and the government organized the whole population between the ages of sixteen and sixty for the defence of the empire.

Liverpool did not yield to any town in the empire in the energy of its preparations to resist the threatened attack. In the same week in which the two houses of parliament pledged themselves to support the king and the government in the war which had now become inevitable, it was announced that one of the richest merchants of Liverpool had offered to raise a regiment of volunteer infantry at his own expense, and also that the volunteer cavalry was about to be increased. "We have the liveliest satisfaction," says the Liverpool paper, of the 30th of June, 1803, "in congratulating the public on the liberal and patriotic offer which has been made to government at the present momentous crisis by John Bolton, Esq., of Duke-street. This gentleman has proposed to raise and clothe a regiment of volunteers, to consist of 600 men, at his own individual expense, for the protection of this town and neighbourhood ; an offer which has been accepted in the most gracious manner. This loyal and spirited effort in defence of our national independence, it is not doubted, will excite other gentlemen of fortune to follow so distinguished an example, not only in this neighbourhood, but in various parts of the kingdom." The same paper announced that in consequence of the present state of the country, the gentlemen of the Liverpool Light Horse, commanded by Captain Falkner, met on Wednesday for the purpose of augmenting the troop, when it was unanimously agreed to increase its present establishment.*

In the course of the following week the enrolment took place, (Tuesday and Wednesday,) when many hundred volunteers offered themselves beyond the number required. The meeting for enrolment was held at the Exchange, where the mayor and all the principal merchants attended to give it their support. Mr. Bolton having briefly explained the motives which had induced him to make an offer of his services, in the then critical state of the country, the enrolment of volunteers commenced, and in two hours the whole number of the ten companies

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 30, 1803.

was more than complete. The enrolment continued during the whole of Wednesday, when many hundred additional names were given in. In consequence of the eagerness of men of all ranks and classes to come forward, it was determined to augment the strength of Colonel Bolton's regiment to 800, and to raise two other regiments of infantry, a regiment of artillery, a company of riflemen, and three troops of cavalry, in addition to the Custom-house corps and the local militia. Besides this strong array of volunteers, clothed and armed at their own expense, the whole male population of the town, from sixteen years of age to sixty, was carefully ascertained, and arrangements were made for arming and calling it out in case of actual invasion.

To carry out the grand object of arming the population for the defence of the country almost daily meetings were held.

On Tuesday, the 13th May, a meeting was held at the Exchange, at which all the boatmen of the river Mersey, who were secured from impressment, came forward, and offered to assist in working the great guns at the forts. They were formed into a regiment of artillery, under the command of Peter Whitfield Brancker, Esq., and other gentlemen, whose names will be found in the list of volunteer officers given in another page.

On the following day another meeting was held at the Exchange, to vote an address to the king on the critical state of the country. The meeting was opened by the mayor, who stated that at that "awful crisis of affairs" it was the indispensable duty of that great commercial community to renew the profession of its attachment to his majesty's person and government, and to avow its determination to support them with the most strenuous efforts, in the arduous contest in which they were engaged. An address to that effect was then moved by Thomas Earle, Esq., and agreed to unanimously.

On Wednesday, the 21st of May, a very numerous meeting of merchants and other inhabitants was held at the Town-hall, in pursuance of a public notice issued by the mayor, for the purpose of considering the best means of defending the town and port, when it was unanimously agreed to erect a battery near the mouth of the river, at the rocks called the Red Noses, near the Rock Perch, and another on the Lancashire shore; to organize a squadron of gun-boats; and to raise two additional regiments of 560 men each, and 600 artillerymen, to work the great guns. The committee appointed at a previous meeting having laid a general plan of operations before the meeting, which was unanimously approved of, the

Corporation immediately subscribed £2,000 from their own funds, and £1,000 from the funds of the docks. "From the spirited manner in which the meeting was conducted", says the paper of that date, "we have no doubt that the energy of the people will enable us to defend ourselves on this coast against the attempt of any foe, however wild and desperate: only let us join hand and heart to repel any attack that may be made against us."*

Besides the volunteer force, and the regulars and militia, it was determined to form an army of reserve for the defence of the kingdom. The Lancashire contingent to this army consisted of 2,425 men, of which Liverpool supplied 284 men.†

The following is a list of the officers who commanded the several regiments or companies raised in Liverpool for the defence of the country, in the year 1803. First Battalion of Liverpool Volunteers:—Lieutenant-Colonel: John Bolton, Esq.; Major: Joseph Greaves, Esq.; Captains: Thomas Rodie, William Forbes, William Stanistreet, William Hurry, James Penny, Samuel Dutton, Isaac Littledale, Thomas Naylor, jun., Moses Benson, and George Irlam, Esqs.; Lieutenants: John Scott, (on half-pay of the 68th Foot,) William Lennox, Robert Bagott, Isaac Oldham Bold, Christopher Jaques, John Machell, John Gouthwaite, Thomas Colley Porter, Henry Wilson, Thomas Caley, Hugh Taylor, and James Scott, gentlemen; Ensigns: Donald Macleod, Anthony Minton Rogers, Thomas Brancker, Samuel Robertson, John Thompson, Richard Machell, James Thompson, and George Drinkwater, gentlemen; Adjutant: Capt. Richard Armstrong, (on half-pay of the 68th Foot;) Surgeon: Joseph Brandreth, gentleman; Assistant-surgeon: James Dawson, gentleman.

Second Battalion, or Liverpool Fusileers:—Lieut.-Colonel: William Earle, Esq.; Major: Edward Brooks, Esq.; Captains: Robert Pickering, Alexander Freeland, Henry Blackman, William Jones, James Freme, and J. T. Campbell, Esqs.; Lieutenants: Thomas Nicholl, William Coupland, Hugh Jones, Edward Morrall, William Wallace Currie, John Brown, jun., Thomas Hodgson, Charles Turner, John Keogh, Samuel Went, Henry Rolls, and Thomas Stephenson, gentlemen.

Third Regiment of Volunteer Infantry:—Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant: George Williams, Esq.; Lieutenant-Colonel: Henry Blundell Hollinshead, Esq.; Captains: George Goring, Jacob Fletcher, John Tomlinson, jun., Richard Alison, Ford North, Thomas Halloway, Jonathan Radcliffe, Samuel Matthews, Edward Dickson, and James Hornby;

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, July 25, 1803.

† Ibid, July 25, 1803.

Lieutenants: Thomas Bromfield, Thomas Ward Denison, Samuel Brown, Thomas Berry, Thomas Peacopp, Adam Lodge, John Swainson, Edward Renshaw, William Deane, Joseph D'Aguilar, Michael Pool, John Roskell, Henry Norris, William Brocklebank, Henry Pennington, William Matthews, John Hind, John Preece, John North, William Crichlow, and Charles Greetham; Ensigns: Joshua Goring, George Roskell, Edward Corrie, Edgar Corrie, jun., William Welch, James Walthew, Job Brown, and Joseph Pool, gentlemen.

Liverpool Volunteer Artillery:—Major-Commandant: Peter Whitfield Braneker, Esq.; Captains: William Ward, John Braneker, James Drinkwater, and Bryan Smith, Esqs.; Lieutenants: James Minshull, Samuel M'Dowall, Robert Bibby, John Ainsworth, William Fell, John Carson, John Livingston, and Thomas Simmons, gentlemen; Surgeon: Henry Parke, gentleman.

Liverpool Independent Rifle Corps:—Captain Commandant Lieutenant: D. O'Donoghue, (on half-pay of the 22nd Light Dragoons;) Captains: Edward Pearson and James Greene, gentlemen; Lieutenants: Thomas Phillips, J. T. Smedley, and P. M. Taylor; Surgeon: George Catlow.

Liverpool Light Horse:—Major Commandant: Edw. Falkner, Esq.; Captains: James Gregson and William Neilson, Esqs.; Lieutenants: Thomas Hinde and Edward Atherton; Cornets: Samuel Staniforth and Henry Dixon.

Liverpool Independent Companies:—Captain Commandant: Edward Onslow, Esq.; Captain: Edward Rigley, Esq.; Lieutenants: Serope Colquitt and Thomas Woodward, gentlemen; Ensign: Thomas Butler.

On Wednesday evening, August the 5th, a meeting was held at the hotel, Dale-street, of all persons liable to serve in the first class under the National Defence Act, Thomas Earle, Esq., in the chair. "The chairman addressed the meeting in an impressive and nervous speech, in which he pointed out to them, in very appropriate terms, the line of conduct which the pressing emergencies of the times demanded from persons of their station and time of life. He then read them a letter from Lord Hobart, explaining the nature of the services expected from them. Mr. Earle concluded with expressing a hope, that if any person was in the room, subject to the conditions of the National Defence Act, who had not yet enrolled his name, he would not fail to do so with as little delay as possible."*

By the 8th of August the regiment of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, August 8, 1803.

was nearly completed. The musical amateurs of the Music-hall offered to raise a military band for this regiment; and Lieut.-Colonel Hollinshead, who was the second in command, raised and clothed a company of pioneers at his collieries, to serve along with it. Ford North, Esq., presented the regiment with two brass guns, completely equipped for service; and a number of young ladies, with Miss Rebecca Miller at their head, presented it with a pair of colours, which colours are now in the Town-hall, Liverpool, having been given to the corporation by the sons of Colonel Williams, as a memorial of their gallant father, and of past times. The drilling of this and the other regiments was incessant, and the spirit which animated them all was well expressed by Lieutenant-Colonel Hollinshead, in the following brief speech:—“Gentlemen, before we separate from this morning’s parade, permit me particularly to impress upon your minds the importance of unanimity. Let there be only one mind amongst us; all being determined to save our country, or nobly fall in the attempt.”*

At a grand review of the Liverpool Volunteers, on the sixty-seventh birth-day of George the Third, the number of officers and men who appeared in the field was as follows:—1 colonel, 6 lieutenant-colonels, 8 majors, 54 captains, 111 subalterns, 221 serjeants, 152 musicians, and 3,313 rank and file.†

In anticipation of actual invasion, a careful register was made of all the men in the kingdom capable of bearing arms, or rendering other military service; of the number of horses, wagons, carts, and barges available for moving troops and supplies; and of the supplies which each district could furnish for the support of an army. The following is an abstract of the returns for the county of Lancaster and the borough of Liverpool:—Lancashire, 112,697 men, between sixteen and sixty years of age, Liverpool, 13,134; Lancashire, 4,166 men, willing to serve on horseback, and to supply their own horses, Liverpool, 148; Lancashire, 12,055 men, willing to serve on foot, and to supply their own muskets and clothing, Liverpool, 2,676, besides 4,194 willing to serve with sword, pistol, and other arms; Lancashire, 25,988 men, to be supplied with arms at the general assembly, or levy *en masse*, Liverpool, 5,250; Lancashire, 18,081 pioneers and labourers, furnished with felling-axes, pickaxes, spades, shovels, mattocks, and saws, Liverpool, 200; Lancashire, 13,410 guides and overseers, for the removal of wagons, live and dead stock, &c., Liverpool, 120; Lancashire, 238 persons, who will

* Billinge’s Liverpool Advertiser, August 22, 1803.

† Ibid, June 11, 1804.

supply wagons, drawers, and conductors, with four horses to each wagon ; Lancashire, 222, who will supply wagons with three horses, Liverpool, 4 ; Lancashire, 975 carts with three horses, and 2,538 with two, Liverpool, 241 ; Lancashire, 266 canal and river barges, tonnage, 24,400 tons ; Liverpool, 381 barges and boats, tonnage 17,384 ; Lancashire, 170 corn-mills, Liverpool, 13, able to grind 181 sacks of flour in twenty-four hours ; Liverpool, 173 ovens, baking, on an average, 37,893 loaves of 3 lbs. weight daily, but sufficient to bake 95,036 loaves daily. The following were the average supplies of live stock, dead stock, and provisions in Liverpool at that time :—13 oxen, 936 cows, 16 young cattle, 262 sheep and goats, 1,626 swine, 509 riding horses, 832 draught horses, 471 carts of all kinds, 4 wagons, 57,684 quarters of wheat, 13,151 quarters of oats, 6,582 quarters of barley, 8,204 quarters of beans and peas, 768 loads of hay, 172 loads of straw, 28,401 barrels of American flour, of 196 lbs. each, 5,045 sacks of flour, 23,276 quarters of malt, 32 tons of cheese, 160 tons of bacon, 3,479 tierces and barrels of beef and pork, 200 quarters Indian wheat (corn,) 4,160 sacks and barrels of Indian wheat (corn,) 825 quarters rye.*

In order to give additional vigour to the military preparations for the defence of the kingdom, the members of the royal family came forward to partake in the common danger. His Royal Highness Prince William of Gloucester, the nephew of the king, took the command of the Liverpool district, and resided for some time at St. Domingo-house, Everton. For the three years immediately following the revival of the war, until Nelson had annihilated the navies of France and Spain, and rendered an invasion of England utterly impossible, the training of the volunteers and militia was incessant. Before the end of the year 1803 the Liverpool Artillery Regiment had become very expert in working the great guns of the forts. On Tuesday, the 8th of November, they were exercised in firing at a mark. A boat, properly equipped for the purpose, was anchored near the shore, at the distance of about a mile from the fort. The guns of the fort then opened their fire upon it. One of the first shots carried away its mast and colour ; a second went through its bow ; a third cut the cable and sent the boat adrift. After firing nineteen shots it was necessary to discontinue the fire of the guns, as the boat was sinking.†

On the night of the 2nd of January, 1804, the metal of the Liverpool Volunteers was tried by an alarm, which proved, in the end, to be as unfounded as that which roused the chivalry of Fairport and

* Billinge's Liverpool Avertiser, August 22, 1803.

† Ibid, November 21, 1803.

the neighbourhood.* About nine o'clock that night the frigate *Princess*, Captain Colquitt, stationed in the river, began to fire her guns rapidly, evidently for the purpose of producing an alarm. In a very short time all the batteries were manned, and the troops were drawn up ready for action. It was soon, however, ascertained that it was the frigate that was in danger and not the town. She had been caught by the tide, her anchors had given way, and she was drifting on shore on the Cheshire side of the river. The guns were signals of distress, to bring other king's ships in the Mersey to her aid, not signals of an approaching enemy.

According to a statement made by Lord Castlereagh, in December, 1803, that is, in seven months after the renewal of the war, the force armed for the defence of the kingdom consisted of 490,000 men in Great Britain, 125,000 men in Ireland, 85,000 commissioned and non-commissioned officers, with 461 pieces of cannon, 5,900 horses, 3,000 drummers, and all needful supplies of ammunition and stores. In addition to this immense army, there was a naval force of 100,000 men, and upwards of 500 vessels of war of various sizes. Thus, the total military and naval force of the empire amounted to upwards of 700,000, although the population of the three kingdoms was less by ten millions than it is at present.

In the month of March, 1804, the public of Liverpool was shocked by the occurrence of a fatal duel; a rare event in a commercial community. The following is the only account of the event which appeared in the papers of that time:—"Died, on the 4th instant, (in consequence of a duel fought the preceding week with William Sparling, Esq.,) Mr. Edward Grayson, shipbuilder. This adds a melancholy instance to the many that have lately happened of the dreadful effects of appeals to the miscalled laws of honour. Society has rarely lost a more agreeable companion, kindred a more affectionate relative, or intimates a steadier friend. He was manly, generous, and sincere, kind and charitable to all dependent on or who wanted his assistance. He possessed a superior talent of wit and humour, and successfully turned the laugh on vanity and pride, but never debased it by calumny or ill-nature. 'I am distressed for thee, my brother; very pleasant hast thou been unto me.'"[†]

On Tuesday, December 21st, 1804, another direct line of water communication, from the Irish Channel to the German Ocean, was completed, by the opening of the Rochdale Canal, which unites the Mersey and Irwell

* See Sir Walter Scott's *Antiquary*.

† *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser*, March 26, 1804.

navigation at Manchester with the Calder navigation at Sowerby-bridge, and also connects the ports of Liverpool and Hull. "On Friday," says the Liverpool paper, of the 24th December, "the Rochdale Canal, which completes the line of inland navigation from the Irish Channel at Liverpool to the German Ocean at Hull, was opened in grand style. The bells at Manchester commenced ringing at half-past two, and the company's passage-boat and yacht, the Saville and Travis, were greeted from the banks, for a great distance, by an immense concourse of spectators, with many a vociferous cheer of grateful approbation, every person present seeming to feel a high degree of conscious pride and pleasure at beholding this additional proof of commercial industry, genius, and growing prosperity. The two vessels were filled with the gentlemen proprietors and their friends, attended by the band of the Fourth Class Volunteers, who continued to play many loyal and patriotic tunes; and, on approaching the town, the company landed, on the termination of the popular air of 'God save the King.' Each gentleman, together with every servant and workman of the company, wore in his hat a blue ribband, with the inscription, in gold letters, 'Success to the Rochdale Canal,' and on the flag of the yacht was inscribed, 'Royal Rochdale Canal.' The gentlemen afterwards repaired to the Bridgewater Arms, where an elegant dinner was prepared for their entertainment. The day was remarkably fine, and vast numbers of people lined both sides of the canal."*

In January, 1805, died Mr. Peter Litherland, watchmaker, of Liverpool, the inventor of the patent-lever watch. "As a mechanical genius, his talents were of the first order. He early distinguished himself by the invention of a machine for filing pinions, which has been of very extensive utility; but which, as it was not secured by a patent, did not prove so profitable to himself as to others. He also invented the patent-lever watch, which is now acknowledged, by disinterested makers, to be far superior to any other ever manufactured at an equal price; and which, had it been first established in London, instead of Liverpool, and been vigorously pursued, would have rendered his latter days more comfortable, and, most probably, have prolonged a valuable life. He was also the projector of many other important inventions; of one in particular, which is here omitted, as it has not yet acquired that perfection which, there is no doubt, it will ultimately attain."†

In March, 1805, the Grand Junction Canal Company completed the tunnel through Blisworth-hill, Northamptonshire, and thus removed the

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, December 24, 1804.

† Ibid, January 7, 1805.

last obstacle to the inland navigation from Liverpool to London. The first boat passed through the Blisworth tunnel on Tuesday, the 4th March. The officers of the company were attended by Mr. Henry Weeks, "the great canal-carrier between London, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool."*

In April, 1805, Liverpool was first made a warehousing port. A public meeting was held in Liverpool as early as the 30th May, 1803, Jonas Bold, Esq., in the chair, to consider the measures which it was proper to adopt, in consequence of the bonding or warehousing bill then before parliament.† The object of this act, which has gone far towards making England the warehouse of Europe, was to render the principal ports of Great Britain and Ireland free for all nations to import, deposit, and re-export, at their pleasure, their merchandise, without paying toll or tax upon it, unless it was voluntarily brought into the British market for home consumption. "It cannot be improper to remark," says a writer in a Liverpool paper, "that the great outlines of the act, accompanied with numerous illustrations, were presented from this town to Mr. Pitt, in 1795; that the plan received the most marked and unqualified approbation of that illustrious statesman; and that it would have been immediately acted on, if the then existing circumstances of the port of London had admitted of it."‡ When first the act was passed, it was confined to London, owing to an opinion that the arrangements of the port of Liverpool would not allow of its being established there, without danger to the revenue. This, however, was a mere prejudice; and in April, 1805, it was overcome by the representations of a deputation of merchants, sent to London for the purpose. "It gives us great pleasure to learn," says a Liverpool paper of that date, "that the gentlemen who went as delegates from this town have prevailed on the lords of the treasury to put this town on the same footing as the port of London, in regard to the warehousing system, without requiring new docks or warehouses to be constructed for the purpose. Thirty-four warehouses, which had been tendered, will be immediately licensed. We cannot refrain from adding, that Messrs. Currie, Fletcher, and Horsfall, who acted as delegates, are entitled to the grateful regards of their townsmen, for their perseverance and unwearied attention to this momentous concern"§

In the month of May, 1805, an order for a general embargo on shipping was issued from the Admiralty. It extended to London and all

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, March 11, 1805.

† Ibid, May 30, 1803.

‡ Ibid, August 25, 1803.

§ Ibid, April 22, 1805.

the outports, and was followed by a very hot press for seamen, and even landsmen. Protections were altogether disregarded, and ships were stripped of their hands, except such as were absolutely necessary to preserve them. "The immediate augmentation of our naval force," says the paper of the 13th May, "is thought a matter of such pressing necessity, that all considerations of individual suffering must, for the present, give way. The order for an embargo at this port was announced from the Custom-house on Thursday; and, during the whole week, the press-gang have been indefatigable in their exertions. Persons of all professions, as well as seamen, have been occasionally taken; though many have been released, on proper application being made. In the early part of the week about forty Irishmen, just landed from a Dublin packet, and who were proceeding up the country in search of employment, were pressed, and immediately taken on board the tender; but most of them are since liberated. The embargo extends to all vessels bound to foreign parts, including Ireland and the Isle of Man, with the exception of ships belonging to foreign powers, provided they have no British seamen on board. It extends, likewise, to coasting vessels of every description, except such as are laden with coals and grain."*

The cause of this extraordinary press for seamen was, that the French and Spanish fleets were at sea, prepared to strike a great blow either at the colonies, at Ireland, or at England itself, and it was thought urgently necessary to be prepared at every point. The French Admiral, Villeneuve, left Toulon on the 31st March, with ten ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, and, giving the slip to Lord Nelson, sailed down the Mediterranean and appeared off Cadiz, where he was joined by six Spanish and two French ships of the line, the Spaniards under the command of Admiral Gravina. The combined fleet now consisted of eighteen line of battle ships, and six forty-four gun frigates, besides smaller vessels. With this powerful force Villeneuve crossed the Atlantic, and on the 12th of May appeared suddenly off Martinique. After remaining about a month in the West Indies, without effecting or attempting anything of importance, Villeneuve, whose fleet had been reinforced by two additional line of battle ships, made sail for Europe. There is every reason to believe that it was his intention to join the Spanish squadron at Ferrol, and afterwards the French fleets at Rochfort and Brest. This would have given him a force of from forty to forty-five line of battle ships, and might have enabled him, for some weeks, to

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 13, 1805.

command the British Channel, on the south shore of which Bonaparte was waiting with an army of 200,000 men, and with 2,000 gun-boats ready to convey them across. Lord Collingwood, writing to Lord Nelson at this time, said, "The French government never aim at little things while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real mark and butt of all their operations. Their flight to the West Indies was to take off the naval force, which proved the great impediment to their undertaking. This summer is big with events: we may all, perhaps, have an active share in them, and I sincerely wish your lordship strength of body to go through it, and to all others your strength of mind."* Whether England or Ireland was the butt and aim of these plans, there is no doubt that they were intended to strike a fatal blow at the British empire. Happily, this object was defeated by the fleet which had been fitted out in such hot haste, in the spring of the year, and which had been sent to sea under the command of Sir Robert Calder. This fleet, consisting of fifteen line of battle ships, a cutter, and a brig, fell in with Villeneuve and Gravina's fleet of twenty line of battle ships, seven frigates, and two brigs, about forty leagues from Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July. A smart action took place, in which Admiral Calder captured two ships, disabled three, and either compelled or induced Villeneuve and his fleet to retire into Ferrol. After this victory, Sir Robert Calder joined Admiral Cornwallis at the mouth of the channel, thus bringing together a force which rendered any attempt of the French to obtain possession of the narrow seas hopeless. Villeneuve did not even attempt it, but, on leaving Ferrol, sailed southward to Cadiz, where he remained till the 21st of October, when he issued forth, to witness the ruin of the navies of France and Spain, at Trafalgar.

The news of that great victory, and of the death of the hero who achieved it, arrived in Liverpool on the 8th of November; and on the 17th one of the most numerous and respectable meetings ever remembered in Liverpool was held at the Town-hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of erecting "a public monument, to the memory of the naval hero, who had just fallen a sacrifice in the service of his country." The business of the meeting was opened by the mayor, after which Mr. Roscoe pronounced a warm eulogium on the departed hero. Resolutions were then proposed, and agreed to unanimously, in favour of erecting a monument to his memory in the centre of the Liverpool Exchange. One of the resolutions specially provided "that it be

* Collingwood Correspondence.

an instruction to the committee, that the memorable words of Lord Nelson, in his last orders to his conquering countrymen, be inscribed on his monument, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' The mayor subscribed £1,000 in the name of the corporation, the chairman of the underwriters at Lloyd's £750, and the chairman of the West India Association £500. A very liberal subscription was also entered into by the gentlemen present. The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to carry out the objects of the meeting:—John Bolton, William Roscoe, John B. Aspinall, Thomas Booth, Joseph Birch, George Case, Alexander Carson, Thomas Earle, William Ewart, John Foster, John Gladstone, John Gregson, William Harper, Arthur Heywood, Peter Leicester, William P. Litt, William Neilson, Thomas R. Rodie, John Stanton, and John Weston, Esquires.

Another fatal duel took place in December, 1805, between Colonel Bolton, of the First Regiment of Liverpool Volunteers, and Major Edward Brooks, of the Second Regiment. The previous duel between Sparling and Grayson had taken place in the Dingle, in Toxteth-park; that between Colonel Bolton and Major Brooks was fought in a field on the London-road, a little above the spot where George the Third's monument now stands. The papers of the day do not contain any particulars of this fatal event; but the following notice of Major Brooks appears in one of them on the 23rd December of that year:—"Died, on Friday, the 20th instant, in the 29th year of his age, Edward Brooks, Esq., major of the corps of Liverpool Fusileers. In this gentleman was united a most amiable temper, a strong and cultivated understanding, and a warm and benevolent heart: his mind was susceptible of every honourable feeling, his disposition most open and generous, his friendship constant and sincere. He was most esteemed by those who knew him best, and his death will be lamented in a wide circle of most respectable friends."*

In January, 1806, the inside of the dome which surmounts the Town-hall was first thrown open to the public. The height from the pavement of the hall to the centre of the dome is nearly 120 feet, and the whole is in the style of the purest and simplest Grecian architecture. The interior is illuminated by side lights, which free it from that gloomy and sombre appearance which often strikes the eye in the cupolas of great buildings.†

In April, 1806, an embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in Liverpool, in consequence of the dispute with that country. This dispute arose

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, December 23, 1805.

† Ibid, January 13, 1806.

out of the seizure of Hanover by the Prussian government, which was at that time wavering in its choice as to which side it should take in the struggle between England and France, and which involved itself in a discreditable quarrel with England before plunging into its fatal conflict with France.*

At a meeting of merchants, held in June, 1806, it was unanimously resolved, that 'Change should commence at ten o'clock and close at three. A bell to be rung at the latter hour, as a signal for breaking up. This regulation to come into force on the 23rd June.†

At this time the advantages resulting from the canal navigation, opened from Liverpool as far as Montgomeryshire, by means of the Chester and Ellesmere Canal, began to be much felt. The junction of the Ellesmere Canal with the Chester Canal, at Nantwich, had opened a direct communication from the remote parts of Montgomeryshire to Liverpool, and had been the means of bringing immense quantities of timber, corn, bark, and other produce of the rich and fertile counties of Salop, Denbigh, and Montgomeryshire, to Chester, Liverpool, and the neighbourhood, and of supplying those counties with all kinds of West India produce from Liverpool, at a moderate expense, compared to the uncertain and expensive navigation of the river Severn from Bristol.‡

In July, 1806, it was determined to build an Exchange, for the accommodation of the corn trade, in Brunswick-street, on the site then occupied by Ned's coffee-house. "We doubt not," says the paper which made the announcement, "but the building will be worthy of the town, and of the wealthy and liberal body who have instituted the scheme."§

In the autumn of 1806, Liverpool was visited by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth. He came over from Knowsley, where he was staying on a visit with the Earl of Derby, and was received in Liverpool with great honours. The town was illuminated in honour of his visit.||

Parliament was dissolved in November, 1806, on which occasion the great Roscoe was elected one of the members for Liverpool. At that time he was in the zenith of his fame as a writer and a politician. He was also connected with one of the first banks in Liverpool, of which Thomas Leyland, afterwards the richest man and most skilful banker in

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, April 7, 1806.

+ Ibid, June 23, 1806.

† Ibid, June 30, 1806.

§ Ibid, August 11, 1806.

• || Ibid, September 1, 1806.

Liverpool, was the head.* His views as a parliamentary reformer, a friend to the admission of the Roman Catholics, and as an avowed advocate of the abolition of the slave trade, were not in accordance with the general views of the Liverpool constituency, although they were with those of a considerable portion of the inhabitants. Nevertheless, his high standing in the commercial, the literary, and the political world, and the unsullied excellence of his private character, induced the burgesses to overlook all differences of opinion, and to return him as one of the members for his native town, by a triumphant majority. At the close of the poll the numbers stood: Roscoe, 1,151; Gascoyne, 1,138; Tarleton, 986. The parliament in which Mr. Roscoe sat was of very short duration; but, short as his term in parliament was, it gave him the opportunity of assisting to abolish the slave trade. That disgraceful traffic was finally declared to be illegal in the session of 1807, after a conflict of five-and-twenty years between truth and falsehood, justice and selfishness, humanity and cruelty. At the age of nineteen the youthful genius of Roscoe sang the wrongs of Africa; in early manhood he had confuted the sophistries by which the Jesuit Harris attempted to vindicate the same trade, from the word of God; during the whole career of Clarkson and Wilberforce he had shared their hopes and their fears; and, at the close of that glorious struggle, he had the heartfelt satisfaction of standing up in parliament, as the representative of Liverpool, and of giving his vote, and the vote of his native town, for the final abolition of the trade in the bodies and souls of his fellow-creatures.

In July, 1807, the common council determined to make "a capital improvement" in the south front of the Town-hall, facing Castle-street, by erecting a noble portico of three stories, the lower piazza of which was to extend into the street, as far as the outward edge of the flagged pavement. "This," it was stated, "would form a very fine facade towards Castle-street, and would tend to diminish the heavy appearance which the cupola at the top of the building now gives to that fine structure."†

The travelling between Liverpool and Manchester, and Lancashire and

* The firm of Leyland, Clarke, and Roscoe was dissolved in December, 1806. The following notice of its dissolution appeared in *Billings's Liverpool Advertiser* of January 5, 1807:—"The partnership heretofore carried on in Liverpool by the undersigned, Thomas Leyland, John Clarke, and William Roscoe, all of that place, bankers, under the firm of Leyland, Clarke, and Roscoe, is this day, by mutual consent, dissolved.

"THOMAS LEYLAND.

"JOHN CLARKE.

"WM. ROSCOE.

"Liverpool, 31st December, 1806."

+ *Billings's Liverpool Advertiser*, July 13, 1807.

London, had increased greatly about the end of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1770 there was only one coach between Liverpool and Manchester, and one between Liverpool and London; in 1807 there were twenty-seven.*

In November, 1807, Bonaparte having overthrown the power of Prussia in the great battle of Jena, issued his famous Berlin decree declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. By this decree, which bore the date of Berlin, November 21st, the French Emperor decreed:—That the British islands were to be considered in a state of blockade by all the continent; all correspondence or trade with England was forbidden, under the severest penalties; all articles of English manufacture or produce of the British colonies were declared to be contraband. Property of every kind belonging to British subjects, wherever found, was declared to be lawful prize. All letters to or from England were to be detained and opened at all the continental post-offices. After the winter campaign of 1807-8, Bonaparte compelled Prussia, and induced Russia, Austria, and all the other powers of the continent, to carry out the principle of the Berlin decree, against the commerce and intercourse of England. The British government immediately retaliated, by orders in council, declaring all the ports of the French empire in a state of blockade. “The order of council,” says a Liverpool paper of January, 1808, “issued relative to the trade of neutrals with the ports of the enemy, must meet with the full approbation of every British subject. Its effects will be to place France and the countries under her influence, on the whole continent, in a state of blockade, and to bring at once the question to an issue whether the enemy can do without foreign trade. It is a measure of just though dreadful retaliation against the enemy, for the piratical expedients to which he has recently resorted against our commerce; and there is every prospect of its speedily annihilating the little that remains of trade or mercantile spirit in France.”†

The annual ball of the Ladies' Charity was at this time given on New Year's Eve. The ball on the eve of the year 1808 was attended “by a most brilliant and fashionable company, of three hundred and eighty-nine persons.‡

The “Liverpool Courier” newspaper was established in January, 1808, by Mr. Thomas Kaye. It was the first political paper that ever took root and flourished in Liverpool. The other two papers then in existence,

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, September 14, 1807.

+ Ibid, January 19, 1808.

‡ Ibid, January 4, 1808.

“Billings’s Advertiser”, established in 1756, under the name of “Williamson’s Advertiser”, and now known as the “Liverpool Times and Billings’s Advertiser”, and “Gore’s Advertiser”, established in the year 1765, were not political but commercial papers. The “Liverpool Courier” came out from the first as a political paper, on what are now known as conservative, but were then generally designated as tory or church and king principles,—the principles which it has steadily defended for upwards of forty years. The following paragraph from the prospectus of the “Liverpool Courier”, issued on the 10th December, 1807, explains more precisely the views with which that paper was established:—“Devoted to the person and family of a sovereign who has so long adorned the throne by his virtues, he (the proprietor) heartily embraces the principles of the British constitution in church and state; he scruples not to profess himself an enemy to those measures which would derogate from the dignity of the one, or violate the purity and endanger the existence of the other. Equally opposed to intolerance and to anarchy, he shall feel proud if any attempts of his be successful enough to lead his readers more highly to estimate that mild and paternal government which so fully secures us from both; and more carefully to guard against those delusions which would steal away our great and real privileges, under the frail pretence of granting others, greater and more valuable.”*

On the 23rd of February, 1808, a circular was issued by the principal Liverpool merchants engaged in the American trade, inviting the merchants and inhabitants interested in that trade to attend a meeting, to be held at the Royal Hotel, Lord-street, on Friday, the 26th instant, for the purpose of concurring in a humble petition to the legislature, praying that the bill then before parliament, entitled “A Bill for more effectually carrying into execution certain Orders in Council, made for the protection of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, and granting Duties of Customs on certain Goods exported from Great Britain”, might not pass into a law, until the objectionable parts of the bill had been expunged or modified. The requisition calling this meeting was signed by men of the most opposite political opinions, including amongst them John and Robert Gladstone; Ewart, Rutson, and Co.; Case and Murray; Rathbone, Hughes, and Duncan; Cropper, Benson, and Co.; Martin, Hope, and Thornely; Hobsons and Bolton; and, indeed, nearly all the leading houses in the American trade.

The meeting was held on the day named, that excellent man, the late

* Billings’s Liverpool Advertiser, December 28, 1807.

James Cropper, in the chair. In opening the business of the meeting he said that those who had been active in promoting it disclaimed solemnly all considerations of party differences, or any other motives than those of public and general concern. Mr. William Rathbone, the head of the firm of Rathbone, Hughes, and Duncan, in moving the first resolution, said that the meeting was not convened under propitious circumstances, or in such a state of things as was calculated to call forth feelings of mutual congratulation. They were surrounded by difficulties of no common nature, which required to be considered in a spirit alike remote from rashness, which shuts its eyes to danger, and from dismay, which sinks under its pressure. The distress which had arisen from our commerce being excluded (by Bonaparte's decrees) from every port in Europe (except those of Sweden) was now aggravated by a new calamity. A general embargo had been laid on all the shipping in the ports of America. No inhabitant of Liverpool could be insensible to the importance of that measure. No person could observe the almost daily arrival of American ships throughout the year; could see them landing their cargoes of the most essentially useful or necessary commodities, and taking back those very articles in a manufactured state which they had not long before brought as raw material, without being struck with the extreme importance of this intercourse. Nearly five hundred voyages were made from America to this port in the course of a year, in ships of which the burthen amounted to more than 123,000 tons. This traffic was of the first moment to the nation at large; but so peculiarly interesting to Liverpool that there was scarcely an individual in the place who was not affected by it, directly or remotely. The amount of British manufactures annually exported to America was more than ten millions sterling, and of course a return was made to about the same amount, either in goods or money. By a fair calculation, the revenue derived to government from that portion of the trade which was carried on in Liverpool only, was not less than one million sterling per annum. If in times like these our wants were to be daily increasing, and our resources daily diminishing, this must prove a most striking consideration. There was also another matter to be considered, of not less importance. From the free spirit of the British constitution, and the various advantages enjoyed by its subjects, it might, without arrogance, be said that their capital, their resources, and their character for integrity, placed them on a footing with the merchants of any other nation. Hence it happened that in their dealings with foreign countries they were enabled frequently to export on credit. In consequence of this

it was supposed that the average debt due from America to this country was not less than twelve millions sterling. If the embargo in America should be continued, how was it possible for this enormous debt to be paid? There were many persons present who might not be directly affected thereby; but even those, it was presumed, would feel for the distresses of others, more especially for those whose chief property might be involved in the issue of this unfortunate misunderstanding: still more for those who might be thereby deprived of the power of paying their just debts: and most of all for the widow and the orphan whom such misfortunes might ultimately reach. Mr. Rathbone next took a view of the American trade to the West Indies, stated the dependence of those islands on America, and the quantity of produce annually exported from them. He also adverted to the trade to America, to the East Indies, and to China, the export to each of £500,000 annually in silver only, and the facility which it was admitted to give to the trade of our East India Company. He remarked on the lucrative nature of this trade to the merchants of America, and hoped the day was not distant when it would be equally opened to British merchants.

Another most important consideration (he said) must be adverted to, respecting the welfare of their native town. The American ships which frequented this port expended amongst the tradesmen of Liverpool, in repairs and other necessities, to the amount of £150,000 a-year; and the charges on the cargoes (exclusive of all Government duties) was not less than £150,000 more; making in the whole a sum of not less than £300,000 annually left in the port of Liverpool. With such evidence of the importance of the American trade, would it not be surprising if the inhabitants did not feel some alarm when their immediate interests were at stake, and if they did not assemble to consider whether any means could be devised of arresting the progress of a measure so destructive to their prosperity? The West India Association of the port had then its delegates in London; the salt proprietors had sent up theirs; memorials had been presented by the manufacturers; the London American merchants had not been inactive; and should those of Liverpool, by whom three-fourths of the whole trade between Britain and America was carried on, be asleep? Mr. Rathbone next remarked on the singularity of the circumstance, that, while parliament was employed in legislating for the commerce in American ships, the whole foreign trade of America was subjected by its own government to an embargo; so that, shortly, there would scarcely be one of her vessels found on the ocean; and that,

while parliament was imposing duties, and framing regulations for exports from Britain to the ports on the continent, all those from the northern to the southern extremity of Europe (Sweden only excepted) were shut against such exports. He then adverted to the effect which the orders in council would produce in America, and the feelings they would excite. To judge of this, he said, it was necessary to place ourselves in their situation; to divest ourselves of all national bias and prejudice, and to inquire how we should feel if a similar treatment were practised upon us. If the American government had resolved that their non-importation act should take effect; if she had subjected all her foreign commerce to an embargo before any authentic information of our orders in council had reached her; and if she was not necessarily ignorant of their full effects on her commerce; what must be her feelings when she was informed of those humiliating and injurious effects, in all their various and complicated relations? The great grievance, however, would be, that her commerce on the ocean should ever be regulated by the decrees of a foreign state, on principles new and unprecedented, and not merely be subjected to restraint but to taxation. If we would judge of the feelings of the Americans on that occasion, let us ask how we ourselves should feel were the same system to be practised upon us by France? Suppose she were to prescribe what course our ships should follow on the ocean, direct to what ports they should proceed, what duties they should pay, what restraints they should submit to; was there an Englishman whose feelings would not revolt from submission to such a power? "Are there any sacrifices or privations that he would think too great to make? And shall we not suppose the same feelings in America? Is she not allied to us by the ties of affinity, by similarity of language, of manners, habits, and even to a considerable extent by the structure of her government? Her whole code of law is formed, with some few exceptions, on the principles of ours, and the decisions of law in our courts are frequently quoted as precedents and authorities in theirs. Can we, then, wonder that she should be animated with the same love of freedom and independence that we are? Has she not rights as well as ourselves, and is it not natural that she should be equally jealous of them? How then can we expect she will ever consent that we shall dictate the terms on which her commerce shall traverse the wide ocean? or that her ships shall be forcibly compelled to enter our ports, and subject to taxation, in return for which they derive no advantage. On the subject of foreign

taxation America may naturally be expected to be jealous in the extreme. Will she, who voluntarily encountered all dangers, struggled under all difficulties, endured all privations, submitted to all sacrifices, and largely expended both her treasure and her blood, rather than submit to taxation by a foreign state, submit to be taxed by us ? And is not the tonnage duty on her shipping, forcibly brought into our harbours, a direct, unjust, and oppressive tax ? Is it by such measures as these that we can hope to give value to her friendship, or to conciliate her ? Deplorable, indeed, must be the prospect of returning amity and commerce with America, if this system of infatuated policy be persevered in."

Mr. J. Richardson and Mr. Martin supported the views expressed by Mr. Rathbone.

The chairman (Mr. Cropper) said that he wished to notice a few points which had not been mentioned by the previous speakers. The supply of flaxseed in Ireland, it was well known, depended wholly on foreign countries. The quantity imported into that country the preceding year had been 60,000 casks ; that year only 10,000 had been received, so that there must still be a great deficiency, which would seriously affect the linen trade. There was another consideration of still greater importance ; Great Britain now required every year a large importation of corn and flour, which was commonly received from America and the Baltic. From the ports of the latter they were now entirely excluded, and their supply from the former would be equally cut off if the embargo were continued. The quantity imported from America into this port alone, last year, was 500,000 bushels of wheat, and 136,000 barrels of flour. From Ireland the usual large supplies could not be expected, because considerable shipments of wheat and flour were now making to that country, in consequence of the deficiency of corn and potatoes. From no country with which they were then in connexion could they receive any supplies ; on the contrary, large shipments must be made for the supply of the West Indies. What reason had they to suppose that England, which had always required large importations of grain, would be able not only to do without, but to export largely, to her foreign possessions ?

Two petitions, the one to the Lords and the other to the Commons, opposing the orders in council, and praying for permission to be heard against them at the bar of the house, were then agreed to unanimously. The petition praying for a hearing at the bar of the House of Commons was rejected by the house, on the ground of informality. Another petition

was in consequence drawn up to the same purport, which in a few hours received 354 signatures; but that also was rejected.

Great, however, as was the importance of the American trade to the port of Liverpool, there was a strong party in the town fully determined to support the government in its retaliatory policy against the French government, whatever the consequence of that policy might be, not only on the commerce of England, but on our relations with neutral powers. This party, which included the mayor, the common council, and the majority of the merchants of the port, held a meeting at the Town-hall, on the 21st of March, to express its undiminished confidence in the government. The mayor, Henry Blundell Hollinshead, Esq., presided; and his was much the ablest speech that was delivered at the meeting. He said that their common interests, the welfare of their country, and their duty to their sovereign, all demanded that they should stand forth at that momentous crisis to support his government, and to give effect, by their unanimity, to those measures which were best calculated to discomfit the designs of their enemies. They were assailed by an implacable foe, who sought their destruction, and would gladly satiate his ambition with the ruin of their commerce, their privileges, and their independence. Under such circumstances could they be at a loss for a moment how to act? Was there a person in that assembly, who possessed the spirit of a Briton, who did not feel himself interested in that glorious struggle? Was there one who was not willing patiently to suffer the privations which the peculiar circumstances of the times assigned to the lot of all, rather than stoop to a mean submission to a tyrant whose object was, first, to divide, and then to destroy them? By force or artifice he had unhappily succeeded in leaguering all Europe, with the exception of Sweden, against this country; but neither the prowess of his arms nor the subtlety of his intrigues had been found sufficient to effect his purposes. As a last resort, he had organized a systematic attack on our commercial interests, and flattered himself with the hope that by his blockading decrees he would be able to effect that which his military strength had not, and never would be able to accomplish. In that also he trusted he would be disappointed. In that he must be disappointed, unless they were false to themselves, unless they bartered the permanent interests of the country, under the delusive expectation of gaining a temporary relief from their domestic pressures. They had it in their power to make the measures of the enemy fall on his own head. His majesty's ministers had adopted a mode of retaliation which must, if vigorously supported by

the energies of the country, ultimately lead the enemy to accede to those terms of conciliation which shall be honourable to Britain, and secure the repose and happiness of Europe.*

A resolution and a petition, expressing the sentiments of the mayor's speech, were then moved. These, however, were met by counter resolutions and a counter petition, moved by Mr. Roscoe. The following passages from the two petitions will show precisely the views of the two parties. The address moved by the mayor's party commenced with the warmest expressions of attachment to the king and government, and concluded as follows:—"No part of your majesty's dominions is liable to be more affected than this town by the state of trade, in which we are all in different ways interested, and upon the success of which our prosperity essentially depends; yet we see no cause for desponding, and so far from drawing unfavourable conclusions against your majesty's government, in the measures which it adopts upon views of public advantage, we should deem ourselves unworthy of the name of Britons, who are the only remaining hope of Europe, and the last stay of the civilized world, if we did not, with your majesty, bring into this great contest for freedom and independence, an unshaken determination to consent to every sacrifice which either now or hereafter may be required, and if we did not employ all our efforts to realize the hope of your majesty, that the present awful and momentous struggle, through the blessing of Providence, may prove ultimately successful and glorious to Great Britain." The following extract from the address moved by Mr. Roscoe will show the points in which the two parties agreed, and those in which they differed:—"Whilst we affect not to conceal from your majesty the pressure of the heavy burdens which we sustain, in consequence of the war; and which, in this town, so peculiarly interested in a free intercourse with foreign states, is most severely felt, and can only be effectually alleviated by the return of peace; we humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that it is still our firm resolution to be deterred by no privations, and to spare no sacrifices, in defending your majesty's royal person and throne, and the happy constitution under which we live, against all your enemies; relying on your majesty's wisdom for the adoption of such councils as may tend to convince your enemies, not only of the unconquerable power of your majesty's arms, but of the justice and moderation of your majesty's views; and trusting that, by a firm and dignified, but, at the same time, conciliatory conduct towards hostile and neutral states, your majesty will

* Liverpool Courier, March 14, 1808.

be enabled not only to maintain the yet unbroken relations of peace and amity with a power (the United States) nearly connected with us by the ties of a common origin, and advantageous commercial intercourse, but to restore, at an early period, to your faithful subjects, and to the world at large, the blessings of a secure and lasting peace."

A dispute arose at the meeting as to which of these petitions was carried; but both of them were very numerously signed. The former was forwarded by Lieutenant-General Tarleton and Major-General Gaseoyne to Lord Hawkesbury, and by him presented to the king, "who was pleased to receive the same in the most gracious manner."* It is well known to every reader of history that the bill confirming the orders in council was carried through parliament. The united result of the Berlin decree, of the orders in council, and of the American embargo was to suspend, and for a time destroy, the commerce of the United States. "Our commerce at this moment," said the Boston Centinel, "is like a poor flying fish, pursued from below by a couple of dolphins, and from above by a couple of hawks. While the French blockading decree and the English retaliatory order in council pursue it on one side, the non-importation act and the general embargo assail it on the other."†

Early in February, 1808, a long pending cause between the parish of Liverpool and the trustees of the docks, respecting the liability of the dock dues of the port to the poor-rates, came before the Court of King's Bench, when the judges decided unanimously that the dock dues were not chargeable to the relief of the poor.‡

In the month of March, 1808, the Liverpool Exchange was completed and thrown open to the public. "In the course of last week," says the paper of the 7th March, "all the sandstone and rubbish have been taken away from the area of the new Exchange, the ground has been levelled, covered with sand, and rolled, and, all the partitions and temporary buildings having been cleared away, the beauty and grandeur of the whole structure are now taken in by the eye, and seen with the fullest effect. Crowds of persons, both strangers and inhabitants of the town, have been to view this noble fabric, which has hitherto been seen so imperfectly that it now appears with all the charms of novelty."§

In the paper of the succeeding week we find the following account

* Liverpool Courier, March 30, 1808.

† Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, April 11, 1808.

‡ Ibid, February 8, 1808.

§ Ibid, March 7, 1808.

of the opening of the Exchange, as a place of business:—"Monday last, the 7th March, was a day of some importance in the commercial annals of Liverpool, as on that day the merchants abandoned their usual place of meeting, at the upper end of Castle-street, and assembled, for the first time, in the grand area of the new Exchange. No place in the world affords so elegant and commodious a situation as this for all the purposes of a public Exchange; and we have often been surprised to hear it observed, that it would be difficult to bring the merchants to abandon their old situation, to which they were so much attached by the strong ties of habit and early prepossession. In opposition to this common opinion, we are happy to observe that the translation was absolutely perfect the first day, not a single person being found loitering about his old haunt during the whole 'Change hours. We understand that the different classes of merchants are selecting their appropriate walks, as upon the London Exchange, and we have no doubt that they will be sensible of all the advantages of their present situation."*

At this time the laws for the protection of property were written in blood, and were executed with a sternness altogether unknown in our milder times. On Saturday, April the 8th, Mary Chandley was executed at Lancaster, pursuant to her sentence, for robbing her master's house in Liverpool. She was nineteen years of age! and was so ignorant of her religious duties as to be unable to repeat the Lord's Prayer! As the executioner was putting the cap over her face, she exclaimed, "Oh! man, I never will forgive you!" and her shrieks were loud and piercing!†

The improvements by which Dale-street was converted into a wide open thoroughfare were so far advanced, in 1808, as to be considered the greatest that had taken place in Liverpool since the rebuilding of Castle-street, the new Exchange-buildings only excepted.

On the 28th July, 1808, the mayor, bailiffs, and common council of Liverpool, in council assembled, agreed to an address to the king, in which they expressed "the most heartfelt congratulations, on those late events on the continent of Europe, which seem to promise the dawn of a brighter day to the liberties and independence of nations."‡ The events referred to were the rising of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the armies of France, and the commencement of that glorious struggle, which ended in the liberation, not only of the Peninsula, but of all Europe, from the military despotism of Napoleon.

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, March 14, 1808.

+ Ibid, April 10, 1808.

‡ Ibid, August 8, 1808.

On Tuesday, the 2d August, the new Corn Exchange, in Brunswick-street, was opened to the trade. At half-past ten the stands were all occupied, and were well attended by country buyers. The business was conducted with great spirit and regularity. At three o'clock the proprietors and many of their friends dined together, at the Royal Hotel, in Lord-street. "Many as our opportunities have been," says a paper of the 8th August, "of adding our tribute of praise to the numerous excellent institutions with which our town abounds, yet we never noticed any new plan with equal pleasure. The corn trade forms a most essential and important branch of our commerce, and it has often concerned us to reflect on what a confined and imperfect scale it has hitherto been conducted. For the future, it is to be hoped that no encouragement will be given to any of those who would wish to violate its rules, and, contrary to the spirit of the undertaking, divert the country dealers from that market, where both buyers and sellers are placed on a fair and equitable footing. We feel persuaded that the longer our new Corn Exchange is known the better it will be liked; and, from our hearts, we give its proprietors and supporters our best wishes."*

In December, 1808, it was announced that the proprietors of the Leeds and Liverpool and the Bridgewater Canals had determined to unite the two canals, by extending the Leeds and Liverpool Canal from Wigan to the Bridgewater Canal at Leigh. This junction not only greatly improved the communication between the inland towns of Lancashire, but created a third line of water communication between Liverpool and Manchester.†

On Monday, January 2nd, 1809, the great commercial-room at the Exchange, now known as the Exchange Newsroom, was first thrown open to the public; and, when seen in its original freshness and beauty, was pronounced to be the most magnificent apartment in Europe erected for commercial purposes. It occupies the whole of the lower story of the east wing of the building. Its extreme length, from north to south, is 94 feet 3 inches; its breadth, from east to west, 42 feet 7 inches; its greatest height from the centre of the ceiling, between the corridors, is 51 feet 9 inches. The ceiling is supported by sixteen Ionic columns, each composed of one entire and beautiful stone. The walls are adorned with sixteen pilasters to correspond with the colonnade. The whole building was executed from the plans and drawings of Mr. John Foster, architect to the corporation.‡

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, August 8, 1808. † Liverpool Courier, Dec. 14, 1808.

‡ Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, January 4, 1809.

A meeting was held in the beginning of the year to consider the necessitous condition of the poor, at which it was determined to open soup-shops for their relief. Upwards of 10,000 quarts per week was distributed, at the rate of one penny a quart. It was found impossible at first to make it fast enough.

In February, the *Maida*, transport, arrived in Liverpool, with a number of poor soldiers on board, belonging to the army of Sir John Moore. The *Maida* sailed from Corunna along with the other transports, but was driven up the Irish Channel to Liverpool by violent gales. The poor war-worn, tempest-tost soldiers were received with great kindness, were feasted abundantly, and upwards of £300 was raised, with which each of the private soldiers was furnished with a flannel shirt and drawers, stockings, shoes, cap, and gloves.* Like the rest of Sir John Moore's army, they had lost everything (except their honour) in their march over the mountains of Galicia.

In February, 1809, Liverpool lost one of the ablest and most estimable of its merchants, by the death of William Rathbone, the bosom friend of Roscoe and Currie. It had been the custom of Mr. Rathbone to inscribe, in a book devoted to that purpose, the names of those of his family whom he had lost by death. In this volume Mr. Roscoe has, in his own hand, thus recorded the death of his friend :

“ 11th February, 1809.

“ William Rathbone died at nine o'clock in the morning, aged 51 years and 8 months.

“ This domestic record, which contains the brief memorials of his beloved and respected relatives, registered by his own hand, and endeared by the warm expression of his affection, now receives the honoured name of

WILLIAM RATHBONE,

Of Liverpool, Merchant ;

a name which will ever be distinguished by independence, probity, and true benevolence, and will remain as an example to his descendants of genuine piety, patient resignation, and of all those virtues which give energy to a community, adorn society, and are the delight of private life.

“ Through life beloved ! O let this votive line

Unite in death, its author's name with thine.

“ WILLIAM ROSCOE.”†

In consequence of the number of captures made by the enemy's privateers in the channel, government gave directions, about this time, for

* Liverpool Courier, Feb. 1, 1809.

† Life of William Roscoe, by his son, Henry Roscoe.

the adoption of a system of alarm gun-signals, intended to serve as an intimation to the men-of-war, that a privateer was on the coast, and to point out the place where it might be found.*

The South Stack Lighthouse, off Holyhead, one of the guides to vessels arriving from sea, was lighted, for the first time, on the night of the 9th of April, and, although the weather was not very favourable, it appeared, at the distance of four or five leagues, as if the whole building was on fire. "This useful edifice," says a paper of March the 6th, "is 60 feet high, exclusive of the lantern. It has twenty-one lamps placed in the centre of large reflectors, from 16 to 20 inches in diameter. It is on the revolving principle, and shows its greatest light every two minutes."†

On the 25th of October, 1809, the jubilee, or fiftieth anniversary of the accession of George the Third to the throne, was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, in all parts of the kingdom. In Liverpool, in addition to the ringing of bells, public processions, a brilliant illumination, and other ordinary signs of rejoicing, it was resolved to erect an equestrian statue to the good old king; and, on the proposal of William Roscoe, to liberate all the prisoners confined for debt in the Borough Gaol. A subscription large enough to effect both these objects was raised. Upwards of seventy poor debtors were set at liberty, and the monument of George the Third, which still stands in the London-road, was commenced.‡

In the year 1809 the Liverpool docks were again found to be insufficient for the accommodation of the commerce of the port, which about that time had received a sudden impulse from the opening of the trade with Spain and Portugal, and with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America. Owing to the pressure of the war, the plans of dock extension formed in 1799 had not been carried into effect; but the increase of commerce was so great in 1808 and 1809 as to render any further delay in supplying more dock room impossible. A correspondence took place on this subject between Mr. John Foster, the man of business of the dock trustees, who were then the corporation, and the present Sir John Gladstone, Bart., who was then chairman of the West India Association, which contains much information, as to the condition of the commerce of the port and the dock estate at that time, as well as the particulars of various plans of dock extension which were then under consideration.

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, March 6, 1809.

† Ibid, March 6, 1809.

‡ Liverpool Courier, October 18, 1809.

In a letter addressed "to John Gladstone, Esq., and the rest of the gentlemen of the West India Association deputed to confer with the trustees of the docks," Mr. Foster says,

"Gentlemen,—Conformably to the instructions I have received from the committee of the trustees of the docks, I have the honour to communicate to you, for the information of the West India Association, the following opinions of Mr. Rennie, the engineer (delivered in writing) by him to the Dock Committee, upon the 14th ult., after he had attentively surveyed the port and considered the subject.

"From the best information Mr. Rennie could obtain, it appeared that at various times during three years ending Midsummer, 1808, there had been in the docks 400 sail of vessels of the average size of 190 to 200 tons, and also that there had been 300 sloops or flats at the same period in the docks and upon the banks of the river; and that to accommodate the above number of vessels in a proper manner, at least double the dock space that is now used will be required, without looking to any further increase of trade.

"That a dock of about seven statute acres may be made between George's Dock basin and the Fort in about six or seven years, at an expense of about £220,000, which dock will contain about seventy sail of vessels, of the average size of 200 tons; but that it will not be a convenient dock unless possession of the Fort can be obtained, in order to form an additional basin there.

"That additional dock space may be obtained upon a larger scale (than the proposed north dock) at the south end of the town, in half the time, and at about two-thirds the expense.

"That the sum of £500,000 will be required to complete the docks, to the extent, and upon the plan proposed, exclusive of buildings, or the purchase of land or premises.

"JOHN FOSTER, Secretary, &c.

"Liverpool, September 2, 1809."

Tables accompanied this communication, explaining more precisely the nature and amount of additional accommodation intended to be given, together with certain improvements intended to be made, and also explaining the financial position of the dock estate, and the future plan of raising the needful revenue.

The enlargements of the docks proposed were as follows :

A new dock, the present Prince's Dock, between George's Dock Basin and the Fort, about 350 yards long and 100 yards wide, to be built in seven years, and to contain about 7 acres.

An addition to the King's Dock, 264 yards long, by $42\frac{1}{2}$ yards, to be finished in about fifteen months, and to add 2 a. 1 r. 11 p.

An addition to George's Dock, 241 yards long by $21\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, to be made in about two years, and to give 1 a. 0 r. 11 p.

An addition to the Queen's Dock, 190 yards long by 105 yards wide, to be made in about two years, and to give 4 a. 19 p.

A half-tide basin at the south end of the Queen's Dock, 120 yards square, to be made in about three years, and to contain 2 a. 3 r. 36 p.

Total, 16 a. 1 r. 37 p.

Deduct Old Dock (3 a. 2 r. and 4 p.) intended to be filled up. For that part intended to be relinquished to the corporation of Liverpool, an equivalent space to be given at their expense.

Additional dock space to be given in three years, 6 a. 3 r. 33 p.

Further southward, in about four years, 10 acres.

The proposed north dock, 7 acres.

Total, 23 a. 3 r. 33 p.; say 24 acres of wet dock space, exclusive of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres additional dry basin.

By another plan an additional five acres, together with Custom-house, Excise-office, Pilots'-office, in about seven years; sheds for transacting business, and cranes for landing and discharging merchandise to be provided.

It was also proposed to seek powers to establish a dock police; to provide a place for the shelter and accommodation of pilots on the coast of Anglesey; and to establish a telegraph to communicate between the isle of Anglesey and Liverpool.

A financial statement accompanied these plans, from which it appeared that the bond debt of the dock estate amounted to £180,812, on the 2nd September, 1809. In addition to this it was proposed to borrow the sum of £500,000, to form the additional dock space above described, also £60,000 to buy the land, and £60,000 to build a new custom-house; thus adding the sum of £620,000 to the bond debt, and making its total amount £800,812. To meet the interest on this sum of £800,000, it was calculated that £40,000 a-year would be required, five per cent. being the rate of interest at which the money was expected to be obtained. To this £40,000 a-year for interest were to be added the sums of £9,056 for expense of the dock establishment, as it then existed; of £3,500 for probable increase of expense of management; and of £7,000 for probable annual repairs, giving a total of £19,556; or, in round numbers, £20,000 for cost of management, and £40,000 for interest, making £60,000 for expenses

of every description. To meet this outlay, it was proposed that the dues on tonnage should be so regulated as to produce £30,000 a-year, and those on goods as to produce an equal amount, making a total revenue of £60,000 a-year, to meet the same amount of expenditure.

It will be seen from the following table, which appeared in one of the Liverpool papers,* in October, 1809, that the prices of all the necessities of life were more than twice as high at that period as they were at the accession of George the Third, or as they are at the present time :

	PRICES IN 1760.		PRICES IN 1809.	
Wheat, per quarter.....	40s.	0d.	100s.	0d.
Malt, ".....	28s.	0d.	80s.	0d.
Flour, per bushel.....	5s.	10d.	15s.	8d.
Bread, per gallon.....	0s.	8d.	2s.	4d.
Bacon, per lb.	0s.	6d.	1s.	2d.
Butchers' Meat, per lb.	0s.	4d.	0s.	8d.
Cheese, ".....	0s.	4d.	0s.	10d.
Butter, ".....	0s.	6d.	1s.	6d.
Soft Sugar, ".....	0s.	3d.	0s.	10d.
Soap and Candles, per lb.	0s.	6d.	1s.	3d.

In consequence of the pressure of these high prices, a public meeting was held at the Town-hall, Liverpool, the mayor (James Clarke, Esq.) in the chair, to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament, to continue the act prohibiting the distilling of spirits from grain, at which the following resolutions were agreed to unanimously :—"That the act passed in 1808, prohibiting the distillation from grain, has been found productive of great benefit, and given general satisfaction to all classes of the community in this town; that, notwithstanding that prohibition, the prices of grain have continued to advance in an alarming degree; that, should that salutary measure not be continued, an immediate and considerable further advance in the price of corn will be inevitable, particularly in oats, 'that most necessary article of consumption in this county;' that the act now in force, for preventing distillation from grain, will expire on the 4th of March next; that, in order to guard against an increase of the present high prices of corn as much as is in our power, humble petitions be presented to both houses of parliament, praying that the distillation from grain may continue to be suspended; that the members for the borough be requested to use their utmost endeavours to forward the objects of this meeting."†

On the morning of Sunday, the 11th February, 1810, a dreadful accident took place at the parish church of St. Nicholas, Liverpool, by which twenty-two persons were killed and many more were seriously injured. At about half-past ten in the morning of that day, a few minutes

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, October 23, 1809.

† Ibid, January 29, 1810.

before the time when Divine service usually commences, the key-stone of the bell tower gave way, when the north-east corner of the tower, with the whole of the spire, came down, and, with a tremendous crash, broke through the roof of the church, falling along the centre aisle, till the ruins reached near to the rails of the communion-table. The spire and tower, in their fall, carried with them the peal of six bells, the west gallery, the organ, and the clergyman's reading-desk, totally crushing all that they came in contact with. The ringers, who were in the tower, ringing the bells, were fortunate enough to escape, with the exception of one who was caught in the ruins, along with a little boy, who was in the steeple at the time when it fell. The two were immediately extricated by the exertions of the other ringers. The man was only slightly wounded, but the boy died soon after. The alarm was given to the ringers by the falling of a stone upon the fifth bell, which prevented its swing, on which they all ran out. The Rev. L. Pughe, the officiating minister for the day, entered the church at nineteen minutes past ten, having himself noticed the clock on his entrance. He proceeded immediately to the great south door, and was in the act of entering it, when he was stopped for a few seconds by the children of the Moorfields school, who were passing into the church at the same time. On his appearance a young woman, a teacher in the school, and one of the unfortunate sufferers, began to separate the children on each side, to afford him a passage, when he heard a person exclaim, "For God's sake, Mr. Pughe, turn back." He stepped back, and, looking up, perceived the spire sinking down towards the east. Immediately the whole fell in, burying the young teacher and all the children in the ruins, and killing her and seventeen of the children. These poor innocents were all interred at St. John's Church on the following Tuesday, and were followed to the grave by a great number of children of their own age, friends and acquaintances, decently habited in white. The tower, whose fall produced this lamentable catastrophe, was a piece of patch-work. The foundation was at least as old as 1360, and upon this foundation the upper part of the tower and a lofty steeple had been built in the year 1746.*

The Liverpool Academy of Arts was opened for the first time in August, 1810. Great numbers of pictures were sold, and the undertaking was so prosperous that it was determined to erect a new and handsome building for the accommodation of the academy, to which H. Blundell, Esq., of Ince, offered to contribute the handsome sum of £1,600.†

* Liverpool Courier, February 14, 1810.

† Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, August 13, 1810.

*Poor innocents, who were all God's own
innocent.*

Unfortunately, a terrible commercial panic came on shortly afterwards, and for a while defeated the scheme.

The year 1810 closed amidst commercial ruin caused by the sudden subsiding of the extravagant hopes and speculations founded upon the re-opening of the trade with Spain and Portugal, and the opening, for the first time, of a direct trade between England and the American possessions of Portugal and Spain. The shipments of goods to South America during the year 1808-9 were on an enormous scale; and prices of all articles rose extravagantly in England. After some time it began to be seen that there were no returns for these immense shipments, and then a terrible panic took possession of the public mind, prices falling as rapidly as they had risen. The government, in the hope of relieving the distresses of the mercantile and manufacturing classes, agreed to make a considerable loan for the relief of trade; and on the 15th March, 1811, a meeting of the principal merchants, brokers, and traders of Liverpool was held at the Town-hall, at which it was determined to apply for a share of the government loan, for the relief of the commerce of Liverpool. The following remarks on the evils of commercial scandal are as appropriate at all times as they were in 1810 and 1811:—"It is lamentable to observe the wantonness with which men speak of the credit of the most eminent houses, in consequence of the recent distresses in the commercial world. Talk of gossiping at the tea-table! The tongues of antiquated maidens are not more loose, nor their insinuations more scandalous, than those of some gossiping men; and when it is considered that credit is to a merchant what chastity is to a woman, this licentious practice of whispering away reputation cannot be too severely condemned."*

In February, 1811, a public meeting was held in the Town hall, at which it was resolved to form a Magdalen Hospital, for the relief of fallen but penitent females.†

In March of the same year the *Havannah*, a fine frigate of 42 guns, was launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Hassall and Co., Trent-ham-street.‡

In April, 1811, the first stone of the beautiful church of St. Luke's, in Leece-street, was laid, in the presence of the mayor, the common council, and many of the principal inhabitants. In the following week the foundation stone of the Independent Chapel, Great George-street, was also laid. This chapel was originally intended for the Rev. Thomas

* Billinge's *Liverpool Advertiser*, August 13, 1810.

+ *Ibid*, February 4, 1811.

‡ *Liverpool Courier*, March 19, 1811.

Spencer, a young man of fine talents and early excellence. In the month of August following, and before the chapel was finished, Mr. Spencer was drowned, whilst bathing in the river Mersey. After that melancholy event the congregation invited the Rev. Dr. Raffles, then also a very young man, to occupy the pulpit which had been intended for the youthful Speneer. He consented to do so, and has now presided over the congregation assembling in Great George-street Chapel for forty years, with distinguished ability and usefulness.

A census of the population of the United Kingdom was taken in the spring of the year 1811, when it was found that the population of Liverpool and the suburban townships had increased in the following ratio :—Borough of Liverpool, from 77,653, in 1801, to 94,376, in 1811 ; seamen of the port, from 6,000 to 7,000 ; Toxteth-park, from 2,069 to 5,864 ; West Derby, from 2,636 to 3,698 ; Everton, from 499 to 913 ; Kirkdale, from 395 to 665 ; Walton, from 681 to 794 ; Wavertree, from 860 to 1,398 ; Bootle, from 537 to 610. On the Cheshire side of the river Mersey the population of Tranmere had increased from 353, in 1801, to 474, in 1811 ; that of Wallasey, from 274 to 440 ; that of Liscard, from 211 to 289 ; that of Poulton-eum-Seacombe, from 178 to 214 ; that of Oxtan had decreased from 137 to 128 ; and that of Birkenhead had also decreased from 110 to 105. Thus, the population of the borough of Liverpool, including seamen, had increased from 83,653, in 1801, to 101,376, in 1811 ; and the population of Liverpool and the suburban townships from 90,239 to 116,687. Increase of the borough and seamen in ten years, 17,723 ; of the borough, seamen, and suburban townships, 26,448.

The first number of the Liverpool Mercury was published on the 5th July, 1811, by Mr. Egerton Smith, who edited the paper to the time of his death, and whose family still possess the principal interest in it. The first number of the Liverpool Mercury contained an eloquent letter from William Roseoe to Henry Brougham, in support of a reform in the representation of the people. In introducing this letter the editor of the Mercury said, “For our own part, we willingly identify our opinions, on this important subject, with those which Mr. Roseoe has here expressed, with the mildness and manliness of a genuine patriot. It is not violence but firmness, not virulence of language but clearness of reasoning, which distinguishes the reformer from the revolutionist, the friend of liberty from the partizan of anarchy.”* Peace, freedom, and improvement were announced to be the great leading

* Liverpool Mercury, July 5, 1811.

objects which would be advocated in the pages of the *Liverpool Mercury*, and they have now been steadily advocated in that paper for the long period of forty years.

The very ancient custom of riding the bounds, now gone out of use, was still kept up, with all the honours. "On Monday last," says the *Liverpool Mercury*, of October 11, 1811, "according to annual custom, the worshipful mayor, bailiffs, and council rode the liberties of the borough, when the mayor was attended by the gentlemen of the *Liverpool* hunt and a very large concourse of people. The ships in the dock were decorated with their different flags on the occasion."

At this time the exporting of machinery to foreign countries was punished as a great offence. "On Monday, the 14th instant," says a paper of the 25th of October, 1811, "Mr. Miller, the superintendent of police, took a man of the name of Wagstaff into custody, in the act of putting on board the ship *Mount Vernon*, bound to New York, twenty-three boxes, containing about 140 gross of spindles, used in the spinning of cotton. The prisoner has been proved to be a manufacturer of spindles, and to have agreed with the captain of the *Mount Vernon* to take a passage to New York. He was examined before the mayor, and committed to Lancaster to take his trial at the next assizes."

The year 1811 was the year of the famous comet; and in the following winter the comet train was all the rage amongst the ladies. It was of the form of a fan, prodigiously long, and ornamented with a profusion of silver spangles. The body of the dress was of a pale red, with a star in the centre, composed of gold spangles.*

A public meeting was held in *Liverpool*, in November, 1811, to consider the expediency of presenting a petition to the Prince Regent, for suspending the distillation of spirits from grain for a further term. Mr. Gladstone having concisely stated the object of the meeting, and the prayer of the petition, it was adopted unanimously, and ordered to be transmitted by the mayor for presentation.† At this time the quartern loaf was selling for eighteenpence in London.‡ Early in the following month a public meeting was held, at which a liberal subscription was entered into for the relief of the poor: and a few days afterwards a second meeting was held, at which it was resolved, that it was desirable that a sum of money should be lent to the trustees of the docks, on their bonds, bearing interest at five per cent., for the specific purpose of employing as

* *Liverpool Mercury*, October 25, 1811.

† *Billings's Liverpool Advertiser*, November 11, 1811.

Ibid, November 25, 1811.

many hands as possible, on the works, during the winter season ; and further, that an engagement be entered into by the subscribers to this loan, that the money should remain with the trustees of the docks for five years. The following gentlemen advanced money on these terms:—William Waln, £200 ; Rev. John Yates, £300 ; James Gerard, £100 ; John Brancker, £200 ; Thomas Porter and Son, £200 ; Thomas Dempsey, £100 ; William Statham, £50 ; Joseph Hadwen, £400 ; Richard Statham, £50 ; Rev. Richard Formby, £100 ; George Crooke, £100 ; Hetherington and Cross, £400 ; J. A. Yates, £50 ; J. B. Aspinall, £500 ; Edgar Corrie, £100 ; John Shaw, £500 ; John Leigh, £500 ; Thomas Lyon, Warrington, £1,000 ; E. and W. Smith, £50 ; J. B. Yates, £50 ; M. Pool, £50 ; Alexander Macgregor, £100 ; John Foster, £200 ; James Cropper, £200 ; John Goldie, £200 ; T. and W. Earle, £300 ; Samuel Staniforth, £100. In addition to these sums, lent to furnish employment, about £2,000 was raised, to be distributed in charity.

In consequence of the continued distress of the poor of Liverpool, a meeting was held at the grand jury-room, on the 23rd of April, 1812, John Bridge Aspinall, Esq., in the chair, “for the purpose of taking into consideration the present high price of provisions, and adopting such measures as may be deemed expedient upon the occasion.” At this meeting it was resolved that a subscription should be entered into, for the purpose of buying up provisions, such as “rice, peas, potatoes, and other substitutes for bread and flour,” to be retailed to the poor, at reduced prices. A committee was appointed to manage this matter, consisting of the following thirty gentlemen:—J. Bourne, Esq., mayor, J. B. Aspinall, William Roscoe, H. B. Hollinshead, Thomas Earle, Pudsey Dawson, John Shaw, John Moss, G. E. Dale, John Eason, Edward Pearson, Thomas Corrie, Robert Greetham, John Carter, George Marsden, Robert Makin, Joseph Brooks Yates, Francis Jordan, Thomas Case, William Ewart, William Duff, William Wainwright, Jon. Ratcliffe, William Sutton, William Roe, James Ackers, Robert Gladstone, J. R. Freme, Robert Benson, and John Richardson. Amongst the recommendations of this meeting to the easier classes were these:—“That it be strongly recommended to all housekeepers to be economical in the use of bread and potatoes, to abstain altogether from pastry, and not to use any bread until after the expiration of twenty-four hours from the time of its being baked : and that it be also strongly recommended to all persons who keep horses, to be economical in the feeding of them, by diminishing the quantity as much as possible.”

The foundation stone of the church of St. George's, Everton, was laid on Monday, the 12th January, 1812.*

The Fly packet was lost in the month of March, 1812, on her voyage from Newry to Liverpool, with seventy-eight passengers on board, all of whom perished.†

In spite of the efforts of the merchants engaged in the American trade, of many of the ablest men in the country unconnected with commerce, and of the urgent and angry remonstrances of the American government, the English government adhered resolutely to the policy of the orders in council, until the spring of 1812. According to a statement of President Madison to the American people, upwards of a thousand American vessels were seized, under these orders, on the high seas. These were carried into English ports; many of them were condemned, and all subjected to heavy losses. During the whole of this time, from 1807 to 1812, the American merchants of Liverpool continued to remonstrate against these orders, both on the ground of policy and principle. They contended that, by inducing the American government to retaliate, they inflicted infinitely greater evils on England than on France; and, moreover, that however just they might be as measures of retaliation against France, they were altogether unjust in their operation on neutral nations. At the beginning of the year 1812 these remonstrances became more urgent, as the commercial and manufacturing distresses became greater; and as it became more evident that a perseverance in the policy of the orders in council would produce a war with America. In the years 1810 and 1811, the opponents of the orders of council obtained the powerful assistance of the present Lord Brougham, then Mr. Brougham, who was already pre-eminent amongst contemporary statesmen and orators, for his great attainments and his powerful eloquence. By his advocacy, aided by the pressure of the mercantile and commercial classes, the English government was at length induced to give way. In the month of June, 1812, Lord Castlereagh announced to parliament that the English government had resolved to suspend the orders in council. The repeal of the orders was celebrated in Liverpool by a public dinner, at which Mr. Brougham was present; and by a public meeting, at which thanks were voted to the leading men who had taken part in procuring their repeal; amongst whom Mr. Thornely, the present member for Wolverhampton, had particularly distinguished himself, by his activity and zeal.‡ Unfortunately, the concession came too late. War against

* Liverpool Mercury, January 17, 1812. + Ibid, March 20, 1812. ‡ Ibid, July 3, 1812.

England was declared by the American government in the same month, of June. In the course of this war, which lasted more than two years and a half, the losses of both nations were enormous, whilst their successes were so nearly balanced that they were both heartily glad to accept the mediation of the Emperor of Russia to put an end to the strife. In the course of the conflict, from eight hundred to a thousand English merchant ships were taken by the American privateers and ships of war; and at least an equal number of American merchantmen were taken by the British cruizers. In the latter part of the war, the risk of capture was so great, that the freight on cotton from Savannah to France rose to 10d. a pound. At the close of the contest, upwards of 200,000 bales of cotton, which was then more than a year's supply, was piled up in the warehouses of America; whilst in this country that great article of consumption was sold at prices ruinous to trade.

The *Liverpool Mercury* of May, the 7th, 1813, quoting from an American insurance list, says, "The following is a statement of the premiums of insurance on the coasting trade from Boston, on the 3rd ult.:—To Eastport, 7 to 10 per cent.; other eastern ports, 2 to 5; to New York, £6 to £7 10s.; to Philadelphia, 10; to the Chesapeake, 12 to 15; to North Carolina, 17 to 18; to South Carolina, 21 to 28; to Savannah, 22 to 25. With regard to foreign trade, it is emphatically stated in the insurance list that there is none remaining, except to France, and the premium upon voyages to that quarter is 30 to 50 per cent.!" On the other side of the account it appeared, from a return made to the House of Lords, that from the 1st of October, 1812, to the 1st of May, 1813, 382 British ships were captured by the Americans, of which 66 were retaken and 20 restored, leaving a loss of nearly 300 British ships in seven months." Such are the results of a naval war to the mercantile classes.*

Whilst the orders in council thus involved England in a war with the United States, the Berlin and Milan decrees, or, at least, the policy on which they were founded, involved Napoleon in a war with Russia, in which his power received an overwhelming blow, from which it never recovered. In the year 1811 the pressure of the continental system, to which the Emperor of Russia had assented, after the peace of Tilsit, became intolerable to Russia. His vast empire, at that time, possessed scarcely any manufactures, and the incomes of the nobles depended on the sale of the flax, timber, corn, tallow, and hides produced on their extensive estates, whilst the government required a considerable revenue on imports to

* *Liverpool Mercury*, May 14. 1813.

meet the cost of governing its immense territory. The trade with England thus supplied a large portion both of the public and private revenue of Russia. Hence the exclusion of English goods and colonial produce, and the suspension of intercourse with England, produced the greatest inconvenience to Russia, and, at length, decided the emperor to encounter the anger of France. After having connived at the trade with England for some time, the government openly authorized it, under certain restrictions, in the year 1811. The remonstrances of Bonaparte against this abandonment of his continental system were angry and threatening; but the Russian government had decided not to yield to his threats. Finding himself thus defied, he collected, in the summer of 1812, the largest army that has been seen in modern times, and led it into the heart of Russia, where, ultimately, the whole of it perished, either in desperate battles with the Russians, from famine, or from the intolerable rigours of a Russian winter.

In the autumn of 1812 there were all the signs of an approaching general election, and the two great rival parties in Liverpool began to prepare for it with more than usual resolution. Up to this time the members for Liverpool had generally been very ordinary persons; but on this occasion each party resolved to bring forward at least one of the ablest men whom the whole country could supply, to advocate its opinions. The present Lord Brougham, then Mr. Brougham, was selected by the opposition party as their candidate; whilst the ministerial party, with equal judgment, selected that great orator and statesman George Canning, as theirs. Early in September the opposition gave a public dinner to Mr. Brougham, as a mark of grateful respect for his unwearied attention to the business of the country, and particularly for his successful exertions in promoting the repeal of the orders in council. This entertainment was attended by the late and the present Earls of Derby, by the Earl of Sefton, by Mr. Wedgwood, of Staffordshire, Mr. Shakspear Phillips and Mr. George William Wood, of Manchester, Mr. Potts, of Birmingham, and many other representatives of the manufacturing interest. William Roscoe presided; and, after delivering an eloquent speech in praise of their guest, he turned to Mr. Brougham and said, "Sir, we have already thanked you in our more serious moments: it was the tribute of our judgment. We now thank you amidst our conviviality: it is the tribute of our hearts. The third time, I hope, sir, we shall thank you in a manner more adequate to your high deserts."* But the ministerial party were not

* Liverpool Mercury, September 11, 1812.

to be outdone either in public dinners or in any other mode of rallying their forces for a contested election. They dined together, on the 25th of September, in honour of the Marquis of Wellington's great victory at Salamanca, of the capture of Madrid, and of the other splendid achievements in the Peninsula. At this dinner the health of his majesty's ministers, of whom Mr. Canning was the ablest supporter, notwithstanding his personal differences with some of them, was drunk with great applause. On Monday, the 5th of October, Mr. Brougham made his public entry into Liverpool. His friends assembled near the Botanic Gardens, and, on the arrival of their candidate, proceeded in procession down Mount-pleasant, Ranelagh-street, Church-street, and Lord-street, to Castle-street. A large body of freemen, decorated with a profusion of pink and white favours, and carrying several new and splendid colours, led the van. After them came the merchants and tradesmen, few of whom had votes. The candidate, Mr. Brougham, brought up the rear. He was seated in a carriage drawn by four horses, and was accompanied by William Roscoe, the Earl of Sefton, Arthur Heywood, B. Rawson, and Colonel Williams. The procession halted at the bank in Castle-street, from which place Mr. Brougham, the Earl of Sefton, Mr. Roscoe, and other gentlemen addressed the assembled multitude.* Here a slight disturbance took place, in which a few heads and windows were broken, but no great damage was done. Mr. Canning was to have entered the town on the same day as Mr. Brougham, and his friends assembled at Low-hill, to escort him in public procession. The crowd of his friends was immense, and amongst them were a considerable part of the most influential merchants and other inhabitants. The trades marched separately, and an innumerable quantity of colours, interspersed in the procession, contributed greatly to the gaiety of the scene. Assembled at Low-hill, W. P. Litt, Esq., addressed Mr. Canning's friends, from an open carriage, in which he was accompanied by H. B. Hollinshead, John Bolton, Thomas Rodie, John Gladstone, William Ewart, and William Barton, Esqrs. He stated that Mr. Canning had experienced so many impediments in his journey that, although he had used every exertion to arrive at the appointed time, it was impracticable. His friends, nevertheless, had their procession; and Mr. Canning arrived in the evening, when he delivered one of his eloquent speeches from the front of Mr. John Bolton's house, in Duke-street.

The polling commenced on Thursday morning, when five candidates

* Liverpool Mercury, October 9, 1812.

appeared in the field, namely, the Right Hon. George Canning, Henry Brougham, General Gascoyne, (one of the old members,) Thomas Creevey, a second opposition candidate, most unwisely put forward along with Mr. Brougham, and General Tarleton, also one of the old members, but who was in this case deserted by the whole world. The mode of voting was in tallies of ten votes, which were taken in turns, so that the interest of the contest was kept up until one of the parties had quite exhausted its votes. Mr. Canning headed the poll from the beginning to the end of the election, but for several days it appeared probable that Henry Brougham would be returned along with him. At the close of the first day the numbers stood: Canning, 139 votes; Brougham, 137, Creevey, 135; Gascoyne, 117; and poor General Tarleton, 5! The second day General Gascoyne's friends, excited by an energetic appeal from Mr. Canning, made a great rally, so that at the close of the day the numbers stood: Canning, 318; Gascoyne, 288; Brougham, 284; and Creevey, 277. On the third day the Brougham party redoubled their exertions, and at the close of the day the numbers were: Canning, 520; Brougham, 488; Gascoyne, 483; Creevey, 473; and the gallant Tarleton, 6! On the fourth day the Brougham party had still further improved the position of their candidate. The numbers were: Canning, 722; Brougham, 691; Gascoyne, 671; Creevey, 666; and Tarleton, 6. On the fifth day Brougham was still gaining ground. At the close of the day the numbers were: Canning, 926; Brougham, 892; Gascoyne, 864; Creevey, 666; and Tarleton as before. To the end of the sixth day Brougham retained his position as second on the poll. At the close of the day the numbers were: Canning, 1,076; Brougham, 1,030; Gascoyne, 1,003; Creevey, 991. The seventh day's polling told a very different story, and gave the following numbers: Canning, 1,361; Gascoyne, 1,276; Brougham, 1,105; Creevey, 1,055. These numbers were tolerably decisive, but Mr. Brougham's friends determined to try the chance of another day. That was quite decisive, giving the following result: Canning, 1,631; Gascoyne, 1,532; Brougham, 1,131; Creevey, 1,068; and Tarleton, 11. The number of freemen who polled on this occasion was 2,726, the greatest number who had polled at any previous election being 2,413. As the population of Liverpool and the suburbs was upwards of 100,000 in 1811, this gives one vote for about every thirty inhabitants. The following account of the spirit of this great contest, written at the time, is candid and just, as well as interesting:—"The poll opened every morning at ten o'clock, and closed every night at five, when each of the

*What the latter gave the same amount
 found in the book on the 19-185*

candidates was accompanied to his respective residence by an immense crowd of people. Mr. Brougham's abode, in Clayton-square, and Mr. Canning's, in Rodney-street, were attended every evening by an immense concourse of persons, of all ranks and both sexes, in order to hear the speeches which those two eminent orators regularly addressed to their respective partizans at the close of the poll. Mr. Brougham's speeches were chiefly concerning the circumstances of the actual election, though he occasionally introduced observations on public affairs, and on the present awful state of the country, which exhibited specimens of the most glowing and impressive eloquence, of the most extensive views, and most profound reflection. Mr. Canning's orations were of a more various description, and entered more largely into the subjects of general politics. On the three first evenings his remarks, like those of his antagonist, were chiefly confined to the occurrences of the election; but, during the last week, he has entered into a more detailed exposition of his sentiments on some of the great leading questions which now agitate the public mind. On Monday he spoke of the external relations of the country, with regard to its remote or immediate prospect of obtaining the blessings of peace. On Tuesday he entered on the two great questions of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation; on the last of which subjects he explained his opinions with a degree of perspicuity, eloquence, and moderation which, perhaps, have seldom been excelled. On Wednesday he spoke of the domestic condition of the country; of the late scarcity, and of its connection with the war. On Thursday evening, when he naturally expected the business was drawing to a close, he confined himself to the subject of the election, and most earnestly recommended to his hearers an entire oblivion of all dissensions and animosities as soon as ever the heat of the contest had subsided. He spoke of his opponents with the utmost respect, particularly of Mr. Brougham, for whose talents and character he professed a high admiration and regard. 'That gentleman,' said Mr. Canning, 'as well as myself, has come hither on the invitation of a large and respectable portion of the inhabitants: it has been my lot to succeed and his to fail in the present contest; but I anxiously hope that, as no bitterness or ill-will exists among the candidates in consequence of the different termination of our hopes, the respectable inhabitants of this town, who have espoused our respective claims, will feel and act in the same spirit.'

"At eleven o'clock on Friday (the seventh day) Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevey, finding that the majority in favour of their opponents had

increased to such a degree as to leave no doubt respecting the issue of the contest, declared their intention of withdrawing from the hustings, in order that the tranquillity of the town might, as soon as possible, be restored. Previously to his withdrawing, Mr. Brougham addressed the mayor, the returning-officers, and the gentlemen assembled on the hustings, in a speech which produced such an impression on his auditors that he left the court with the universal feeling most strongly excited in his favour. He took leave of his brother candidates with the strongest expressions of kindness and good-will; disclaiming every sentiment of personal opposition or animosity; and expressing his heartfelt gratitude for the cordial reception he had received, and the order and perseverance with which he had been supported. Mr. Canning seemed greatly affected by this address, and extended his hand to his opponent with the warmest cordiality. General Gascoyne did the same; and, after a short address from Mr. Creevey, the two unsuccessful candidates left the hustings, in a manner which reflected credit on the conduct of all parties."

Thus ended this remarkable contest, the most interesting of the many contested elections that have taken place in Liverpool.

A public meeting was held at the Town-hall, Liverpool, on the 8th of January, 1813, at which it was determined to open a public subscription for the relief of the Russian people, residing in the districts which had been laid waste in the campaign of 1812.*

Owing to the pressure of the war, the plan of dock extension, authorized by the act of 1810, made little progress for some years; but in March, 1813, parliament made a grant of £60,000 "for the repair, improvement, and increase of the docks of Liverpool." "By the help of this grant," says the *Liverpool Mercury* of March 19, 1813, "we may hope that the magnificent and desirable plan of improvement, exhibited in 1810, may be carried into execution. By this plan the Old Dock is to be filled up, the Queen's Dock considerably enlarged, a new dock to be built to the south of the Queen's Dock, to be called the Brunswick Dock, and a new one to the north of the George's Dock, to be called the Prince's Dock."

The year 1813 closed with great rejoicings, on the overthrow of Napoleon and his armies in the battle of Leipsic, and the triumphs of Wellington in Spain. Peace was at length approaching, heralded by victory, after the longest and most desperate contest in which England had ever been engaged. Tuesday, the 14th of December, was the day set

* *Liverpool Mercury*, January 22, 1813.

apart in Liverpool for the commencement of rejoicings, which continued for four days. The festivities commenced before daybreak, with the ringing of bells. At daylight all the public and many of the private buildings were decorated with flags. At noon the military assembled in Castle-street, where they fired three *feux-de-joie*. At one o'clock the frigate *Princess*, in the river, fired a royal salute. At five o'clock in the evening there was a brilliant display of fireworks, from Everton-hill. "At seven o'clock the *Princess* frigate fired the signal-guns for the general illumination, and now the attention was directed to the general blaze, which spread, as it were, by magic: the glare of light was so great as to be distinctly seen from the walls of Chester; the effect from the surrounding eminences was grand beyond description, and was greatly heightened by the darkness of the night; the evening proved particularly favourable to those who illuminated with lamps, there being scarcely a breath of air." On the following evening there was a splendid ball, in the great assembly-room at the Town-hall, which was attended by 985 ladies and gentlemen. On Friday upwards of 400 gentlemen dined together in honour of the occasion; and the rejoicings concluded on Saturday evening, with a great display of fireworks, from the high ground behind the old Botanic Gardens. Early in the spring of 1814 the peace so long anticipated and so earnestly desired at length arrived, and was thus announced in Liverpool:—"Downfall of the tyrant! Peace! heavenly peace! the desire of all nations, dawns on the world!! The Almighty's name be praised!"

The monument erected in honour of Admiral Lord Nelson, on the Exchange of Liverpool, was thrown open to public view on the 21st of October, 1813. The design was supplied by M. C. Wyatt, and the monument, which is of bronze, was executed by R. Westmacott, R.A. The cost was £9,000.*

The Liverpool Royal Institution, formed "to promote the increase and diffusion of literature, science, and arts," was established in the year 1814. At a meeting held at the Liverpool Arms, Castle-street, on Thursday, the 31st of March, B. A. Heywood, Esq., in the chair, it was resolved to raise the sum of £20,000 for that purpose, in shares of £100 and £50 each. The plan of the institution embraced a handsome and commodious building, (since erected in Colquitt-street,) a museum of natural history, a good collection of philosophical and chemical apparatus, lecture-rooms, and courses of lectures by men of science and literature. The plan was taken up readily by the public, and led to the founding of

* Liverpool Mercury, October 22, 1813.

an institution worthy of the rising influence and intelligence of Liverpool.*

On the 27th May, 1814, Liverpool first began to participate in the advantages of the trade with India, from which it had, up to that time, been excluded, as well as the other outports of the kingdom, by the previous charters of the East India Company. "On the 27th ult.," says the *Liverpool Courier* of the 8th of June, 1814, "the fine ship *Kingsmill*, Captain Cassells, sailed hence, to join convoy at Spithead, for Madeira and Bengal, fully loaded. She measures 516 tons, is sent out by Messrs. John Gladstone and Grant, and is the first ship that has sailed from Liverpool for India. This is a consequence of the opening of the trade; and we trust that she may be followed by many others. The situation of Liverpool certainly offers many advantages for both the export and import trade with that quarter of the world, which, we doubt not, the enterprise and intelligence of our merchants will follow up with advantage."

In the month of May the long-suspended commerce with France was renewed, by the importation of two cargoes of grain into Liverpool from Havre. All that was then wanted was the arrangement of the differences with the United States. The negotiations for this purpose were opened at Ghent in the June following; and, after a long delay, which cost many thousands of lives, were brought to a close at the end of the year. It was not, however, until the month of April, 1815, that the commercial intercourse of the two countries was resumed. The arrival of the first American ship in Liverpool was thus announced in the paper of the 3rd of April:—"Several hundred vessels left this port on Friday and the day before, which had been detained many weeks by adverse winds. The river afforded a most brilliant and interesting spectacle. A still more pleasing and interesting sight was witnessed on Thursday, about one o'clock, in the arrival of the ship *Milo*, the first belonging to the United States which has arrived since the restoration of peace. The day was remarkably bright, and she came up the river in very fine style, with the British flag flying at the mainmast-head, the American colours at the mizenmast, which were lowered on passing *H.M.S. Argo*, lying in the river, and a beautiful signal-flag at her foremast. This first effect of the restoration of amity between two countries, designed by nature, habits, and mutual interests to maintain, uninterruptedly the relations of peace, was hailed with delight by a great number of spectators, who covered the piers and the shore. The *Milo*

* *Liverpool Mercury*, April 1, 1814.

left Boston on the 12th ult., in company with the Liverpool packet, daily expected. The Milo arrived in ballast." The first British vessel arrived at New York on the 5th of May, and was thus announced in one of the papers of that city:—"The regular British packet, after an absence of nearly three years, at length re-appears in our harbour, in token of returning amity. We hail with sensations of gladness the joyful omen, and may no inauspicious event ever occur again to banish her from our waters!"

The following is the official return of the number of vessels and of the tonnage which entered and paid dock dues, in the port of Liverpool, from the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, to the close of the wars with France and the United States, in 1814:

Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1793	4,129	—	1804	4,291	448,761
1794	4,265	—	1805	4,618	463,482
1795	3,948	—	1806	4,676	507,825
1796	4,738	—	1807	5,791	662,309
1797	4,528	—	1808	5,225	516,836
1798	4,478	—	1809	6,023	594,601
1799	4,518	—	1810	6,729	734,391
1800	4,746	450,060	1811	5,616	611,190
1801	5,060	459,719	1812	4,599	446,788
1802	4,781	510,691	1813	5,341	547,426
1803	4,791	494,521	1814	5,706	548,957

The income of the dock estate, from the year 1812, when a new mode of levying rates on goods and tonnage was introduced, to the close of the war, was as follows:

		Total Amount of Dues.			
1812	{ Tonnage Dues....£20,260 3s. 4d.	£44,403 7s. 10d.			
	{ Duties on Goods...£24,143 4s. 6d.				
1813	{ Tonnage Dues....£24,134 18s. 8d.	£50,177 13s. 2d.			
	{ Duties on Goods...£26,042 14s. 6d.				
1814	{ Tonnage Dues....£28,630 11s. 3d.	£59,741 2s. 4d.			
	{ Duties on Goods...£31,110 11s. 1d.				

It thus appears that the revenue of the docks, raised under the act of 1810, did not reach the expected sum of £60,000 a-year until after the close of the war.

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTH.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE WAR IN 1815 TO THE YEAR 1825.

In the month of May, 1815, one month after the revival of commercial intercourse between England and the United States, steam navigation, which had already been applied with eminent success in America, and with a certain amount of success on the Clyde and the Thames, was introduced on the river Mersey. As it will be necessary to trace the rise and extension of steam navigation in Liverpool from its feeble origin, to its present magnificent development, it may be well to state, very briefly, what degree of progress it had made, and under what circumstances it had been applied, when the steam-boat was introduced on the river Mersey.

Many years before James Watt had brought the steam-engine to perfection, plans were proposed of propelling vessels by means of Newcoman's steam-engines, then in use; but these proposals, which were made as early as the year 1730, by Dr. John Allen,* and in 1736, by Mr. Jonathan Hulls, led to no practical results.† The improvements of the steam-engine by James Watt, which were perfected about the year 1780, were almost immediately followed by a multitude of projects for applying that stupendous power to the propelling of vessels. As early as the year 1783 an ingenious American, Mr. Fitch, attempted to introduce steam navigation on the Delaware river, but failed, although encouraged by the government of the state of Pennsylvania, which granted him an exclusive right of constructing vessels, propelled by steam, on the waters of that great state.‡ Another American, Mr. James Rumsay, who came over to England shortly after Mr. Fitch's experiments on the Delaware, attempted to construct a steam-boat on the Thames, but was equally unsuccessful.§ Mr. Livingston, (the Chancellor Livingston,) afterwards the friend and associate of Fulton, in his great and successful experiments, was not more successful in the attempts which he made, in the year 1798, to introduce steam navigation in the state of New York, under a patent,

* Specimina Ichnographica. 1730.

† A Dissertation and Draught of a new-invented Machine, for carrying vessels into or out of any harbour, against wind or tide, or in a calm. 1736.

‡ Colden's Life of Robert Fulton, 130.

§ Ibid, 133.

which gave him the exclusive right of navigating the waters of "the empire" state, for a term of twenty years, on condition that he should, within twelve months, build a boat, whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour.* On obtaining this patent, Mr. Livingston built a boat of thirty tons burthen, which was propelled by steam, but which never reached the speed prescribed by the terms of the patent.

Mr. Livingston, nevertheless, did not despair of attaining his object; and, seeing its immense value to his country and the world, he strongly urged his countryman, Fulton, whom he met with in France shortly afterwards, to turn his attention to it; and ultimately rendered him the most valuable assistance in carrying out his plans.

As early as the year 1774 the Comte d'Auxiron, a French nobleman, of scientific attainments, had constructed a steam-boat on the river Seine. M. Perier, also a Frenchman, and a man of science, built a second boat, with paddle-wheels, in 1775; and the Marquis de Jouffrey, a French nobleman, built a much larger boat on the Soane, at Lyons, in 1782. None of these were found to be of sufficient value in practice to be brought into use. In the year 1803, when Fulton was in France, M. des Blanes built a steam-boat on the Seine, which was propelled by means of an endless chain. He accused Fulton of pirating his invention; but the latter had no difficulty in showing the superiority of the plan of propelling steam-boats by means of paddle-wheels, which he was then trying.†

Amongst the earliest experimenters in steam navigation, Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, James Taylor, and William Symington, all fellow-countrymen of James Watt, hold a very high position. In the year 1788 Mr. Miller, of Dalswinton, built a small steam-boat which moved at the rate of five miles an hour, on the lake at Dalswinton; and in the following year he caused a steam-engine, of twelve-horse power, to be constructed at the Carron Iron Foundry, mounted it on a strong boat, and succeeded in drawing barges along the Forth and Clyde Canal at a rate of "nearly" seven miles an hour.‡ In the year 1801 William Symington, who had been associated with Miller, of Dalswinton, in his earlier experiments, constructed a steam-boat, under the patronage of Lord Dundas. It was propelled by means of a paddle-wheel in the stern, and is said to have drawn two heavily laden vessels, of 70 tons each, along the Forth and Clyde Canal, at the rate of nineteen miles in six hours. Many other experiments were also tried, and amongst them the one thus

* Colden's Life of Robert Fulton, 146.

+ Ibid, 159.

‡ Knight's Penny Cyclopædia. Article on Steam Navigation.

described in the "Monthly Magazine" of July, 1797:—"Lately, at Newton-common, in Lancashire, a vessel, heavy laden with copper flag, passed along the Sankey Canal, without the aid of haulers or rowers, the oars performing eighteen strokes a minute, by the application of *steam only!* After a course of ten miles the vessel returned the same evening, by the same means, to St. Helens, whence she had set out. This ingenious discovery, by the original form and motion of the oars, may be ranked amongst the most useful of modern inventions, and, in particular, promises the highest benefits to inland navigation."

One reason why the experiments of Miller of Dalswinton, of Symington, and the very successful experiment described in the above extract from the "Monthly Magazine," produced so little effect in this country was, that steam-power is not suited to the navigation of canals, or of rivers encumbered with locks and weirs. Even now, when its value is so fully appreciated on wide open rivers and on the ocean, it is scarcely used on the canals of this country, or on our small rivers, above tide water. As relates to canals, it is objectionable on account of the injury which the violent action of the paddles does to the embankments; on account of the general shallowness of the water; and on account of the immense number and lowness of the bridges, which occur every mile or two, and interrupt the action of steamers so often as to render them useless. Nor is it of much greater use on rivers like the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and Mersey, above tide water; for, from the smallness of the volume of water which descends those streams, it has been necessary to dam them up for the purposes of navigation, and to keep open the communication by narrow locks, unsuited for the passage of steam-boats. For these reasons the use of steam-boats in England and Scotland has been chiefly applied to the estuaries of rivers and to the open sea. In the former the slow and cumbrous steam-boats originally built, which did not make more than four or five miles an hour, were inferior, as a moving power, to the ebbing and flowing of the tides; and it was only by slow degrees that steamers were constructed capable of standing the violence of the open sea. Liverpool, having a worse river communication with the interior than any other English port, did nothing of consequence by means of steam, until steam began to be applied to the navigation of seas and the ocean; whilst New York, possessing in the river Hudson, a splendid means of communication with the interior of the great state of New York, took as distinguished a part in originating steam navigation on rivers, as it has since done in extending it on the ocean.

The first laurel, in connection with steam navigation, certainly belongs to Robert Fulton, who formed the most useful and beautiful art of steam navigation, partly on his own discoveries, partly on the abortive or unprofitable experiments of others.

Fulton was a native of the state of Pennsylvania, and was born in the township of Little Britain, and county of Lancaster, in that great state, in the year 1766.* All that his parents were able to give him was the rudiments of a common English education: his own inventive genius and unwearied perseverance did the rest. He came to Europe soon after he had reached manhood, and spent several years, either in this country or France, labouring amidst every discouragement to carry out a variety of ingenious projects of his own invention. One of these was a plan of a double-inclined plane, by which he hoped to be able to draw vessels along navigable canals.† In May, 1794, he obtained a patent for this invention from the English government; but, though well acquainted with the great Duke of Bridgewater, never succeeded in applying it in practice. He also, about the same time, invented a machine for spinning flax, and another for making ropes, for both of which he likewise obtained patents. Another invention, on which he expended many years' labour, was a warlike weapon, called the torpedo; by which he hoped, first to change the nature of marine warfare, and ultimately to render naval war impossible. This torpedo was a sort of bombshell, which he proposed to bring under the sterns of ships of war, by means of a submarine boat, and so to blow them into the air.‡ In the year 1801 he tried his invention at Brest harbour, in the presence of Admiral Villaret, when he succeeded in blowing a small shallop to pieces; and, in the year 1805, he blew up a strong-built Danish vessel, of 200 tons, in Walmer Roads, Deal, near Walmer Castle, then the residence of Mr. Pitt.§ In a letter to Lord Castlereagh, of the 16th October, 1805, he says, "Yesterday, about four o'clock, I made the intended experiment on the brig, with a carcass of 170 of powder; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that it succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. Exactly in fifteen minutes from the time of drawing the peg and throwing the carcass into the water, the explosion took place. It lifted the brig almost bodily, and broke her completely in two. The ends sunk immediately, and, in one minute, nothing was to be seen of her but floating fragments. Her main-mast and pumps were thrown into the sea; her foremast was broken in three pieces; her beams and knees were thrown from her decks and sides; and her deck planks were rent to fibres. In fact, her annihilation was

* Colden's Life of Robert Fulton, 6.

† Ibid, 11.

‡ Ibid, 36.

§ Ibid, 59.

complete ; and the effect was most extraordinary. The power, as I had calculated, passed in a right line through her body, that being the line of least resistance, and carried all before it. At the time of her going up, she did not appear to make more resistance than a bag of feathers, and went to pieces like a shattered egg-shell." Notwithstanding this promising success, the experiment failed, when tried against the French gun-boats in Boulogne harbour ; and was never applied with success in actual warfare. The fame of Fulton, as a successful discoverer, rests on the great invention of steam navigation. He commenced his experiments in steam navigation as early as the year 1793, but laid them aside, for objects less worthy of his attention, until about the year 1803 ; when Mr. Livingston, the American ambassador at Paris, and afterwards his most liberal patron and firmest friend, strongly urged him to renew them. Fulton returned to America in the year 1806, and there expended some time and money in the attempt to perfect his scheme of torpedo warfare ; but his success was not greater than it had been in Europe. At length, urged by Mr. Livingston, he set himself seriously to the work of bringing his plans of steam-boat propulsion into use. The following is the substance of a statement communicated to the American Philosophical Reporter in 1811, entitled "An historical account of the application of steam, for the propelling of boats, furnished by Mr. Livingston."* "Robert R. Livingston, Esq., when minister in France, met with Fulton, and they formed that friendship and connection with each other to which a similarity of pursuits generally gives birth. He communicated to Fulton his views of the importance of steam-boats to their common country ; informed him of what had been attempted in America ; of his resolution to resume the pursuit on his return ; and advised him to turn his attention to the subject. It was agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and immediately to make such experiments as would enable them to determine how far, in spite of former failures, the object was attainable. The principal direction of these experiments was left to Mr. Fulton, who united, to a very considerable degree, a practical to a theoretical knowledge of mechanics. After trying a variety of experiments on a small scale, on models of his own invention, it was understood that he had developed the true principle on which steam-boats should be built, and for want of a knowledge of which all previous experiments had failed. But as they both knew that many things which are apparently perfect when tried on a small scale, fail when reduced to practice on a large one, they determined to go to the expense of building an operating boat

* Colden's Life of Robert Fulton, 148.

upon the Seine. This was done in the year 1803, at their joint expense, under the direction of Fulton, and so fully evinced the justice of his principles, that it was immediately determined to enrich their country by their valuable discoveries, as soon as they should meet there, and, in the meantime, to order an engine to be made in England. This engine was accordingly made for them by Bolton and Watt; and, on their arrival in the United States, in the year 1806, they immediately engaged in building a boat, of what was then considered very considerable dimensions. This boat began to navigate the Hudson river, between New York and Albany, in the year 1807: its progress through the water was at the rate of five miles an hour. In the course of the ensuing winter it was enlarged to a boat of 140 feet keel and $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet beam. The legislature of the state were so fully convinced of the great utility of the invention, and of the interest the state had in its encouragement, that they made a new contract with Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton, by which they extended the term of the exclusive right to three years, for every additional boat they should build, provided the whole term should not exceed thirty years." Under this privilege they continued to increase the number of their boats on the Hudson. They built the North River or Claremont, in 1806; the Rariton and Car of Neptune, in 1807; the Paragon, in 1811; the Firefly and Jersey Ferry-boat, in 1812; The Richmond, Washington, York Ferry-boat, Nassau Ferry-boat, and Fulton, in 1813. In 1814, the last year of the war with England, they built for the American government an immense steam-frigate of 2,475 tons, called the Fulton the First. After the death of Fulton, which happened in the year 1815, his patrons built the Olive Branch, the Emperor of Russia, and the Chancellor Livingston, steamers, in 1816.* Fulton thus lived long enough for fame; but not for fortune. He died before his great discovery had returned him any profit; and at a time when he was involved in a troublesome litigation in defence of his rights. It was derided before he perfected his discovery, and plundered afterwards.

Steam navigation was first introduced on the great river of the West in the year 1811. The following announcement of the building of the first steam-boat, for the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi, appeared in the Liverpool Mercury, of December the 20th, 1811:—"AMERICAN STEAM-BOAT. The steam-boat built at Pittsburgh, by Rosevelt and Co., for the navigation of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, to carry goods and passengers between New Orleans and the different towns on these rivers, was loading at Pittsburgh, the beginning of this month, and would

* Colden's Life of Robert Fulton. List of steamers at beginning of Appendix.

sail about the 10th instant, for New Orleans. We are told she is a well-constructed vessel, about 140 feet long, will carry 400 tons of goods, has elegant accommodations for passengers, and is every way fitted in great style. It is supposed she will go fifty miles a-day against the stream, and thereby make a passage from New Orleans to Pittsburgh in six weeks; but, as she must go considerably faster with the current, she will make the passage down in two or three weeks." There was a single steam-boat on the St. Lawrence in 1814, the last year of the war between England and the United States.

Steam navigation was introduced in Great Britain, on the river Clyde, by Henry Bell, in the year 1812. "A beautiful and commodious boat," says the *Liverpool Mercury*, of the 21st August, 1812, "has just been finished, constructed to go by wind power and steam, for carrying passengers on the Clyde, between Glasgow, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and Gourock. On Thursday, the 15th instant, it arrived at the Bromielaw, in three hours and a half, from Port Glasgow."

The following additional notice of American steam navigation, and of Henry Bell's steam-boat on the Clyde, appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* on the 11th June, 1813:—"STEAM-BOAT. It is long since vessels, impelled by steam, have been applied to all sorts of useful purposes upon the great rivers in America; but it is only within these few months that the same power was applied with success to that purpose in this country. Very lately Mr. Henry Bell, for the Helensburgh-baths, on the Clyde, constructed a boat, having a small steam-engine adapted to it, and so effectually succeeded in carrying passengers to Greenock and Helensburgh, to their perfect satisfaction, that no less than four coaches plying between Glasgow and Greenock have been recently discontinued. The distance from Glasgow to Greenock by water is twenty-six miles, which is performed in ordinary cases in four hours, sometimes under three-and-a-half, whatever the state of the wind or tide may be."

The following is a description of Henry Bell's steam-boat Clyde:—Her extreme length was seventy-five feet; her breadth fourteen feet; the length of the cabins six feet six inches; she was built very flat, and drew two feet nine inches or three feet of water. The best or after cabin was twenty feet long, and was entered from the stern. Between the after cabin and the engine there was a space of fifteen feet for goods. The engine was of twelve-horse power, and occupied fifteen feet of the vessel's length. The paddles were sixteen in number, and formed the wheels of nine feet diameter, and four feet broad, made of hammered iron, with a

dip into the water of one foot three inches, to one foot six inches. The Clyde ran at the rate of four to four-and-a-half miles an hour in calm weather, but against a breeze at the rate of three miles. In October, 1813, there were three vessels of this kind plying on the river Clyde between Glasgow and Greenock, and they were so much used that they had driven four of the eight coaches, which ran before, off the road. The fare was five shillings in the after cabin, and in the fore cabin half-a-crown.*

In the year 1813 steam navigation was introduced on the river Yare, between Norwich and Yarmouth. The steamer used on that river was built at Leeds, by Messrs. Fenton, Murray, and Wood, and was launched in the month of July. In the same month two other steamers were launched, one at Manchester and the other at Bristol.†

In the month of October, 1814, the first steam-boat was introduced on the Humber. "The steam-boat lately arrived here," says a Hull paper, "has, during the week, been exhibiting her capabilities on the Humber; and it appears that, with both wind and tide against her, her speed is very considerable. On Wednesday she went off to Gainsborough, and the weather being favourable, reached Burton in the space of an hour and a half, travelling at the rate of fourteen miles an hour."‡ No such speed as this had ever been attained before in England; though Mr. Stephens, of New Jersey, America, is said to have succeeded in propelling his steamers at the rate of thirteen miles an hour, about the same time.

In December, 1814, the first steam-boat was introduced on the river Thames. This vessel was put in motion on the 15th December, on the canal at Limehouse. The lord mayor and other principal persons of the corporation were on board. "The vessel," says the Statesman, of December 16, "is about 40 tons burthen, and will convey between two and three hundred passengers! It proceeded a mile and returned, performing the distance in sixteen minutes. Another is building in the river, of 200 tons, to be employed as a packet between London and Ramsgate." Another steamer began to run on the Thames, in February, 1815. "A new steam-boat," says a paper of that date, "is launched to run between London and Gravesend. It performed its first voyage last week, against wind and tide, in two hours and a quarter. The vessel is very commodiously fitted up, and capable of holding three hundred persons. It consumes, during the voyage, half-a-chaldron of coals. The expense of each passenger is fixed at 2s. 6d."§

* Monthly Magazine.

† Leeds Mercury, quoted in Liverpool Mercury, July 2, 1813.

Hull Rockingham, October 15, 1814.

§ Liverpool Mercury, Feb. 17, 1815.

In March, 1815, the Dumbarton Castle, the largest steamer built up to that time on the Clyde, was launched from Mr. M'Lachlan's building-yard, at Dumbarton. She was eighty-four feet in length, and propelled by an engine of thirty-horse power. She was launched under the fire of a salute from the forts, in honour of the occasion.*

In May, 1815, it was first announced that a steamer was about to be introduced on the river Mersey; and in the month of June the first steamer arrived from the Clyde. "On Wednesday last," says the *Liverpool Mercury*, of the 30th June, "about noon, the public curiosity was considerably excited, by the arrival of the first steam-boat ever seen on our river. She came from the Clyde, and in the passage called at Ramsey, in the Isle of Man, which place she left early the same morning. We believe that she is intended to ply between this port and Runcorn; or even occasionally as far as Warrington. Her cabin will contain about one hundred passengers."

In August and September, 1815, Mr. Egerton Smith wrote a series of letters in his own paper, the *Liverpool Mercury*, strongly urging the merchants and shipowners of Liverpool to introduce steam-boats, for the purpose of towing vessels out to sea; a practice which has now become almost universal in this and other ports. In the first of these letters he stated that vessels could not leave this port or proceed to sea with a north-west wind, which is very prevalent upon this coast; neither could they get out by the mere action of the tide, when it was absolutely calm. Owing to this, they frequently lost a tide; and, from losing it, were delayed by contrary winds for many weeks. All that was necessary to guard against this evil was to establish steam-boats, of sufficient power to tow vessels out, to the north-west buoy. He stated that a steam-boat of fourteen-horse power had recently been employed at Portsmouth, to tow out the *Endymion* frigate; and recommended that a much larger one, of one hundred-horse power, should be employed in the Mersey for that purpose, or, if it was thought more convenient, several smaller ones.† In a second letter he mentioned, as a case in point, that the *Weston Point* packet, being unable to move in a calm, was towed by the Runcorn steam-boat for about ten miles, although the engine of the boat did not exceed the power of eight horses. He also gave the name of a Liverpool vessel, the *Harriet*, Captain May, belonging to Messrs. Barton and Co., which had made a voyage to Barbados and back, from having got out of the river before a sudden change of wind, whilst all the other West India vessels were detained in port. This was in time of war, when vessels sailed

* *Liverpool Mercury*, March 3, 1815.

† *Liverpool Mercury*, July 21, 1815.

under convoy from a given point, on a given day. In the third letter he mentioned the particulars of the towing of the American ship Sybil, by the steamer Etna, one of the vessels of the Mississippi steam-boat company, from English Bend up to New Orleans, against wind and tide. And, in the fourth and last letter, Mr. Smith gave the following summary of the evidence of Mr. Dodd, the engineer, given before a committee of the House of Commons, showing that steam-boats were applicable to sea as well as to river navigation. Mr. Dodd, in his evidence, said "He had just arrived in London, after performing a voyage from Glasgow in a steam-boat. During the voyage he experienced some extremely heavy gales of wind and high seas, and found her more sea-worthy than any vessel he had ever been in, being fully capable of going a-head in violent gales and over high seas. He ran into Dublin against wind and tide, and beat the mail into Wexford about three hours. In Milford Haven he ran round the Waterford packet two or three times whilst she was on her course, and he writing a letter to Dublin. This voyage demonstrated that steam-engines were applicable to propel vessels in all kinds of weather; that they had the peculiar advantage of going against winds and tides; and in a calm, when another vessel could not proceed at all, would go at the rate of from seven to nine knots an hour; that they were more secure than vessels with sails, as they could not be lost on a lee shore. Whilst the vessel was off Port Patrick it blew a complete gale of wind, and Mr. Dodd found her to go upwards of three knots and a half over the sea, and directly against the wind. During a voyage of one thousand five hundred miles she passed every sail she came up with on the ocean. The burthen of this vessel, which was called the Thames, was upwards of 72 tons; she drew from four to four-and-a-half feet water, with passengers on board; the engine was of fourteen-horse power; and, upon an average, required a ton of coals to work a hundred miles."*

I shall continue to trace the further applications of steam according to the order of time.

In the spring of 1815 a company was formed for the purpose of erecting an hotel and sea-bathing cottages on the fine hard sands of Crosby sea-bank.† Upwards of £4,000 was subscribed for that purpose, and by midsummer some of the buildings were finished. It was just at that time that the battle of Waterloo was fought, and the

* Liverpool Mercury, September 1, 1815.

† Ibid, March 6, 1815.

name of Waterloo was in consequence given to that pleasant bathing place.

Charles Mathews, the first and greatest of the name, visited Liverpool soon after the conclusion of the war. He had performed in Liverpool twice before. His first appearance was in 1803, when he was well received, but found the whole people full of military fervour, a French invasion being expected daily. He had reason to remember Liverpool volunteering, having been thrown from his horse, trampled on, and nearly killed, at a review on the North Shore. He came again in 1811, and was again well received, though the town was all in the dismals. "Now," says he, in one of his letters to his wife, "though Liverpool is ruined, and nothing but long faces are now to be seen, I have an immense box-plan already; and I expect a good house: a great house, I fear, and am told by my friends, is out of the question. The Americans were an amazing support of the theatre, and they have ^{*}vanished." In January, 1815, he again showed his mirth-inspiring face in Liverpool, and though the Americans had not got back, yet peace had just been concluded with America, and all the world was gay. "This town," says he, writing to Mrs. Mathews, "has turned out most famously: I did not think of performing here more than two nights, and, but for the entreaties of Mulock and Ryley, I should have been last night at some thirty-pound town, merely because it would have been in my road to Wolverhampton, where I am engaged on Friday, the 20th. I had no idea of my performance succeeding anywhere more than two or three nights at the most. Mulock said that I should be mad to go, and that he was sure it would answer six nights; advising me to sacrifice all other places to it, on a speculation. I think I told you that on the first night there was £64. I returned last Monday, and there was £52 in the room. Good! you will say, for a second night. Well, last night, for the third time, there was £15, and one hundred tacked to it! above seven hundred people crammed, wedged into the room! £115. 12s. 6d.! what think you of that? Never was such a thing known to a budgeter. So I at it again to-morrow and Monday." He adds, in another letter, "Last night I finished with *éclat*. God bless the good people of Liverpool! £72 again: last though not least. The circus too full every night. Horses against me, and some very bad weather on two nights."†

On the 31st July a public meeting was held to institute a subscription for the relief of the widows and children of the brave men who had

* Memoirs of Charles Mathews, by Mrs. Mathews, ii, 124.

† Ibid, ii, 344.

fallen at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. The sum raised in Liverpool for that purpose was about £9,000.*

On the evening of the 25th September, in this year, whilst Edmund Kean was acting in the play of Richard II., at the Liverpool theatre, a sudden panic was caused by a false alarm of fire. A large part of the audience rushed from the house, and, in their frantic eagerness to escape, trampled to death a young woman of the name of Edge, who had been thrown down in the rush.†

In September, 1815, the *Kingsmill*, Capt. Cassels, belonging to Messrs. Gladstone and Grant, returned to Liverpool, after an absence of fifteen months. She was the first Liverpool ship that ever made the East India voyage, and her voyage was one of the most prosperous ever made. Her cargo from India consisted of cotton, sugar, indigo, piece-goods, and spices."‡

From a survey of the houses of Liverpool, made in December, 1815, it appeared that there were at that time 761 empty houses in the town. At the time of a previous survey, made in 1813, there had been no less than 1,422 houses empty.§

In January, 1816, preparations were made for introducing gas, "which had been used with such brilliant effect in some parts of London," into the town of Liverpool. The experiment was first tried in front of the Town-hall, where multitudes crowded to see the new and beautiful light, and went away delighted with the success of the experiment.¶ An eye-witness thus describes the scene:

"Liverpool Gas-lights.—Two large gas-lamps, with three burners in each, have been lighted up with gas, and exhibited for the last few nights, in front of the Town-hall. The light is so brilliant that a person may with ease discover the hour with his watch at the distance of twenty or thirty yards. We understand that it is intended to light the dock lamps by this method; and we trust it soon will become general."¶ Shortly after this it was announced that a Liverpool Gas-light Company had been formed, and had so far arranged its plans that it would be able to give the whole town the benefit of that brilliant light in a short time. "To show the superiority they possess over the convex lamps, it is only necessary to observe the gas-lamp at the coachmaker's, in Dale-street, lately put forth, which gives nearly as much light as all the other lamps in the street."***

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, September 25, 1815.

+ Ibid, October 2, 1815.

‡ Liverpool Mercury, September 8, 1815.

§ Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, December 4, 1815.

¶ Ibid, January 8, 1816.

¶ Liverpool Mercury, January 26, 1816.

** Ibid, March 22, 1816.

In March, 1816, the whole rental of the town of Liverpool, including buildings of every description, except churches and chapels, was said to be £580,000.*

The first stone of the new North or Prince Regent's Dock, now commonly known as the Prince's Dock, was laid in the month of May, 1816, by the present Sir George Drinkwater, then George Drinkwater, Esq. After the usual ceremony of christening, Sir George made a short and appropriate address, which was followed by loud acclamations from the spectators assembled to witness the ceremony.†

The number of the civic knights of Liverpool received an increase on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Charlotte of Wales, to Prince Leopold, the present king of the Belgians. Sir William Barton, mayor of Liverpool, was one of the numerous knights created in honour of that event, on which so many fond hopes were founded, soon to be withered by the touch of death.‡

A second line of steam-boats was established in the river Mersey, in June, 1816, which was intended to open a cheap and speedy communication with Chester, by way of Ellesmere Port and the Chester and Ellesmere Canal. The following is an account of the first trial of the new steamer built for this line:—"Grand Steam-packet: The Ellesmere and Chester Canal Company have established an elegant packet, worked by steam, to ply between Ellesmere Port (the termination of the canal) and Liverpool. Tuesday last she performed the first experimental voyage, in the presence of an immense number of passengers and spectators. About half-past ten she set out from Liverpool townside, in a direction opposite to her intended course, to prove her power against the run of a spring tide and adverse wind. Under these very unfavourable circumstances she proceeded nearly a mile with astonishing steadiness and celerity, to the entire satisfaction of every person present. She then commenced her voyage, and performed it, without the assistance of a sail, in one hour and five minutes; the engine making twenty-five strokes per minute, its general rate being thirty. It is impossible for us to give an adequate idea of the majestic movement of this novel machine, of the elegance of its structure, of the convenience it possesses for passengers; its principal cabin is spacious, elegantly furnished for a large party; there is a handsome private apartment for ladies, in taste and accommodation superior to anything we ever saw on the river. We had not

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, March 4, 1816.

+ Ibid, May 27, 1816.

‡ Ibid, June 3, 1816.

the means of measuring the principal parts of the vessel, but were informed she is 90 feet long, 31 feet across from side to side, and is impelled by a power equivalent to thirty-two horses, or 180 men. As much mechanical ingenuity is displayed in the construction, and great taste in the decorations, she cannot fail of attracting the attention of the curious ; and by her superior accommodation, expedition, and safety, of obtaining universal approbation and encouragement.”*

One of the earliest applications of steam navigation to sea voyages was in the autumn of 1816, when steamers began to ply regularly between Holyhead and Dublin. The commencement of this undertaking was rather unfortunate, the first steamer being compelled to put back when half-way across the channel. The next and the succeeding experiments were more successful. “ On Monday se’nnight,” says a Liverpool paper of November 4, 1816, “ a party went off from Howth, merely for the sake of having a trip of pleasure ; they sailed from that harbour at twelve at noon, and were landed at seven, to tea, at Holyhead ; they embarked next day, and reached Howth in eight hours, thus making the two passages, going and coming, in fifteen hours, finding all accommodation quite complete, and the voyage very pleasant. These vessels are lugger-rigged, and capable of making good voyages without the machinery, which can be hoisted out of the water at pleasure. They are 77 feet in the keel, carry 112 tons, and draw nine feet water abaft. Three weeks since, a gentleman, from whom we obtained the information, left Holyhead, in one of the steam-boats, which worked out of the harbour, in company with a sailing-packet, having an express on board for the Irish government. On landing at Howth a messenger was despatched to the castle at Dublin, to apprise government that an express, outsailed by the steam-boat, was on its way ; which express they received in eight hours after. By one of these boats the victory of Lord Exmouth, at Algiers, was known in Dublin several hours sooner than it otherwise would have been. Last week the *Hibernia*, which is the name of one of them, took over sixteen cabin passengers. There are separate sleeping apartments for ladies and gentlemen ; the former attended by a respectable female servant, or stewardess ; and every refreshment is to be had on board, which saves a great deal of expense, trouble, and imposition, in laying in sea stocks. We give this information, which we have received from unquestionable authority, with great pleasure, as our first notice of the packet was necessarily unfavourable.”†

* Chester Chronicle, quoted in Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, of June 3, 1816.

† Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, November 4, 1816.

The sailing vessels between Liverpool and the United States, particularly those of American build, were already famous for their quick passages. Amongst the best passages performed in 1816, were those of the *Nestor*, Captain Stirling, from New York to Liverpool, and back to America, in fifty-three days; and of the *Courier*, Captain Price, from Boston to Liverpool, and back again, in fifty days.*

The foundation-stone of the handsome church of St. Michael, Pitt-street, was laid in June, 1816, by Sir William Barton, knight, mayor of Liverpool. The following was the inscription on the foundation-stone:—“This plate is affixed to the first stone of a church to be erected under the name of St. Michael, at the expense of the parish of Liverpool, and was laid on the 26th day of June, in the 56th year of the reign of King George the Third, in the year of our Lord 1816: By Sir William Barton, knight, mayor; Jonathan Blundell Hollinshead and Richd. Bullen, bailiffs; Samuel Renshaw and Robert Hawkmoor Roughsedge, rectors. George Syers and John Merritt, wardens. John Foster, architect.” The design of the new church of St. Michael, says a notice of that date, “is of Grecian architecture, something similar to the admired church called St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, in London. It will have a lofty and ornamental spire steeple, and, taken together, will probably be esteemed the first sacred structure in Liverpool. The estimated expense is £33,000, and it is expected to be completed in about five years.”†

In the course of the summer of 1816 a steamer, named the *Princess Charlotte*, began to ply between Liverpool and the pleasant ferry-house at Eastham, in connection with which coaches ran to Chester and Shrewsbury.‡

In September, 1816, the new church of St. Philip, in Hardman-street, was opened for Divine worship. The walls of the church are of brick, but all the mouldings, mullions of windows, pinnacles, and such ornaments as, when of stone, are apt to be injured by the climate, are formed of cast-iron; the whole painted and sanded so as to give an uniform appearance of stone.§

The first actual use of steam in the port of Liverpool for the purpose of towing vessels out to sea is thus recorded in a paper of this date:—“One of the most important advantages of the steam-boat, which has been long successfully practised in America, was adopted for the first time

* *Boston Palladium*, 20th November, 1816.

† *Billinge’s Liverpool Advertiser*, July 1, 1816.

‡ *Ibid.* September 2, 1816.

§ *Ibid.* September 16, 1816.

in Liverpool last week, when the *Harlequin*, a vessel belonging to Messrs. M'Donel and Co., was towed out of the harbour, by the help of one of the steam ferry-boats."*

At this time the footwalks of Liverpool were not flagged, but paved with little sharp stones, which reminded pedestrians of the agonies described in the *Pilgrim* and the peas. In 1816, however, the commissioners of highways took heart of grace, and flagged the north side of the foot pavement in Church-street. Starting from that point, they, in a few years, rendered the streets not only passable but pleasant for pedestrians.†

The old Custom-house of Liverpool, built by Alderman Silvester Morecroft, in the reign of Queen Anne, was completely repaired in the year 1816, and several additional buildings were joined to it. At the same time it was arranged that the hours of attendance for the clerks should be from 10, a.m., to 4, p.m.‡

A steam-boat, named the *Waterloo*, began to run between Glasgow and Belfast in the summer of 1816.§

The *Bengal*, East Indiaman, arrived in Liverpool in May, 1816, being the second Liverpool vessel from India. She belonged to Messrs. Cropper, Benson, and Co.||

Mr. Cogan's floating-bath, so well known to the Liverpool public twenty years since, was launched on the 10th of June, 1816, in the presence of a great crowd of spectators.¶

On Monday, the 28th October, the Queen's Dock, which had been enlarged according to the plan of 1810, was opened for the admission of vessels. "This fine dock," says a paper of that date, "is now increased nearly one-third in its dimensions, and is at present almost twice the size of any of the other Liverpool docks. The quay is also greatly enlarged, and improved at the north end."**

The scheme of shortening the distance between the port of Liverpool and all places lying to the southwest of Liverpool, by forming a bridge across the tide-way of the river Mersey at Runcorn Gap, which had been much discussed in Brindley's time, was again brought under discussion at the close of the year 1816, when a numerous company was formed, for the purpose of carrying out that object. Early in November, a meeting of upwards of two hundred of the projectors of the intended bridge, from Liverpool and the counties of Chester and Stafford, was held at the house

* Billinge's *Liverpool Advertiser*, October 21, 1816.

+ *Ibid*, October 28, 1816.

† *Liverpool Mercury*, March 29, 1816.

§ *Ibid*, April 5, 1816.

|| *Ibid*, May 31, 1816.

¶ *Ibid*, June 14, 1816.

** Billinge's *Liverpool Advertiser*, November, 1816.

of Mr. Davies, the Royal Hotel, Runcorn, to receive plans and estimates for carrying the proposed undertaking into effect. After Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool, had been called to the chair, Mr. Finchett, the solicitor of the company, gave a history of the different projects which had been formed, from time to time, for accomplishing that great undertaking. From the concurring of many intelligent men (he said) and the surveys and reports of the most eminent engineers, particularly Mr. Telford, who had examined all the circumstances of the situation, no doubt could be entertained of the possibility of constructing a bridge at Runcorn, which would give all the advantages of a communication, without the impediments of piers, or hindrance to the navigation of the river. Six different plans were presented. One was for a stone bridge of seven arches; one for an iron bridge of five; one for a framed timber bridge of five; one for a timber bridge of two arches; one for a chain bridge of 1,600 feet span, carrying a road way 110 feet above high water; and one for an iron bridge of nearly similar construction and dimensions, but consisting of iron bars faggotted together, instead of being fastened by chains. A committee was appointed to report on the comparative merits of these plans; but, as my readers are aware, nothing has been done even to the present time towards the constructing of such a bridge.*

The harvest of 1816 was one of the worst ever known, both as to quantity and quality, and great distress prevailed amongst the labouring classes in Liverpool and all other places during the following winter. "The number of paupers who now sit down to dinner every day at the Liverpool Workhouse," says a Liverpool paper, "although the winter is only just begun, exceeds the number of any former period since the erection of the building by more than fifty."† This was in spite of great efforts on the part of the merchants and the Dock Committee to find employment for the labouring poor, by pressing forward the constructing of the docks. "Independently of the subscriptions made by the merchants of this town for a loan to the trustees of the docks, to enable them to employ the poor, a few spirited individuals, tradesmen of the town, have placed at the disposal of those trustees a sum amounting to upwards of £10,000, for that laudable purpose. We rejoice also to announce that the whole of the bonds offered for sale by the dock trustees, on Friday last, were bought with great readiness, which is a gratifying proof that the excellence of that security is becoming known to the public, and we doubt not that some of the purchasers adopted that mode and opportunity of contributing to

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, November 11, 1816.

† Ibid, December 9, 1816.

the means of employing the labouring classes of the community.”* Notwithstanding these laudable exertions, there were no less than 20,000 persons maintained at the cost of the parish of Liverpool in the month of February following.

At a meeting of the parish vestry, held on the 3rd February, 1817, the churchwardens stated that the out-door poor receiving relief in Liverpool amounted to 3,600 families; or, assuming each family to consist of four persons, to 14,400 individuals: that 800 families, or 2,400 persons, received occasional relief; making 16,800 persons who received out-door relief to a greater or less extent. To these were to be added 1,667 persons in the workhouses, and 303 distressed seamen, maintained at the cost of the parish, amounting to 1,970 persons, and swelling the whole number dependent on parish relief to 20,000. The money paid to the out-door poor had increased, since the previous meeting, from £350 a-week to £650: that paid to the in-door poor from £230 to £340. In consequence of this lamentable increase of pauperism it was decided to lay an additional rate of 1s. 3d. in the pound.†

An account was made public, in 1817, of the cost of the Exchange-buildings of Liverpool; from which it appeared that it amounted to £110,848. This large sum was raised as follows:—£70,500 in 705 shares of £100 each; £9,575 by premiums on shares; £3,473 by interest on shares; and £27,300 by rent and profits, to the 26th January, 1817.‡

Coaching had been carried to wonderful perfection, on the Liverpool and Manchester road, by this time, at least as relates to speed. “The rate at which the coaches between Liverpool and Manchester are driven,” says a paper of that date, “ought to be the subject of magisterial investigation. Last week, we are assured that one of them arrived from Manchester at Lowhill, Liverpool, in two hours and a half, averaging about fourteen miles in the hour, or twice the speed of the mail.”§ This is the quickest journey on record; but the journey of thirty-six miles was often performed in three hours and a half. Accidents from furious driving were very common about this time, and juries occasionally gave exemplary damages against coach-proprietors; as, for instance, in the case of Mr. John Ritchie, of Liverpool, who obtained £750 damages, for injuries received by the overthrow of one of the Liverpool coaches at Prescott.||

In the month of March, 1817, it was announced that a steam-boat was

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, December 9, 1816.

† Ibid, February 3, 1817.

‡ Liverpool Mercury, March 28, 1817.

§ Ibid, April 25, 1817.

|| Ibid, May 23, 1817.

building in a yard near Queen's Dock, and was expected to be launched early in the month, intended to be employed for the purpose of carrying passengers, carriages, horses, &c., across the Mersey, "with a degree of security, comfort, and dispatch which it is impossible to obtain by any other mode of conveyance." This steamer, which bore the rather ominous name of the Etna, consisted of two vessels, sixty-three feet in length, connected by beams, propelled by a wheel placed in the centre, and with a deck twenty-eight feet wide over all. "It will be the peculiar advantage of this packet," said one of the papers of that day, "that in crossing the river in a calm, or any state of the wind or tide, the passage will always be very short, and the inconvenience to passengers, and the risk to carriages, horses, &c., which is inseparable from the use of sail-boats, will be almost entirely removed. The plan on which this packet is constructed has been introduced with great success in different parts of the continent of America, and we anticipate from its adoption great advantages to the town, as well as to those persons who reside on the opposite side of the river."* At the end of the month of March the proprietors of the Etna announced to the public that she would begin to ply between Liverpool and Tranmere, on Thursday, the 4th April. This was the first of the numerous lines of steam ferry-boats, by which Cheshire has been united with Liverpool, almost as effectually as it would have been by the building of half-a-dozen bridges across the river Mersey, and by which the whole range of the shore from New Ferry, to the mouth of the river, at New Brighton, has been covered with villas, suburban villages, and, at one point, with a considerable town. As the opening of the first of these great steam-bridges to Cheshire is an event of considerable interest in local annals, it may be well to give the official announcement of the plan, which was as follows:—"Etna, Tranmere Ferry Steam-packet.—The proprietors of the above concern respectfully inform the public that it is their intention to start, for the purpose of conveying passengers to and from Tranmere, on Thursday next, from the Parade Pier, precisely at eight o'clock in the morning, and will continue to run, without intermission, throughout each succeeding day, remaining at each side only ten minutes, in order to obviate the unpleasant necessity which has hitherto arisen of being detained on either side by particular state of wind or tide, &c. The proprietors likewise inform the public that a slip is in a state of great forwardness, and will be completed in a few days, for the purpose of landing and taking on board the said packet carriages, carts, horses,

* Liverpool Mercury, March 13, 1817.

and cattle of every description, of which due notice will be given.
Performed by Jon. Batman and Co.

“Liverpool, 31st March, 1817.”*

In May, 1817, the Liverpool public was offered the novelty of a trip to Chester Races by steam, with a choice of two routes, either by way of Ellesmere Port, in the Countess of Bridgewater, or of Eastham, in the Princess Charlotte.†

In July, 1817, the funds of the Dock Trust became unequal to pay the great number of men whom the trustees had employed during the previous winter and spring. A thousand men were discharged in a single week.‡

In the month of September the corporation of Liverpool made a handsome donation of £1,000 to the Royal Institution. About the same time Mr. Canning gave £100 to the same institution.§

Sea-going steamers began now to appear in increased numbers in the British seas. In October, 1817, a new steamer, the Prince of Cobourg, began to run between Hull and London.||

The Liverpool Royal Institution, planned in 1814, was completed and opened in November, 1817. Mr. Roscoe delivered an eloquent address on the occasion, in which, after giving a sketch of the progress of literature, he dwelt on the compatibility of the pursuits of commerce and active life with the cultivation of letters.¶

Up to the commencement of the year 1818 Liverpool was one of the worst lighted and worse paved towns in England. A Londoner, who visited the town in January, of that year, thus poured forth his remonstrances in one of the London papers, against agonizing footpaths and darkness visible:—“I wish to be informed, by some of your Lancashire readers, why that justly celebrated town of Liverpool is so shockingly ill-paved and lighted? It is certainly the worst paved town in the kingdom. I can assure you that, on a recent visit there, I could not help abusing the corporation,” (who were not the delinquents,) “for such a total disregard of their own credit, and the convenience of the public. In every other respect the town cannot fail to impress its visitor with a true notion of the public taste, spirit, and liberality of its inhabitants.**

In the month of February following Mr. Canning presented a petition from the town of Liverpool, praying that the town might in future be lighted with gas. A bill for that purpose was introduced shortly after-

* Liverpool Mercury, March 31, 1817. † Ibid, May 5, 1817. ‡ Ibid, July 14, 1817.

§ Ibid, September 8, 1817. || Ibid, October 6, 1817. ¶ Ibid, December 1, 1817.

** Sun, London paper, January 8, 1818.

wards, which had passed both Houses of Parliament on the 22d May of the same year.*

In March, 1818, a great push was made with the embankment, formed on the western side of Prince's Dock, for the purpose of shutting out the sea. By employing an extraordinary number of workmen it was completed on Monday, the 2d of March. The sea being thus shut out the workmen were enabled to proceed without interruption. The eastern wall of the dock was completed on the Saturday preceeding. It was built in five hundred days, by eight masons and four labourers, the first stone being laid in May, 1816.†

In the course of the month of March, 1818, great progress was made in laying the foundation of the sea-wall. "Many of our readers," says a paper of that date, "may not be aware that the base of that grand piece of masonry, the sea-wall of the Regent's or Prince's Dock, can seldom be laid at any other time than the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, when the ebbs of the tides are the lowest in the year. In March last the low water workings at the base of this stupendous wall were wholly prevented by the tempestuousness of the weather. However, the loss was, in a great measure, compensated in September, and the beginning of October, by the laying of six courses of balks, extending 105 yards in length. A similar operation, it is expected, will take place in this and the two following days, when the dock artists and engineers hope to be enabled, if the weather prove fair, to lay three or four more lengths of those balks. The time most suitable for viewing this most animated scene will be about six in the mornings and evenings."‡

A curious experiment was tried on the Mersey in the summer of 1818; a boat with wheels, turned by horses instead of a steam-engine. The following is the advertisement of this strange invention:—"Horses instead of steam. The public are hereby respectfully informed that a new packet, worked by horses instead of steam, and named the Safety, sails daily from the new slip, west side of George's Dock, Liverpool, to Runcorn, lands and takes in passengers and luggage at Weston Point, and returns to Liverpool with the same tide." The horses went round in this vessel, as in a horse thrashing-mill, and turned a wheel. The experiment was soon abandoned.§

An American paper, received in Liverpool in August, 1818, announced a very bold enterprise, which was accomplished shortly after-

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 23, 1818.

† Ibid, March 9, 1818.

‡ Ibid, March 23, 1818.

§ Ibid, June 1, 1818.

wards, namely, a voyage across the Atlantic, in a steam-vessel. "It is stated in an American paper," says a Liverpool paper of that date, "that a ship, of about 375 tons, was ready to be launched from one of their ship-yards, which is actually to be fitted up with a steam-engine and apparatus, as a steam-packet ship, for crossing the Atlantic."*

The progress made in the construction of the Prince's Dock, in 1818, was very rapid. In November the sea-wall had been carried to the northern extremity, a distance of nearly one hundred yards beyond the old fort. The foundation of the dock basin was laid, the excavation in the centre of the dock was proceeding rapidly, and the south entrance to the dock was completed. It was supposed that this magnificent dock would be completed in two years.†

At the close of the year 1818 it was announced that Dale-street, which, from its narrowness and its crowded condition, had for many years been dangerous to pass, would be greatly widened, under the powers of the act granted thirty years before. This great improvement was shortly afterwards proceeded with, and carried out with spirit.‡

To the close of 1818 the communication between Liverpool and the Clyde was still kept up by means of sailing vessels. A fine smack called the Manchester arrived in that month from Bridport, where it had been built for Messrs. H. Matthie and Theakstone. It was to be followed by another called the Liverpool. They were built on the model of the London and Leith smacks, "so celebrated for making passages in almost any weather," and were intended to ply between Liverpool and Glasgow.§

On Sunday night, January 24th, 1819, Castle-street and Lord-street were lighted with gas for the first time. The effect more than answered expectation. Gas-lighting was gradually extended to the whole town.||

In the session of 1819 the question of the resumption of cash payments was much discussed, and finally decided in favour of resumption. A good number of petitions were presented against it, and, amongst them, one from Liverpool, signed by about two hundred persons, whom Mr. Canning described as most "respectable and intelligent." They all asked merely for a postponement, except one, the late Mr. James Cropper. He signed as follows:—"James Cropper wishes that payments in specie may be postponed, but he does not agree in the importance or advantage of their ever being resumed."¶

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, August 17, 1818.

+ Ibid, November 30, 1818.

† Ibid, December 14, 1818.

§ Ibid, December 21, 1818.

|| Ibid, January 25, 1819.

¶ Ibid, February 8, 1819.

11 Gas in London 1819

On Sunday, the 20th June, 1819, the first steam-boat that ever crossed the Atlantic arrived in the port of Liverpool. The Liverpool papers contain the following notice of her arrival :—"Yesterday morning week," says one of them, "a beautiful steam-ship arrived here in twenty-six days from Savannah. She is called the Savannah, and was built at New York, under the inspection of her commander, Captain Rodgers, brother to Commodore Rodgers. Her burthen is 319 tons. Her destination is said to be St. Petersburg, as a present to the Emperor Alexander."*

In the year 1819 Birkenhead first began to rise into notice. On Monday, the 26th July, in that year, the foundation stone of a new church was laid, close to the ancient ruins of Birkenhead Priory. Lord Kenyon laid the stone, on which was a plate of copper bearing the following inscription :—"The first stone of this church was laid by the Right Hon. Lord Kenyon, Baron of Gredington, in the county of Flint, this 26th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1819, and the fifty-ninth year of the reign of King George the Third. Erected by Francis Richard Price, Esq., lord of the manor. Edward Newton, minister; Thomas Rickman, architect." This was not the only improvement. "The erection of the church," says a paper of that date, "will be but one among a number of improvements that will in a short time be made in this delightful spot. An elegant hotel, on a very extensive and commodious plan, is in a forward state, and will, it is expected, be ready for the reception of visitors early in the spring. It stands on an elevated rock in front of the river, and commands one of the most beautiful and picturesque prospects on the Mersey. Before the spectator is the town of Liverpool, with its extensive line of docks, and innumerable shipping, as well as the richly diversified scenery of Toxteth-park; behind is Bidston-hill, with its lighthouse and signal poles. On the right hand the Mersey expands to its greatest breadth, displaying on its banks the most luxuriant scenery; on the left the river is crowded with shipping, the prospect terminating in the sea beyond the rock. Contiguous to the hotel will be baths for ladies and gentlemen. Immediately in front of the house, and almost level with the river, grotts or alcoves will be formed, where visitors may sit in the shade, and enjoy the delightful prospect before them. A commodious landing-place will also be formed, in which boats may enter and land passengers, at any time of the tide. The ground around the hotel is laid out for streets; and several lots are already purchased for the erection of houses. This charming situation promises in a short time to become

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, June 28, 1819.

one of the most fashionable resorts for company on the banks of the Mersey.”*

In the summer of 1819 a steamer, bearing the noble and heroic name of Robert Bruce, began to ply between Liverpool and Glasgow. The following is the announcement of this great step in the march of steam navigation, in the port of Liverpool:—“Safe and expeditious travelling between Liverpool and Glasgow. The elegant new steam-packet boat Robert Bruce, Captain John Patterson, will sail for Glasgow to-morrow, Tuesday, the 3rd of August, at eight o’clock in the morning, from George’s Dock Pierhead. The accommodation for passengers is most excellent, and she is expected to perform the passage within thirty hours. The fares, in the cabin, 40s; steerage, 21s. Passengers will be accommodated with provisions on moderate terms. For passage apply to Captain Patterson, or to John Richardson.

“Liverpool, 2nd August, 1819.”†

In June, 1819, the largest steam-boat was launched at Greenock that had been launched up to that time in Great Britain. She was of the burthen of 200 tons, with two engines of thirty-horse power each, and was intended to ply between Glasgow and Belfast.‡

Coaching continued to be carried on with amazing spirit. In July, 1819, the journey from Nottingham to Liverpool, upwards of 100 miles, was made in eight hours and a half.§ A new plan of conveying the mails by light carriages, without passengers, travelling at the rate of eleven miles an hour, was then under consideration.||

In July, 1819, the Waterloo steamer arrived in Liverpool. “Yesterday,” says the Liverpool Mercury, of the 23rd July, “a beautiful steam-packet arrived at this port from Belfast, after a passage of only twenty-four hours. She is called the Waterloo, and is a fine, well-built vessel; burthen 201 tons, length 98 feet, breadth on deck 37 feet, and has two highly-finished steam-engines of thirty-horse power each, which work without noise or vibration, and are on the low-pressure construction, perfectly safe from accident. They are attended by two experienced engineers. The vessel is also provided with two masts, with sails and rigging. Her interior accommodations are as complete and elegant as skill and expense can make them. She has a handsome dining-room, capable of accommodating all the cabin passengers, a separate and neatly-decorated cabin for ladies,

* Liverpool Mercury, July 2, 1819. † Billinge’s Liverpool Advertiser, August 2, 1819.

‡ Liverpool Mercury, June 4, 1819. § Ibid, July 9, 1819. || London Courier.

and two apartments for private families; twenty-two well-furnished beds, each accommodated with light and air, and a comfortable place for steerage passengers. She cost nearly £10,000. She will sail for Belfast at tide-time to-day, and will return on Monday. She will sail again the same day, and regularly every Monday and Friday. Fares: cabin, £1 11s. 6d.; steerage, 10s. 6d. The cabin passengers are not under the necessity of taking provisions, as they are well accommodated on board with everything, at the most moderate prices. Passengers attended by Captain Townley, on board, or Mr. John Crowther, 23, east side of Salthouse Dock."

On the 7th September, the Waterloo steamer was taken off the Belfast line, and began to run between Liverpool and Dublin.* The following testimonial to the merits of Captain Townley and the Waterloo appeared in the Liverpool papers of the following week:—"We, the undersigned, cabin passengers, on our passage from Dublin to Liverpool, by the steam-packet Waterloo, Captain Charles Townley, hereby desire to express our entire approbation of the attention shown by Captain Townley; also of the excellent accommodation which this fine vessel affords. The Waterloo performed her passage in about twenty-four hours, notwithstanding an adverse wind and a heavy gale. Liverpool, 16th September, 1819. Signed, P. Mackenzie, major-general," and thirteen other passengers, chiefly officers of the army.†

The performances of the steam-boats on the Mersey, though not to be compared with more recent triumphs of steam, began to be greatly lauded. "The perfection to which the navigation of steam-boats has been carried, and the celerity with which they sail, will be evinced by a history of the voyage of one of the Runcorn steam-packets, on Sunday last. The Duke of Wellington steamer left Runcorn at four o'clock in the morning, and arrived at this port at seven. She sailed hence, with passengers, about eleven, and landed them at Runcorn. She departed from Runcorn for Warrington, where she arrived at two o'clock. She left it again at half-past two for Runcorn, where she landed her passengers; and, having taken in a fresh cargo, sailed for Liverpool, and arrived here at half-past seven o'clock in the evening. The whole distance which she sailed, in the course of the day, was upwards of eighty miles; a distance, we imagine, which no vessel ever performed in the same time in this river."‡

* Liverpool Mercury, September 3, 1819.

+ Ibid, September 17, 1819.

‡ Liverpool Courier, July 3, 1819.

In September, 1819, the Rev. Edw. Hull M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed minister of the newly-erected church attached to the School for the Blind.*

The good old king, George the Third, died at Windsor Castle on the 29th of January, 1820, after a reign of sixty years. His remains were interred on the 16th of February. All the shops were closed on that day, business of every kind was suspended, and even the window-shutters and blinds of private houses were kept closed. The churches and other places of worship were crowded, and sermons suited to the occasion were everywhere preached. "It was remarked that the general appearance of reverence and solemnity in the town was beyond what had ever been observed on a Sunday, or other great religious festival."†

At the levee, on the 11th May, 1820, the king, George the Fourth, conferred the honour of knighthood on the mayor of Liverpool, who, by that act, became Sir John Tobin, knight. Sir John was a fine specimen of the old British merchant, and did as much to promote the commerce of Liverpool as any man of his time.‡

A steam-boat, built for the Portuguese government, was launched from Messrs. Mottershead and Heyes's building-yard, on Tuesday, the 20th September. She was named the Count de Palmella, and made the voyage out to Lisbon in four days.§

One of the last of the Lancashire Canal improvements was completed in the autumn of 1820, by the opening of the branch from the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, at Wigan, to the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, at Leigh.||

An enumeration of the children of the poor, receiving education in the schools of all religious bodies in the town of Liverpool, or within a circuit of two miles of the town, was made in February, 1821, from which it appeared that 6,754 children were receiving instruction in day-schools, and 11,982 in day and Sunday schools combined.¶

The Cambria, the first steamer established between Liverpool and North Wales, was launched on the 17th of May, 1821. She ran from Liverpool to Bagillt, on the Welsh side of the river Dee. The Cambria was 90 feet in length, and was propelled by two powerful engines. She made her first voyage on the 4th of June.**

The building of St. Luke's Church, commenced in 1811, and long

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, September 17, 1819. † Ibid, February 21, 1820.

‡ Ibid, May 15, 1820.

§ Ibid, September 26, 1820.

|| Ibid, December 26, 1820.

¶ Ibid, February 28, 1821.

** Ibid, May 15, 1821.

suspended from want of funds, was resumed by the corporation, in the course of the summer of 1821.*

The third census of the nineteenth century was taken in the year 1821, and again showed a very large increase in the population of the borough of Liverpool, and all the suburban townships. The population of the borough of Liverpool, which amounted to 94,376 in 1811, had increased to 118,972 in 1821; the seamen of the port had increased from 7,000 to 9,000; the population of Toxteth-park had increased from 5,864, in 1811, to 12,828, in 1821; that of West Derby from 3,718, in 1811, to 6,309 in 1821; that of Kirkdale from 665, in 1811, to 861 in 1821; that of Everton from 913, in 1811, to 2,109, in 1821; that of Bootle from 610, in 1811, to 808, in 1821; that of Walton from 794, in 1811, to 1,171, in 1821; and that of Wavertree from 1,398, in 1811, to 1,620 in 1821. On the Cheshire side of the Mersey the influence of the more rapid and certain mode of communication introduced by means of steam navigation, in the year 1816, was beginning to be felt in the increase of the population. The population of Birkenhead had increased from 105, in 1811, to 200, in 1821; that of Tranmere from 474, in 1811, to 825 in 1821; that of Seacombe-with-Poulton from 214, in 1811, to 380, in 1821; that of Liscard from 289, in 1811, to 345, in 1821; and that of Wallasey from 440, in 1811, to 444, in 1821. Thus, it appeared that the population of the borough of Liverpool had increased from 94,376, in 1811, to 118,972, in 1821; or, including the seamen, from 101,376, to 127,972: and that the population of the town and suburbs had increased from 95,898 to 121,166; or, including the seamen, from 102,898 to 130,166.

It further appeared, from the census return of 1821, that the number of inhabited houses in Liverpool, at that time, was 19,007; that those house were occupied by 25,309 families; that 192 houses were building; that 1,140 houses within the borough were uninhabited; that of the families residing in Liverpool 130 were chiefly employed in agriculture; 11,421 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft; and 13,758 in other pursuits. The whole of the last-mentioned class, except mere paupers, would have been properly returned under the head of families dependent on commerce, being all employed about the docks, the shipping, and the warehouses of the port.†

The coronation of King George the Fourth was celebrated in Liverpool on the 26th July, 1821, not merely with processions, the firing of

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, June 12, 1821.

† Ibid, July 22, 1821

guns, the display of colours, and the ringing of bells, but with the opening of a magnificent dock, completed after ten years of efforts and of labour, and at a cost of nearly £700,000. This extensive and finely-formed dock, which was commenced during the regency of George Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth, was originally known as the Regent's, but has since been more commonly known as the Prince's Dock. When formed it was the finest of all the docks; and its opening, so long delayed by war, by scarcity of funds, and by great difficulties of construction, was celebrated with unusual rejoicings. The day was most beautiful, and immense multitudes of the inhabitants covered the stages built around the dock for the occasion, as well as the tops of the warehouses, and even the tower of the church of St. Nicholas. At one o'clock at noon a salute of nineteen guns was fired from the north pier, and immediately afterwards, the *May*, a Liverpool-built West Indiaman, was towed into the dock. The *Majestic*, steam-ship, followed the *May*; then two of the pilot-boats; which, in their turn, were followed by the fine well-known American ship *Martha*, Captain Sketchley. The decks of all the vessels were crowded with ladies and gentlemen; their yards were manned; and on the top of the mainmast of the *Martha* a seaman was perched, who appeared in the air "no larger than a crow." After the *Martha* came the *Cambria* steamer. Ferry-boats, steamers, and row-boats then crowded into the dock, which soon presented the appearance of a brilliant regatta.

The day concluded with public dinners for rich and poor. Ellen Tate, an ancient woman, said to have been 115 years old, who well remembered the coronation of George the Third, sat at the head of the table, at the feast of roast beef and plum-pudding given at the workhouse.*

On the occasion of these coronation festivities the corporation distributed the sum of £1,500 amongst the charities of the town.

In the month of August the *Earl Moira*, Dublin sailing-packet, was lost, three or four miles from the mouth of the river Mersey, owing to the drunkenness of the captain. Fifty or sixty passengers are supposed to have perished in the wreck.†

The building of the new Infirmary, Brownlow-hill, was commenced in the summer of 1821.‡

St. John's Market, Great Charlotte-street, was opened on Thursday, March the 7th, 1822. The building of this market was commenced in

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, July 24, 1821.

+ Ibid, August 14, 1821.

‡ Ibid, September 25, 1821.

August, 1820, so that it was completed in about eighteen months. It is 183 yards in length, 45 yards in breadth, and it covers 8,235 square yards. The roof is supported by 116 cast-iron pillars, and there are in it 248 windows.*

There was a furious opposition amongst the coach-proprietors on the Manchester road this year. The journey was generally performed in three hours, at the rate of twelve miles an hour.†

A liberal subscription was made in Liverpool, in June, 1822, for the relief of the poor in the south and west of Ireland, who were suffering all the horrors of famine. Upwards of £9,000 was subscribed.‡

For the first time the Menai Strait was brought within the reach of the Liverpool tourist, by means of steam navigation, in the summer of 1822. "The Albion steam-packet," says a paper of that date, "performed a passage, on Sunday, which has never been accomplished before, by any vessel. She left Liverpool at seven o'clock in the morning, with a large party, and arrived opposite Bangor Ferry before one, where she remained nearly two hours, that the party on board might inspect the stupendous work now in progress, for the new chain-bridge, of 560 feet span, and 100 feet in height. She returned to Liverpool the same evening. The speed of this fine vessel surpasses the expectation formed from her beautiful model, and the great power of her engines."§ Immediately after this experimental trip, the Albion began to ply regularly to the strait.

In the summer of 1822 Mr. Canning was appointed governor-general of India; and the 30th of August was fixed on as the day for a grand banquet, at which he was to take leave of his Liverpool friends and constituents, previous to his departure for the East; but, on the 13th of August, an event occurred which entirely changed his plans. On that day the Marquis of Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, who had been, if not the head, the soul of Lord Liverpool's ministry, put an end to his life in a sudden access of frenzy. In the following month Mr. Canning was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs. He soon afterwards resigned his seat for Liverpool, and was succeeded by his friend Mr. Huskisson.

Although there were at this time four lines of American packets sailing between Liverpool and New York, all admirably built and commanded, long intervals, sometimes a month to six weeks, occurred without

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, March 5, 1822.

+ Ibid, March 19, 1822.

‡ Ibid, June 18, 1822.

§ Ibid, June 18, 1822.

any communication between England and the United States. This autumn no intelligence was received from the States from the middle of August to the beginning of October, owing to the prevalence of easterly winds.*

In the year 1822 the inhabitants of Liverpool consumed 13,963 head of cattle, 18,069 calves, and 86,730 sheep and lambs, besides large quantities of salt meat.† The condition of the poor was improving wonderfully about this time. In the year ending March 25, 1821, the poor of Liverpool had cost £40,630; in that ending March 25, 1823, they cost only £23,431 17s. 3d.‡

In April, 1823, Mr. Wainewright was appointed to succeed Mr. Backhouse, as secretary to the Liverpool office, London.§

Great but unsuccessful efforts were made, about this time, to have the assizes for the southern division of Lancashire removed to Liverpool. It appeared, from a statement put forward in support of this claim, that the population of the two hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness, north of the Ribble, was only 113,560; whilst that of the four hundreds of Blackburn, Leyland, Salford, and West Derby, lying south of that river, was 939,299; that the rental of the former was only £536,248, whilst that of the latter was £2,569,761; and that the county rates paid by the former amounted only to £9,401 12s., whilst those of the latter amounted to £45,981 18s. According to this return, which was founded on the census of 1821, and the valuation of 1815, Lancashire contained a population of 1,052,859 inhabitants, and property, producing a rental of £3,106,009.||

Steam was already drawing the several portions of the united kingdom into much closer union. "The improvements which have of late taken place," says a Dublin paper, "in the facility of communication between this country and England are as useful as they are astonishing. We received, before ten o'clock this morning, (Saturday,) the papers printed in London on Thursday last. They arrived by the St. George steam-packet, viâ Liverpool. We have no doubt that this route will become the favourite one between the British and Irish capitals; and it is but just to observe, that this superiority is principally attributable to the Liverpool Steam-packet Company.¶

In the summer of 1823 a line of steamers began to run from Liverpool

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, October 1, 1822.

+ Ibid, January 7, 1823.

‡ Ibid, April, 1, 1823.

§ Ibid, April 8, 1823.

|| Ibid, May 20, 1823.

¶ Dublin Patriot, May 31, 1823.

to Whitehaven and Dumfries. Charles Mathews has left an account of an attempted voyage and actual journey from Whitehaven to Liverpool, which will show what annoyances these steamers freed the public from :—
 “There were great advantages held out to me in coming” (to Liverpool) “from Whitehaven by water : 140 miles by land—mountains of Cumberland almost impassable in frosty weather—bad road—post-horses scarce—only eight hours daylight—two long days on the road. By sea : about half way—safe passage—constant traders—do it in twelve hours—save ten pounds. It was agreed. Daw (Mr. Adolphus, his companion) always looking blank—Saturday morning—fine wind—fishing-smack hired on purpose—carriage ‘pood aw to bits’—put on board—wretched-looking vessel—no cabin or beds—deep fog came on—felt a horror—longed to say I would not go—recollected Captain Skinner saying ‘Never afraid of anything at sea but a fog.’ However, desperate courage—made up my mind. Daw was already seated, wrapped up, looking like a melancholy watchman. I had just got the hand of a friend in mine, saying ‘farewell,’ and was descending nineteen stone steps from the pier into the vessel, with a heavy heart, when crack went the foremast, and broke off close to the deck. The act of hauling up the foresail had finished this rickety mast. But for this providentially happening in the harbour, the vessel must have gone to sea, and the consequences, if not fatal, would at all events have been misery.

“The carriage was unshipped ; started at twelve o’clock instead of seven : we commenced our land journey, which, but for the escape, would have been miserable. Deep fog—roads like glass—horses slipping one foot forward, the other back, and a hundred and forty miles before us. Still we were as merry as grigs : I did not know how to contain my joy. ‘Please to remember the boat’ was our watchword when any little misery occurred. We made, spite of all impediments, fifty-six miles that night, but almost starved to death. Yesterday morning started at seven ; and, going out of Burton, about ten o’clock, down a hill, both horses fell, and the driver lay under them. The first effect was terrific. We were all unhurt, carriage and all. Other horses were procured, and another driver ; and, after a long, cold, dreary journey, arrived here (at Liverpool) at ten last night, and were expected. Good fires, good beds, my old lodgings. All troubles and miseries appear to be over.”*

The London morning papers were received in the newsroom, Liver-

* Mrs. Mathews's Life of Charles Mathews, iii., 103-4.

pool, at nine o'clock on the day after publication, brought by Mr. Bartholomew Bretherton's swift coach, the Rocket.*

In the autumn of 1823 a remarkably fine steam-boat, called the City of Dublin, of about 300 tons burden, was launched from the yard of Messrs. Dawson and Pearson. She was built to carry cattle and goods between Dublin and Liverpool.†

The ground for the beautiful cemetery, the Necropolis, between Low-hill and Everton, was bought in the autumn of 1823.‡ The was the first extra mural sepulchre formed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool.

On St. Luke's Day in this year (1823) Charles Lawrence, Esq., was chosen mayor of Liverpool, without opposition. He was proposed by Arthur Heywood, Esq., and seconded by John Gladstone, Esq., M.P. William Earle, jun., and William Wallace Currie, Esqrs., were chosen bailiffs. They were the first members of the whig party who had been chosen to those offices for many years. Party spirit was dying away in Liverpool.§

Liverpool was gradually spreading inland from the first range of hills, Mount-Pleasant and Brownlow-hill, to the second, Edge-hill and Low-hill. "The finest improvement," says a paper of this date, "which we observe in the outskirts of the town, is the new road just completed, from the top of Mount-Pleasant as far as the Botanic Garden. The carriage-road and footpath are equally complete and commodious; the former paved on the plan of Mr. M'Adam, and the other beautifully finished with posts and chains, after the model of the finest roads in the neighbourhood of the metropolis."

A public meeting was held at the Town-hall, in January, 1824, the mayor, Charles Lawrence, Esq., in the chair, at which it was determined to form a good library of books for the use of the mechanics and apprentices of Liverpool.||

A Bristol paper, of February, 1824, furnishes the following comparison between the commercial position of Bristol and Liverpool :

BRISTOL DOCK DUES.				LIVERPOOL DOCK DUES.			
In 1814 were	£18,242	0	3	In 1814 were	£ 59,741	2	4
1822 „	18,494	6	6	1822 „	102,405	17	4
Increase....£ 252 6 6				Increase....£42,662 15 0			
BRISTOL POSTOFFICE REVENUE.				LIVERPOOL POSTOFFICE REVENUE.			
In 1814 was	£39,554			In 1814 was	£43,996		
1823 „	35,146			1823 „	55,126		
Decrease ...£ 4,408				Increase...£11,130			

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, September 9, 1823.

+ Ibid, October 7, 1823.

† Ibid, October 7, 1823.

§ Ibid, October 21, 1823.

|| Ibid, January 20, 1824.

The increase of the commerce and shipping of Liverpool during the ten years which followed the close of the war—that is from 1814 to the end of 1824—surpassed all previous example. In that brief period the number of vessels which paid dock dues in the port increased from 5,706 to 10,001; the tonnage of those vessels increased from 548,957 to 1,180,914 tons; and the income of the Dock Estate increased from £59,741. 2s. 4d. to £130,911 11s. 6d. The tide of commercial greatness and prosperity had thus set in, which has continued to flow with ever increasing force up to the present time. The following returns of the shipping, tonnage, and dock revenues of Liverpool from the year 1801 to the year 1824, distinguishing the period of war from the period of peace, will give a good idea of the progress of the port of Liverpool during the first twenty-four years of the present century :

SHIPPING, TONNAGE, AND DOCK REVENUE OF LIVERPOOL, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY TO THE END OF THE WAR.

Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Dock Revenue.		
			£	s.	d.
1801	5,060	459,719	28,365	8	2½
1802	4,781	510,691	28,192	9	10
1803	4,791	494,521	28,027	13	7
1804	4,291	448,761	26,157	0	11
1805	4,618	463,482	33,364	13	1
1806	4,676	507,825	44,560	7	3
1807	5,791	662,309	62,831	5	10
1808	5,225	516,836	40,638	10	4
1809	6,023	594,601	47,580	19	3
1810	6,729	734,391	65,782	1	0
1811	5,616	611,190	54,752	18	5
1812	4,599	446,783	44,403	7	11
1813	5,351	547,426	50,177	13	2
1814	5,706	548,957	59,741	2	4

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE WAR TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1824.

Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Dock Revenue.		
			£	s.	d.
1815	6,440	709,849	76,915	8	8
1816	6,888	774,243	92,646	10	9
1817	6,079	653,425	75,889	16	4
1818	6,779	754,690	98,538	8	3
1819	7,849	867,318	110,127	1	8
1820	7,276	805,033	94,412	11	10
1821	7,810	839,848	94,556	9	1
1822	8,136	892,902	102,403	17	4
1823	8,916	1,010,819	115,783	1	6
1824	10,001	1,180,914	130,911	11	6

CHAPTER EIGHTEENTH.

FORMATION OF THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY, FROM 1825 TO 1830.

The year 1825 is memorable in the annals of Liverpool as that in which the first application was made to Parliament, for powers to construct a railway from Liverpool to Manchester. This railway was formed during the next few years, and was the commencement of the modern system of railway communication, which, in quarter of a century, has produced such wonderful results, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but on the continents of Europe and America.

The modern railway system, as brought to perfection by the genius of George Stephenson, and the capital of the merchants of Liverpool, consists of three parts: first, of a smooth unyielding pathway of iron, by which friction is reduced to the lowest point; second, of an almost perfect level, formed at great cost where it does not exist naturally, by the aid of which power is applied, to the purpose of traction, with the greatest advantage; and, lastly, of the locomotive engine, by means of which the power of steam is applied to land carriage. It required many years of labour and numerous experiments, to bring these three essential points of the railway system, even to the degree of excellence which they had attained previous to the formation of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway; and yet the combined result of all the experiments which had been tried, up to that time, had not been to give a speed of more than six miles an hour on railways. The rapid, almost flying speeds, which are now witnessed, are the results of a series of experiments tried since the year 1825, of which the forming of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the oldest branch of the London and North-Western line, was the first and most important step.

As early as the year 1759, twenty years before the steam-engine had been brought to its present perfection, railways of iron were introduced at the Newcastle collieries,* and were found so useful for carrying heavy loads of coal, that they were gradually brought into use at most of the collieries of the kingdom. For many years they were

* Proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill. Session 1825. Mr. Adam's opening speech, 8.

worked by horses, and, even as so worked, were found to be of great advantage, although not so cheap or so useful as navigable canals, for long distances. According to a series of experiments tried in the year 1802, it appeared that the cost of conveying fifty tons weight of grain for a distance of sixty miles, on a railway, worked by horses, was £125 10s., or upwards of 50s. a ton, whilst that of conveying it the same distance on a navigable canal was only £49 5s., or less than 20s. a ton.* In another set of experiments, tried for the purpose of ascertaining what weight a horse could draw on a railway, it was found that a single horse drew a load of fourteen tons with great ease, from the port of Ayr to the Newton collieries. A speed of three or four miles an hour was considered sufficient on these colliery railways. "About three miles an hour is sufficient for our business," said Mr. Nicholas Wood, the manager of the Killingworth Colliery, in his examination before the Committee on the Liverpool and Manchester Bill.† This speed being attainable without any great attention to the levels, no large sums of money were expended for that purpose; and when the natural levels were found to be unmanageable by horses, stationary steam-engines were employed, by means of which the trains were made to ascend with, what was then considered, great rapidity, that is, ten or twelve miles an hour.‡

The original patentee of the locomotive engine was Mr. Trevethick, a Cornish engineer, a friend, as well as a countryman, of Sir Humphrey Davy. He took out his patent in the year 1802. Mr. John Urpeth Rastrick,

* Monthly Magazine, January, 1802, p. 556.

+ Proceedings of the Committee on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, p. 212.

‡ The following curious paragraph, published in August, 1802, contains as sagacious a proposal for establishing railways as ever was brought before the public, previous to the issuing of the prospectus of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company. The author of it, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, was one of the ablest men of his age. All that his plan wants is the locomotive engine, which at that time was unknown:—"IRON RAILWAYS.—Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq., so well known as an author, has published an essay on railroads, of which he claims the invention. He states that in 1768 he presented models to the Society of Arts, for which he received their gold medal. He recommends an experiment to be made, which shall demonstrate the advantages beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil. He proposes four iron railways to be laid on one of the great roads out of London, two of them for carts and wagons, and two for light carriages. To accommodate coaches and chaises he would have cradles or platforms, with wheels adapted to the railway, on to one of which each carriage would drive up an inclined plane, erected at the end of the road for that purpose. The carriage would then be drawn, not upon its own wheels, but upon the wheels of the platform or cradle. He calculates that a stage-coach, with six inside and six outside passengers, would travel at the rate of six miles with one horse. Gentlemen's carriages, with two horses, would go at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour; and if a railway were laid from London to Edinburgh, the mail-coach would go in thirty hours. Even at this great speed the most timid female might trust her delicate frame with the most perfect security, for the carriage could not possibly be overturned. An obstruction from hills would be easily overcome. Mr. Edgeworth proposes to plant a steam-engine at the top of every hill, which would move forward the carriages by a chain, to which they would be connected or detached from at pleasure."—*Leeds Mercury*, August 21st, 1802. Quoted in the *Life of Edward Baines*, by his Son, 58.

of Stourbridge, in his evidence before the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Committee, of 1825, said, "About ten years ago I made one (a locomotive) for Mr. Trevethick, the person who had the original patent for making it. This was exhibited in London, but I did not see it myself. A circular railroad was laid down, and it was stated that the engine was to run against a horse, and that which went a sufficient number of miles was to win."* Mr. Blenkinsop first introduced a locomotive engine on the colliery railway, from Leeds to Middleton, in 1811.

A very early and successful application of the locomotive engine to purposes of utility was made by George Stephenson, at the Killingworth Colliery, in the year 1814. Mr. Nicholas Wood, the manager of that colliery, gave the following information, in answer to questions put to him by the promoters of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill of 1825:—
 "Q. What (he was asked) is the distance? (from the colliery to the river.)
 A. It is about five miles and three-quarters. Q. Do you use a railroad?
 A. Yes. Q. How long has that railroad been laid down? A. About twenty years. Q. What mode of conveyance did you first use for that railroad: horses or engines?
 A. Horses. Q. About what year did you begin to use locomotive engines upon the railroad?
 A. In the year 1814. Q. How many did you use then?
 A. There were two used up to the end of 1814, and two more since. Q. By whom were those engines made?
 A. By Mr. Stephenson."† In the course of the same inquiry on the Liverpool and Manchester Bill, Mr. Stephenson himself gave the following account of his connection with railways and locomotives:—He said that he commenced business as a superintendent engineer, at Killingworth Colliery, in 1803. It was near Newcastle-on-Tyne, and belonged to the Grand Alliance Company, which was composed of Lord Ravensworth, the late Lord Strathmore, and the Hon. Stuart Wortley, (Lord Wharnccliffe.) He continued with the Grand Alliance Company till 1813. During that time it was his business to keep the engines in order. They were under his control and that of his partners, Dodds and Wetherburn. In 1813 he became a civil engineer generally. He had superintended the Killingworth, Mount-moor, South-moor, Derwentbrook, and Burrad Collieries. It was his duty to superintend the engines. Considerable alterations and improvements were made at his suggestion. He constructed new engines for most of those collieries, and laid down railways. He had laid down the Borrerton, the Mount-moor, the Spring-Vale, the Darlington, and the Bedington Railways. Gave the plans for

* Proceedings of the Committee on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, 1825,

+ *Ibid.*, 211.

the Hetton. He also laid down or improved the Killingworth, Hetton, South-moor, and Derwent-brook Railways. He had constructed about fifty-five steam-engines, of which sixteen were locomotives. He had constructed altogether twenty-eight high-pressure engines: the largest thirty-horse power. The largest low-pressure two hundred-horse power. The only accident that he remembered was one of the tubes of one of the engines wearing out, by which a man and a boy were scalded. He knew the locomotive engine at Leeds.* It worked by a rag and a wheel. It had occurred to witness that locomotives would work without rag and wheel, and he had so found it. About eleven years ago he brought his improved engines into shape, but it was twelve months before they got into use. The engine which he constructed at Killingworth, eleven years before, was still in use. It had more than fulfilled his expectations. Wrought-iron rails, in his opinion, were much better than cast-iron.†

Before applying to parliament the promoters of the Liverpool and Manchester Bill sent a deputation down to Newcastle, to try experiments, on the railways in that neighbourhood, and to ascertain the speed at which goods were carried along them. These experiments were tried in the presence of Mr. George Stephenson, Mr. John Urpeth Rastrick, Mr. Sylvester, Mr. Brunton, Mr. Philip Taylor, and Mr. Nicholas Wood, of Killingworth. The first trial was made on a portion of the Killingworth Railway, on which there was a slight rise (6 feet 6 inches in a mile and a quarter.)‡ The rails on this line had been originally laid down for horse power; they were partly of cast-iron, partly of wrought. The engine was an old one, with four-foot wheels, with a boiler four feet in diameter and eight feet long. The weight of this engine, with water, coke, &c., was 9 tons 14 cwt.; and the total weight, in the first experiment, was 55 tons 18 cwt. With this weight the engine, on the first experiment, travelled a mile up the railway in twenty-four minutes, and descended in eighteen minutes, giving an average speed of three miles and a half in the hour. In the second experiment, in which the weight conveyed was 40 tons 10 cwt., the speed was not ascertained in going up the line, owing to the talkativeness of one of the gentlemen present, who confused the experimenters, but in descending the speed was nearly four-and-a-half miles an hour. In the third experiment, made with a weight of 32 tons 6 cwt., the speed attained in ascending was not quite four miles and a quarter, but in

* Mr. Blenkinsop's engine.

+ Proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Bill, in 1825, 193, 4, 5.

‡ Proceedings before the Committee on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill. Evidence of Mr. John Urpeth Rastrick, 155

descending it was rather more than five miles. The experimenters, not being satisfied with these very humble results, determined to try what they could get out of another engine. The diameter of the wheels of this engine was only three feet, and at first the experiments tried with it were more unfavourable than those tried with the previous one. With a weight, including engine, of 67 tons 19 cwt., they ascended the line, with a speed of rather less than four miles an hour, and descended at the rate of upwards of five miles. After this experiment the three feet wheels were taken off, and four feet wheels put on the engine. It was then run a distance of ten miles and three-quarters, with a load of 59 tons 5 cwt., and, with that load, attained a speed of six miles and a half an hour, and, for the last three trips, of seven miles. Another set of experiments was tried at the Hetton Colliery, which gave an average speed of rather more than five miles and a half. Experiments were also tried at the Ford Colliery, with a stationary engine, when a much greater speed, one of ten miles an hour, was attained. Such were the speeds attained in these experiments, of which seven miles an hour was the maximum reached with locomotive power. But Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Rastrick, and Mr. Sylvester were all confident that much more could be done. Mr. Stephenson was examined by Mr. Joy, one of the counsel for the promoters of the bill, and gave the following answers:—"Q. Would it be practicable to make an engine to take 30 tons, at the rate of eight miles an hour? A. Quite practicable. Q. I think you told us the calculation you made was 40 tons at four miles, or 20 tons at eight miles. Could 30 tons be made to go at eight miles an hour? A. They could. Q. Do you consider it beyond all question that they could at six? A. I consider it beyond all question they could go at eight. Q. And you are within the mark? A. Yes; I have no doubt they might go at the rate of twelve miles. Q. You speak as to the result of your experiments? A. Yes; I am confident it can be done."* Mr. Rastrick expressed the same opinion. He said, "I conceive that an engine might be constructed that would take 40 tons of goods six miles an hour with perfect safety. The speed will be in proportion to the power of the engine. The power which takes 40 tons six miles an hour, if doubled, would take the same weight twelve miles an hour."† Mr. Sylvester, a man of great science and sagacity, was even more confident, and sent in a report to the projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester

* Proceedings before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill, 197-8.

† Ibid, 159.

line, promising a much higher speed than it was thought prudent to speak of to the parliamentary committee. Mr. Adam, the leading counsel for the promoters of the bill, did not venture to go as far as his own witnesses. "I stand here," he said, "upon the proposition that I have the evidence of Mr. Wood, who has had nearly fourteen years' experience; the evidence of Mr. Stephenson, who has had twenty-eight years' experience; the evidence of Mr. Rastrick, in support of whose talents and capacity I have a right to cite the authority of both my learned friends; all which entitles me to say that, with a load of 50 tons, locomotive engines will travel at the rate of six miles an hour, which is the rate of our experiments."*

But Mr. Harrison, the counsel for the canal proprietors, denied this altogether. "I now come, sir," said this well-feed and sagacious orator, "to comment on the locomotive engines. I intreat the committee to remember how this project has arisen, and I will ask any honourable member whether any human being would have thought of setting up a railway between Liverpool and Manchester, if that railway were to be conducted by horse power? I say, it never entered into the imagination of any one. But, amidst all this mania that has possessed us, (for we have been running mad after projects and schemes of all sorts, kinds, and descriptions,) locomotive engines have sprung up, patronized and supported by some for the purpose of showing their ingenuity in writing essays and pamphlets, and by others for the purpose of being employed as engineers or otherwise. To make the thing popular a certain number of ingenious gentlemen were set to write pamphlets—how many or of what size I do not know; and I believe at last we have got *down* to a review, (the Quarterly.) But we have not only books, and pamphlets, and essays without number, we have beautiful pictorial exhibitions of locomotive engines at full work, one of which is now lying before me. One ingenious gentleman has got a beautiful impression of a locomotive engine, with carriages, and guards standing behind them; giving a description of seven or eight stage-coaches, with trumpeters and guards, and all the paraphernalia, galloping at the rate of several miles an hour. The project of this railway was entirely founded upon the locomotive engines; it was set on foot with a view to the expedition that would be derived from the use of them. All the pamphlets published about it gave us twelve miles an hour as the rate at which they were to go: you were to gallop from Liverpool to Manchester at the rate at which the

* Proceedings of Committee on Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1825. Mr. Adams Closing Speech, 759.

mail-coaches have tried to go, but never accomplished. Now, sir, how do we stand upon this part of the case? All these promises of expedition of twelve miles an hour, literally before the counsel against the bill had addressed the committee, came down to six; and yesterday and to-day we find, in the best weather, and under the most favourable circumstances, the expedition is diminished to four or five; and, whenever you come to rain or mizzling weather, or damp weather, it is reduced to two, two-and-a-half, or three miles an hour. Is Lancashire a county free from rain? Have you no mizzling weather, no snow there? I should rather suspect—and I do not mean to calumniate the county of Lancashire, for I have travelled through it with great delight—it is a county which has as much rain as any other county on that side of England. Unless, then, they can rarify the atmosphere as quickly as the locomotive engines go along, the locomotive will have so many inconveniences to contend with, that it will come down to the speed of a common horse power. But, not content with goods, they are to take passengers. Now, set them off with horses before them; set the proprietors of the railway travelling on their own road, from Liverpool to Manchester, in wagons, at the rate of four miles and a half an hour; it is impossible to state it without presenting something ludicrous to the mind!”*

Such was the position of railways when the projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester line determined to expend the large sum of £400,000 (increased, before the line was opened, to £800,000) in forming a railway, such as the world had never before seen, between the great seaport and the manufacturing capital of Lancashire. It will be observed, from the details given above, that the railways then in existence were only five or six miles in length; that the rails were badly laid down, and were formed partly of cast-iron; that the locomotives by which they were worked were weak and clumsy; and that the speeds attained on the best of them were so slow, that the parties most anxious to establish the advantages of railways did not venture to claim for them a greater speed than six miles an hour; whilst those opposed to them could deny them a greater speed than three or four miles an hour, without exceeding the bounds of legal licence. The Stockton and Darlington Railway, which was in course of construction at that time, but not yet opened, was superior to any of the previously formed railways; but it had only a single line of rails, was worked by an inconvenient combination of locomotive and stationary

* Proceedings of Committee on Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1825. Mr. Harrison's Closing Speech, 702, 3.

engines, and, though it carried a few passengers, was little else than a superior colliery railway. Taking a speed of six miles an hour as our rate of departure, we shall be better able to judge of the wonderful progress of railway travelling during the last five and twenty years.

The great increase of population, trade, and communication in the counties of Lancaster, York, and Stafford, had given rise to the system of inland navigation in the reign of George the Third, and the rapid increase of trade, population, and intercourse in the same counties, gave rise to the modern system of railways in the reign of George the Fourth. The assembling of an active and industrious population of 30,000 inhabitants in Liverpool, and as many in Manchester, and the necessity of transmitting from 50 to 100 tons of goods daily between the two towns, created the traffic, which induced the great Duke of Bridgewater to sink a splendid fortune in forming a perfect line of canal communication between the two towns; and the rapid increase of the population and trade of those two towns, and of the surrounding districts, during the fifty years which elapsed between the opening of the duke's canal and the planning of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, rendered it first possible, and then profitable, to construct the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The success of that undertaking, like the success of the Bridgewater Canal, led to the forming of numerous other lines of railway, by means of which all the most populous cities, towns, and districts of the kingdom have been gradually joined together. The following were the immediate causes which determined the formation of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway:

It was in the beginning of the year 1822 that the corn-merchants of Liverpool memorialized Mr. Bradshaw, the acting trustee of the late Duke of Bridgewater, for a reduction in the rate of freight between that port and Manchester; and on the 9th of April he replied, in a letter to the chairman of the Corn Exchange, "That, having taken into full consideration the allegations contained in their memorial, and all the information he is in possession of on the subject, he does not feel himself justified in making any alteration in the trustees' present rate of freight."

But the corn-merchants of Liverpool were not men to submit quietly to such a point blank rejection of their claims, and Mr. Sandars, one of the leading members of that trade, and who had drawn up the memorial alluded to, had frequent conferences with parties, both in Liverpool and Manchester, as to the best means of helping themselves.

As in all other cases of injustice, the rejection of reasonable claims led

to increased demands, and a mere reduction of rates no longer satisfied the views of the trade. But they sought in vain for an increase in the facilities of transport, by the existing modes of conveyance, without which no substantial relief could be obtained.

At this juncture Mr. Joseph Cowlshaw, of Manchester, brought down Mr. William James, of Birmingham, an enterprising engineer, and introduced him to Mr. Sandars, as the person most likely to promote his object.

Mr. James had just returned from Newcastle, where he had been to see the railways and the locomotive engines, constructed by the then obscure George Stephenson.

He produced drawings of the engines, explained their capabilities, and pointed out the advantages of a railway to be worked by them, over all other modes of transit.

Before separating Mr. Sandars gave him an undertaking to pay the sum of £300, on receiving an ocular survey of a line between Liverpool and Manchester, which Mr. James engaged to produce.

This, then, was the origin of that railway, to which the eyes of the whole country were soon directed, and which was destined to create, by its example, so great a revolution in the means of transit of persons and things all over the world.

To Mr. Sandars unquestionably belongs the honour of having first launched this great undertaking,* which obtained for him the well-earned designation of the "Father of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway." While Mr. James was carrying on his surveys, for which, at different times, he obtained payment, in anticipation, the scheme was steadily prosecuted. Mr. George Ashby Pritt was selected as legal-adviser; and a more judicious choice could not have been made, for his integrity and talents commanded universal confidence and respect.

The next step was to obtain the co-operation of some of the leading men of the town; and, amongst the rest, the following gentlemen promised to give the project their most cordial support, both in and out of parliament:—John Moss, Charles Tayleur, William Rotherham, Thomas Booth, William Ewart, James Cropper, Samuel Blain, Sir John Tobin, Joseph Hibberson, John Gladstone, M.P., Samuel Sandbach, Dr. Traill, William Rathbone, Adam Hodgson, Isaac Hodgson, Wellwood Maxwell, John Garnett, William Jones, A., F., and R. Maxwell, and Richard Dawson.

* An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, &c., by Henry Booth, Treasurer of the Company, 1830, 3.

The co-operation of the following gentlemen of Manchester was sought and obtained:—John Kennedy, Major Birley, David Holt, Hugh Birley, William Garnett, Samuel Gregg, Peter Ewart, John Allen, C. Harter, and — Harbottle.

At the first meeting, held at Messrs. Pritt and Clay's office, John Moss, Esq. was formally appointed chairman, and Messrs. Pritt and Clay, solicitors and secretaries; and it was resolved to wait for Mr. James's plans and estimates; but he failed to produce them in time for the session of 1823.

He, however, sent in a "preliminary report" "On the Survey of Investigation, for a Line of Engine Railway between Liverpool and Manchester," in which he stated "that, from their commencement, the works may be completed in eighteen months, on a capital not exceeding £100,000; but the parliamentary survey and estimates will state the sums at which contractors will be found to execute the work."

The surveys, plans, and estimates were repeatedly promised, not only in 1822 but in 1823, but they were never furnished, and thus the session of parliament of 1824 was lost also.

Several meetings of the gentlemen interested were then held, and Mr. Sandars, with Mr. Ellis and Mr. Henry Booth, who had both at this time joined in the project, were deputed to proceed to Newcastle, to meet Mr. John Kennedy, of Manchester, and inspect the railways, worked by locomotive engines, in the neighbourhood of Darlington, Newcastle, and Sunderland.* They returned early in May, and reported most favourably of what they had seen, especially of the power of the engines.

On the 24th of May, 1824, at a meeting of the projectors, held at the Underwriters'-room, in Liverpool, Mr. Moss in the chair, the report of the Newcastle deputation was read. A series of resolutions were then entered into, and it was resolved "that a company should be formed, for the construction of a railway between Liverpool and Manchester, without further delay: that the capital should consist of £300,000, to be divided into 3,000 shares of £100 each, 1,000 of which should be appropriated to Manchester and 1,000 to Liverpool, and that 1,000 shares should be reserved for landowners on the line, and for such other persons as the committee might approve of." Mr. George Stephenson was appointed sole engineer. It was resolved also that no subscriber should be allowed more than ten shares, and that the deposit should be £3 a share.

* An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, &c., by Henry Booth, Treasurer of the Company, 9.

A committee was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen:—Robert Benson, Henry Booth, James Cropper, Lister Ellis, John Ewart, Adam Hodgson, Isaac Hodgson, Wellwood Maxwell, John Moss, William Rathbone, William Rotherham, and Joseph Sandars, together with a like number from Manchester, for the purpose of carrying these objects into effect, and of preparing a prospectus to be submitted to the public.

The greatest efforts were then made to prepare for parliament. A memorial to the corporation of Liverpool, praying for the support of that body, was presented, but it failed in its object, as will be seen hereafter. The committee met very frequently, and, at the recommendation of Mr. Moss, Mr. Lawrence, then the mayor of Liverpool, was solicited to join the undertaking, and become its chairman. Mr. Lawrence accepted the honourable office, so generously surrendered by Mr. Moss, who foresaw the parliamentary advantage of the mayor of Liverpool appearing at the head of the committee, and especially so, as that office was then filled by a gentleman remarkable for the amenity of his manners and the general kindness of his disposition. In fact, all personal considerations were waived in the prosecution of the great object in view.

The prospectus was issued on the 29th of October, and, as it contains the whole case of the projectors, and will be a very interesting document in future times, it is given at length :

“ LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILROAD COMPANY.

“ Committee: Charles Lawrence, Esq., chairman ; Lister Ellis, Esq., Robert Gladstone, Esq., John Moss, Esq., Joseph Sandars, Esq., deputy-chairmen ; Robert Benson, Henry Booth, Thomas Shaw Brandreth, James Cropper, John Ewart, Richard Harrison, Thomas Headlam, Adam Hodgson, Isaac Hodgson, Joseph Hornby, Wellwood Maxwell, William Potter, William Rathbone, William Rotherham, and John Wilson, Esqrs., Liverpool ; H. H. Birley, Joseph Birley, Peter Ewart, William Garnett, John Kennedy, John Ryle, and Thomas Sharpe, Esqrs., Manchester. Parliamentary agent, Thomas Moulden Sherwood, Esq.; engineer, George Stephenson, Esq.; solicitors, Messrs. Pritt and Clay; bankers, Messrs. Moss, Rogers, and Moss, Liverpool.

“ PROSPECTUS.

“ The committee of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Company think it right to state, concisely, the grounds upon which they rest their claims to public encouragement and support.

“ The importance, to a commercial state, of a safe and cheap mode of transit for merchandise, from one part of the country to another, will be readily acknowledged. This was the plea, upon the first introduction of canals: it was for the public advantage; and although the new mode of conveyance interfered with existing and inferior modes, and was opposed to the feelings and prejudices of landholders, the great principle of the public good prevailed, and experience has justified the decision.

“ It is upon the same principle that railroads are now proposed to be established; as a means of conveyance manifestly superior to existing modes: possessing, moreover, this recommendation, in addition to what could have been claimed in favour of canals, namely, that the railroad scheme holds out to the public not only a cheaper, but far more expeditious conveyance than any yet established.

“ The Liverpool and Manchester Railroad is proposed to commence near the Prince's Dock, Liverpool, thence to Vauxhall-road, then through Bootle, Walton, Fazakerley, Croxteth, Kirby, Knowsley, Eccleston, Windle, Sutton, Haydock, Newton-in-Mackerfield, Golborn, Lowton, Leigh, Pennington, Astley, Irlam, Worsley, Eccles, Pendlebury, Salford, Hulme,

to the neighbourhood of the westerly end of Water-street, Manchester: in the whole a distance of about thirty-three miles. By a reference to the plan it will be perceived that the road does not approach within about a mile and a half of the residence of the Earl of Sefton, and that it traverses the Earl of Derby's property over the barren mosses of Kirby and Knowsley, passing about two miles distance from the hall. In deciding upon the proposed route, the committee have been anxious, at considerable inconvenience and expense, to select a line which may not only be eligible, considered in itself, but may be as little objectionable as possible, with reference to individual and local interest.

"The ground has been surveyed by eminent engineers, and the estimated expense of a railroad, upon the most improved construction, including the charge for locomotive engines to be employed on the line, and other contingencies, is £400,000,—which sum it is proposed to raise in 4,000 shares of £100 each.

"The total quantity of merchandise passing between Liverpool and Manchester is estimated, by the lowest computation, at one thousand tons per day. The bulk of this merchandise is transported either by the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, or the 'Mersey and Irwell Navigation.' By both of these conveyances goods must pass up the river Mersey, a distance of sixteen or eighteen miles, subject to serious delays from contrary winds, and not unfrequently, to actual loss or damage from tempestuous weather. The average length of passage, by these conveyances, including the customary detention on the wharfs, may be taken at thirty-six hours, longer or shorter, according to the favourable or unfavourable state of the winds and tides. The average charge upon merchandise for the last fourteen years has been about 15s. per ton.

"By the projected railroad, the transit of merchandise between Liverpool and Manchester will be effected in four or five hours, and the charge to the merchant will be reduced at least one-third. Here, then, will be accomplished an immense pecuniary saving to the public, over and above what is perhaps still more important, the *economy of time*. Nor must we estimate the value of this saving merely by its nominal amount, whether in money or in time: it will afford a stimulus to the productive industry of the country; it will give a new impulse to the powers of accumulation, the value and importance of which can be fully understood only by those who are aware how seriously commerce may be impeded by petty restrictions, and how commercial enterprise is encouraged and promoted by an adherence to principles of fair competition and free trade.

"The committee are aware that it will not immediately be understood by the public how the proprietors of a railroad, requiring an invested capital of £400,000, can afford to carry goods at so great a reduction upon the charge of the present water companies. But the problem is easily solved. It is not that the water companies have not been able to carry goods on more reasonable terms, but that, strong in the enjoyment of their monopoly, they have not thought proper to do so. Against the most arbitrary exactions the public have hitherto had no protection, and against the indefinite continuance or recurrence of the evil they have but one security: IT IS COMPETITION THAT IS WANTED; and the proof of this assertion may be adduced from the fact, that shares in the Old Quay Navigation, of which the original cost was £70, have been sold as high as £1,250 each!

"But it is not altogether on account of the exorbitant charges of the water-carriers that a railroad is desirable. The present canal establishments are inadequate to the great and indispensable object to be accomplished, namely, the regular and punctual conveyance of goods at all periods and seasons. In summer time there is frequently a deficiency of water, obliging boats to go only half-loaded, and thus occasioning great inconvenience and delay; while, in winter, they are sometimes locked up with frosts, for weeks together, to the manifest hindrance of business. From these impediments a railroad would be altogether exempt. There is still another ground of objection to the present system of carriage by canals, namely, the pilferage, an evil for which there is seldom adequate redress; and for which the privacy of so circuitous and dilatory a passage affords so many facilities. Whereas, a conveyance by railway, effected in a few hours, and where every delay must be accounted for, may be expected to possess much of the publicity and consequent safety of the king's highways.

"In addition to the transport of goods between Liverpool and Manchester, an important branch of revenue may be expected to result to the proprietors of the projected road, from the conveyance of coals from the rich mines in the vicinity of St. Helens; an advantage which the water companies do not possess, and which, from its importance and extent, may probably enable the proprietors to reduce the rates of carriage still lower than now contemplated. These coals at present pass along the Sankey Canal, and down the Mersey to Liverpool, a distance of about thirty miles. By the railway the distance will be shortened one-half, and the charge for transit very materially reduced.

"Amongst the widely-diffused benefits to be expected from the proposed railroad, must especially be enumerated, no inconsiderable advancement in the commercial prosperity of Ireland. The latent energies of that country, her capabilities as a manufacturing power, will be developed by being brought into easy contact and communication with the manufacturing districts of this kingdom; while every article of her agricultural industry will experience an

increased demand, from the cheapness and facility with which it will be introduced into the populous counties of Lancaster and York. Whatever shortens the time of conveyance practically diminishes the distance, and whatever is saved in the cost of carriage is a gain to Ireland.

"In the present state of trade and of commercial enterprise, dispatch is no less essential than economy. Merchandise is frequently brought across the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool in twenty-one days; while, owing to the various causes of delay above enumerated, goods have in some instances been longer on their passage from Liverpool to Manchester. But this reproach must not be perpetual. The advancement in mechanical science renders it unnecessary: the good sense of the community makes it impossible. Let it not, however, be imagined, that were England to be tardy, other countries would pause, in the march of improvement. Application has been made, on behalf of the Emperor of Russia, for models of the locomotive engine; and other of the continental governments have been duly apprised of the important schemes for the facilitating of inland traffic, now under discussion by the British public. In the United States of America, also, they are fully alive to the important results to be anticipated from the introduction of railroads; a gentleman from the United States having recently arrived in Liverpool, with whom it is a principal object to collect the necessary information, in order to the establishment of a railway to connect the great rivers Potomac and Ohio.

"The immediate and prominent advantages to be anticipated from the proposed railroad are, increased facilities to the general operations of commerce, arising out of that punctuality and dispatch which will attend the transit of merchandise between Liverpool and Manchester, as well as an immense pecuniary saving to the trading community. But the inhabitants at large of these populous towns will reap their full share of direct and immediate benefit. Coals will be brought to market in greater plenty, and at a reduced price; and farming produce, of various kinds, will find its way from greater distances, and at more reasonable rates. To the landholders, also, in the vicinity of the line, the railroad offers important advantages in extensive markets for their mineral and agricultural produce, as well as in a facility of obtaining lime and manure at a cheap rate in return. Moreover, as a cheap and expeditious means of conveyance for travellers, the railway holds out the fair prospect of a public accommodation, the magnitude and importance of which cannot be immediately ascertained.

"The committee do not think it necessary to dwell upon probable and contingent sources of revenue to the proprietors, and of benefit to the community; but it is impossible entirely to overlook the tendency of increased economy and dispatch to extend the commercial intercourse, not only upon the immediate line of road, but diverging in ramifications to the north and the south, and especially towards the rich and populous town of Bolton; a short branch line being sufficient to bring that extensive manufacturing district into rapid and direct communication with this port.

"Such is a brief review of the scheme in which the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Company have embarked, and which, while it promises such manifold advantages to the public, the committee feel confident will afford a fair and liberal return for the capital invested by the proprietors.

CHARLES LAWRENCE, Chairman.

"Liverpool, 29th October, 1824."

This prospectus, together with a pamphlet written by Mr. Sandars, was generally distributed to members of parliament and others, and the following postscript was added:

"Sir,—The Leeds and Liverpool, the Birmingham, the Grand Trunk, and other canal companies, having issued circulars, calling upon 'every canal and navigation company in the kingdom' to oppose *in limine*, and by a united effort, the establishment of railroads wherever contemplated, I have most earnestly to solicit your active exertions on behalf of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Company, to counteract the avowed purpose of the canal proprietors, by exposing the misrepresentations of interested parties, by conciliating goodwill, and especially by making known, as far as you have opportunity, not only the general superiority of railroads over other modes of conveyance, but in our peculiar case the absolute necessity of a new and additional line of communication, in order to effect, with economy and dispatch, the transport of merchandise between this port and Manchester.—I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

CHARLES LAWRENCE, Chairman.

"Liverpool, 25th Nov., 1824."

Nothing was left undone to secure success in parliament. Mr. Moss, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Sandars were appointed a secret and irresponsible

committee for influence. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Headlam were despatched to Ireland, to canvass the Irish members. All the plans and estimates were perfected, and all the evidence in support of the case had been marshalled, by the unceasing energies of the different members of the committee, and by the skill and admirable judgment of Mr. Pritt.

About this time Mr. Sylvester, of London, and Mr. Stephenson were brought together by Mr. Sandars.

Mr. Sylvester then broached the novel doctrine, that the friction on a railroad must always be the same, whatever the speed, and asserted that there was no reason why an engine, properly constructed, should not go thirty miles an hour, or any other speed. Under the advice of Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Sandars sent him down to Newcastle, to examine and report on the engines at work there; and on the 24th December he published "A Report on Railroads and Locomotive Engines, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee of the Liverpool and Manchester Projected Railroad." In drawing out the report he was persuaded to qualify the declaration as to speed, lest the projectors should be turned out of parliament as a set of madmen, entitled to no credit. This report, at very considerable length, went into a development of the principles he had previously inculcated; and though they were received with ridicule by nearly all the then existing race of engineers, the truth ultimately established itself, and thirty miles an hour did not satisfy the public a few years afterwards.

It may be affirmed, with truth, that seldom has any scheme gone before parliament that excited so much interest. The numerous class of persons who shelter their ignorance in doubt affected to believe nothing; others, better qualified by education, stuck to ancient prejudices, and doggedly ranked themselves, as the disciples of Watt, against the innovations of the high-pressure engine, and alarmed the public with sinister threats of all sorts of evils to come. But the canal proprietors, with an instinctive sense of danger, justly appreciated what they affected to despise, and with one accord, and with one heart and mind, resolved to crush the rival project, which threatened to interrupt, if not to destroy, the hopes of prescription and the dreams of a sanguine avarice. Whatever a combination of money-power could effect was brought to bear against the undertaking. No less than one hundred and fifty petitions were got up and presented, amongst which may be found the following:

Petitions against the bill—Joseph Stretch and Mary Makin, Liverpool; William Knowles, Liverpool; coal-owners of Windle; Trustees of Salford-roads; John Shaw Leigh, Liverpool; Charles Orrell; Sundry land-

owners and occupiers in the county of Lancaster ; Earl Wilton ; Rev. John Clowes, Manchester ; Mersey and Irwell Navigation ; Inhabitants of John-street and Charles-street, Manchester ; Earl of Derby ; Earl of Sefton ; Duke of Bridgewater's Trustees ; Mrs. Atherton ; Miss Byrom ; Trustees of roads ; Corporation of Liverpool ; Messrs. Whittaker, Eccles ; Owners of land and houses near the railway ; Thomas Blackburne, Eccles ; James Touchett, Manchester ; William Lees, Whiston ; Samuel Staniforth, Liverpool ; John Blackburne and John Shaw Leigh ; Charles Barrow, Roby ; William Jameson, Roby ; Owners of mansions on the line ; John Bradshaw, Weast-house ; Liverpool Corporation Waterworks ; Bold Houghton, of Houghton ; Inhabitants of Wavertree ; Justices of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, as to probable damage to the New Bailey Prison, Salford ; Leeds and Liverpool Canal ; Trustees of Liverpool-road ; Sir William Gerrard ; Trustees of Barton-road ; Occupiers of sundry houses in Manchester.

On the 21st day of March, 1825, the Committee of the House of Commons assembled, and General Gascoigne was appointed chairman. The attendance of members was so numerous that the committee were compelled to retire from the room appointed, into the body of the house. The committee sat for thirty-seven days, and examined sixty-seven witnesses, for and against the measure.

Mr. Adam opened the case of the promoters of the bill. He said that railways were a more convenient, a safer, a more economical, and a more certain mode of conveyance, than canals.* Unless something were done to increase the facilities of communication between Liverpool and Manchester, the advances now making in commercial prosperity must cease. They undertook to show that the existing means of communication were insufficient, uncertain, and attended with great risk and expense. Manchester was the centre of a manufacturing population of half-a-million, and itself contained 165,000 inhabitants. It was also the medium through which the woollen-manufacturers of Yorkshire and the cutlers of Sheffield communicated with Liverpool. The population of Liverpool was very nearly the same as that of Manchester, nearly 164,000 souls. Increased means were required of conveying coal both to Manchester and Liverpool. The committee would be surprised to hear that the quantity of cotton sent from Liverpool to Manchester, which, in 1815, was 110,000,000 lbs., had increased, in 1824, to 160,000,000, showing

* Proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, i.

an increase in nine years of 50,000,000 lbs. Liverpool was the port which carried on much the largest share of the trade with the United States, with South America, with British America, with Ireland, and with Africa. In 1773, when the canal of the Duke of Bridgewater and the Irwell and Mersey Navigation were in progress, the population of Manchester did not amount to more than 40,000 inhabitants. It was a curious fact that, in the year 1790, there was not one steam-engine in Manchester, though, in 1824, there were above two hundred. In 1814 there was not one loom in Manchester worked by steam, whilst, in 1824, there were thirty thousand. The quantity of goods conveyed between Liverpool and Manchester, at the present time, did not amount to less than 1,200 tons a-day, and during the year 1825 it had increased to the rate of another thousand tons a-week. There were three modes of water conveyance: 1st, the Mersey and Irwell Navigation; 2nd, the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal; and, 3rd, the Leeds and Liverpool. The last of these was very circuitous, and the tonnage-rates alone amounted to 9s. 2d. a-ton, which rendered it useless, when the freight was added. The other two lines would be shown to be quite insufficient. Cases had occurred of goods taking a longer time to pass from Liverpool to Manchester than from America to Liverpool. Cotton had been delayed eighteen, twenty-two, and even twenty-four days. Timber sent to the Old River Company in December, 1824, had not been delivered on the 14th of March following. Corn had been obliged to be landed and warehoused for want of means of forwarding it into the interior. Moreover, Liverpool was on an open estuary, liable to strong winds and violent tides. The New Quay Company had seventeen flats. Between June and December, 1824, each of those flats made eighteen trips; a trip a week, and one to divide amongst the seventeen. Thus, a vessel required a week to make a trip from Liverpool to Manchester, unload its cargo, take in another, and find its way back again. In 1802 and 1803, and twice within the subsequent period, the canals had been stopped by frost. The length of the canal was fifty-one miles. The average length of the voyage was thirty-six hours; and he would show that, by railroad, they could perform the same distance in six hours. The distance between Manchester and Liverpool, by railway, would be thirty-one miles and a half instead of fifty. Since 1759 railways had been known to a certain extent; but, during the last ten years, they had been in use, with great success. At the colliery at Hetton, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, a railway had been in existence, and had been worked by steam long enough to show

the application and safety of steam to the conveyance of heavy articles. The distance from this colliery at Hetton to the river Wear was about seven miles, and the quantity of weight carried was about sixty tons : the rate that the railway was travelled upon was about four-and-a-half miles. None of the tremendous consequences had ensued from the use of steam in land carriage that had been stated. The horses had not started, nor the cows ceased to give their milk, nor have ladies miscarried at the sight. Besides the Hetton, there was the Killingworth Railroad, which had existed for ten or eleven years. That railway had existed, without any reason to doubt its efficacy, without any objection, and with the greatest possible advantage. The Killingworth Railroad ran over an undulating surface ; but the proposed Liverpool and Manchester Railroad contained scarcely any rise : so little that it was not worth noticing. Hence, it would not be necessary to have one fixed steam-engine along the whole line. Locomotive engines they should have, and horses they might employ, if they thought fit ; but they should not have to employ one single fixed steam-engine, from one end of the line to the other. He was fully satisfied that locomotive engines could supply force to drive a carriage at the rate of five or six miles an hour. In conclusion Mr. Adam bestowed a just encomium on the advantages which had resulted from inland navigation, and more particularly from the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, to the trade and manufactures of this country. He observed that, if there was one thing more than another that enabled us to enter into successful competition with foreign nations, it had been the great facilities of our inland communication, which would be rendered still more expeditious by the application of steam to the land carriage of goods. America and Russia, he stated, were beginning to form railroads, and to make use of locomotive engines in the transit of goods, and it behoved this country to resort to the same means of communication : and, lastly, he referred to the advantage that would arise from the proposed railway, of enabling Ireland to bring her produce into the British market, on as good terms as the Dutch and other foreign nations.

After calling a number of witnesses to prove frequent delays in the delivery of goods, Mr. Adam called

Mr. William Brown (the present member for South Lancashire) to speak to facts of more general interest. Mr. Brown said that he was a merchant in business in Liverpool, and had been so for the last fifteen years. He was in the habit of shipping large quantities of goods for the United States—British manufactured goods, chiefly received from Man-

chester. The value of the goods which he had received and shipped had sometimes been a million a-year. There was a regular communication established between Liverpool and America by means of packets. There were four lines, consisting of sixteen ships, to New York, two lines of eight ships each to Philadelphia, and to Baltimore one line of three vessels. The value of goods, upon an average, which each of those ships carried, it was difficult to say; they had put on board one vessel £140,000 worth of goods; perhaps £50,000 worth might be the average value. The vessels named sailed with great punctuality; they always professed to sail on a certain day; they very rarely, indeed never, took in goods after that. This made it necessary that goods should be received with great punctuality; but they had frequently been disappointed in receiving goods for that purpose from Manchester. He did not think that the mode of conveyance between Manchester and Liverpool was adequate to the demands of trade, judging from the irregularities and difficulties they had experienced. He conceived it would be an advantage to have another mode of conveyance, as cheap, or cheaper, and more regular. He thought that if a railway were established it would be an advantage. There were about 10,000 vessels came into Liverpool yearly, which would average 200 tons, and would require 4,000,000 tons of goods to fill them in and out. If a mode of conveyance of six or seven hours were to be established between Liverpool and Manchester, it would be a very great accommodation to the trade of both places.*

John Gladstone, Esq., M.P., one of the members of the committee, said that he had been a merchant in Liverpool for thirty-eight years, and the greater part of that time a shipowner. For the first sixteen years of that time he had been almost wholly engaged in the corn trade. Since that time he had been engaged in various branches of commerce connected with the town of Liverpool, to the West Indies, the Brazils, the East Indies, and to other parts of the world. He was acquainted with the ordinary modes of conveyance between Liverpool and Manchester, and had generally found them not adequate to the demand. The trade had very importantly increased of late years. It appeared, from memoranda which he had made, that when he came to reside in Liverpool, in 1787, the dock-dues were £9,200. In 1799 they were increased one-half; and in 1810 or 11 they (the duties on shipping) were reduced one-third; but an equal amount was laid on goods, thus increasing the whole rate one-third. On that principle, the amount of dock-dues levied in 1787 would

* Proceedings of Parliamentary Committee, 90.

have produced £18,400, (including light-money;) in 1800, £31,700; in 1824, £141,000. In 1788 there belonged to Liverpool 431 vessels, measuring 71,953 tons; in 1800, 535, measuring 91,010 tons; in 1824, 1,115, measuring 176,151 tons. In 1788 there entered the port of Liverpool 3,677 vessels; in 1801, 4,746; in 1824, 10,001, with a tonnage of 1,180,914 tons. In 1805 the warehousing system was introduced into Liverpool. In 1806 the number of warehouses occupied by bonded goods was 85; in 1824, 204. In 1790 the quantity of cotton imported was 68,404 bales; in 1800, 92,580; in 1823, 578,300; in 1824, owing to a deficient crop, 447,000. According to the report of the commissioners of the board of inquiry, the value of the British and Irish manufactures exported in 1818 was £48,903,760. Of this amount, £17,333,995 went from Liverpool alone. In the year 1788, the year after he came to Liverpool, the population was estimated at 56,000, including sailors; in 1821 it amounted to 141,000. He saw no reason to expect that the difficulties of conveyance would diminish. The ascertained weekly consumption of cotton, the preceding year, was 11,000 bales.

On the thirty-seventh day of the inquiry, after examining sixty-seven witnesses, the committee decided, by a majority of 36 to 35 votes, that the preamble of the bill was proved.

On the thirty-eighth day of the inquiry the committee re-assembled to go through the clauses of the bill, and it soon became evident, from the great muster of its opponents, that the contest was not over. On the clause, "That the said company be empowered to take land" being proposed, Mr. Harrison, the leading counsel against the bill, rose to object, and when questioned by Mr. Adam, the counsel for the bill, as to whom he represented, he said, "I appear for the corporation of Liverpool." A division was called for on the point, and when the promoters returned into the committee-room, the chairman informed them that the question had been put and negatived. Thus, after a long-protracted and laborious inquiry, the corporation, at the eleventh hour, gave the *coup de grâce* to the projected undertaking, and the bill was lost for that session.

It is much to be lamented that the conduct of the corporation should have contrasted so unfavourably with that of their predecessors in former times. It was reasonably expected that a memorial addressed to them by the projectors, dated the 1st June, 1824, and signed by their chairman, Mr. Moss, added to the fact that a majority of the members of that body had accepted shares offered to them when they were at a large premium, would have led to a very different result. However, the old canal leaven

prevailed for the moment ; but their subsequent conduct atoned for their short-sighted and obstinate error, and afforded another proof, notwithstanding the trite saying applied to such bodies, that they are always in the end amenable to opinion and to a sense of public justice.

The defeat of the bill was the great event of the session. It was immediately followed by a spontaneous and indignant manifestation of feeling. A numerous body of the parliamentary supporters of the measure met the following day. Mr. Huskisson was called to the chair ; when it was resolved that nothing had occurred to shake their confidence as to the importance and ultimate success of the project, and the committee were advised to renew their application in the following session, when there could be no doubt of their success.

Thus encouraged by their parliamentary friends, and fortified in the justice of their cause, the committee retired, with a resolute determination to resume the contest, and to accomplish their object by renewed exertions.

Soon after their return to Liverpool the committee re-assembled to review their position.

It could not be denied but that their engineering evidence had been a failure ; inasmuch as there were some considerable errors in the levels, the importance of which had been much magnified and dwelt on by the dexterity of the opposing counsel.

Without having lost their confidence in Mr. Stephenson, his total want of experience, in getting up a bill for parliament, determined them to seek the services of Messrs. George and John Rennie ; men who inherited a brilliant reputation from their father, and whose presumed experience in the practice and details of their profession obtained for them the confidence of parliament and the public. The committee felt that it was due to their supporters, to frame, if possible, plans and estimates for the ensuing campaign, free from blot or error ; and Mr. Stephenson retired ; but, as will be seen hereafter, only for a short period.

The committee, benefitting by experience, saw the importance of breaking up the phalanx which had fought them at every point, by a well-considered system of conciliation. To remove, if possible, the grounds of objection on the parts of Lords Derby and Sefton, the line was diverted from their properties, and brought from the north to the south end of Liverpool ; a change which rendered the expensive cutting in the rock at Olive-mount and the inclined plane at Rainhill inevitable. Great as were the objections to this concession, yet, in furtherance of the

policy resolved upon, it was submitted to, without, however, allaying their hostility.

There appeared to the committee but little chance of overcoming the opposition of the combined water-carriers; but a small section of the board, without any authority whatever, and without communicating with the rest of the committee, resolved, on the suggestion of Mr. Pritt, to make an effort to detach the trustees of the Duke of Bridgewater, by offering them a large participation in the undertaking. This was an affair of the greatest delicacy. It was conducted by Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Moss, and Mr. Robert Gladstone, on their own responsibility.

Mr. Pritt induced Mr. Adam, the counsel for the bill in the late contest, and the friend and relative of Mr. Loch, to open a negotiation with that gentleman.

Mr. Loch, with that penetration and zeal for the interest of those beneficially interested in the trust under his management, for which he has always been so eminently distinguished, received the proposition with the frankness and candour which had suggested it. A course so obviously consistent with the interest of his employers, was promptly adopted; and he consented, on the part of the trust, to the terms proposed, namely, to accept a fifth share in the undertaking. One thousand additional shares were then created and given to the trust, thus making the total number five thousand.

This negotiation was conducted with the utmost secrecy, and the result was communicated to the rest of the committee and to the public at the same moment. Shares immediately rose fifty per cent. In those days, before the consciences of projectors had been corrupted by secret and successful operations, no director ventured to anticipate the public, by taking advantage of any secret information which he possessed, in virtue of his position.

The ranks of their opponents being broken, and the most powerful amongst the number being converted into an ally, the committee renewed their application to parliament in the session of 1825, and, after a smart contest in the Commons, and a hard fight in the Lords, led by Lord Derby, the bill was obtained, and received the royal assent.

The bill having been successfully carried through parliament, the first general meeting of the proprietors was held in Liverpool on the 29th May, 1826, when twelve directors were chosen by the proprietors, in conjunction with three directors nominated by the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland, the representative of the Bridgewater

trust and estates. The first meeting of directors was held on the following day, when Mr. Charles Lawrence was elected chairman, and Mr. John Moss deputy-chairman, of the company. In the month of June following, some difference having taken place with the Messrs. Rennie, and the company still retaining the highest confidence in the engineering talents of Mr. George Stephenson, that great and original genius was again appointed principal engineer to the company.

The works of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway were commenced on Chat Moss in June, 1826. When the bill of 1825 was before parliament, the plan of carrying a railway, capable of supporting weights of fifty or a hundred tons, for a distance of four or five miles, across the softest and most dangerous bog in Lancashire, was treated with derision; and even those who did not deny the possibility of forming the road, maintained that the cost of that part of the work would be ruinous. One witness, an engineer of note, asserted that it would be £200,000.* Nothing daunted by these predictions, Mr. Stephenson began his work by grappling with the dangers and difficulties of Chat Moss. He commenced by forming deep drains on each side of the proposed road; and, when the Moss had become somewhat consolidated, he placed hurdles and faggots of heather and brushwood upon it, which he covered with earth, sand, and gravel; on this he spread a thick coating of cinders, in which he placed cross-sleepers of larch and oak. In these the iron chairs, on which the rails are fixed, were imbedded. This was not effected without great labour, nor rendered complete without many trials; but, on the 1st of January, 1830, one entire line of rails was laid down across this dangerous bog, over which the Rocket steam-engine passed that day. For some time this part of the road vibrated like the pathway of a suspension-bridge when trains passed over it, and even to this day there is a great springiness on the road over the Moss; but, as it has now stood twenty years, and sustained the pressure of millions of tons, it is very clear that Mr. Stephenson's judgment was very much superior to those of the engineers who denied the possibility of the undertaking. The cost of this portion of the work, though very heavy, was not the fifth part the amount stated before the parliamentary committee, by the opponents of the bill. The cost of the Chat Moss works to the 31st May, 1830, was £27,719. 11s. 10d.†

It had been the wish and plan of Mr. Stephenson to carry the railway

* Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, by Henry Booth, 17.

† Ibid, 97.

round the red sandstone ridge, on which Liverpool is built ; round the higher ranges of the same formation at Olive-mount ; and round the still higher rise of the coal formation at Rainhill, by following the natural levels, to the north of Knowsley. This wish and intention were defeated by the pertinacious and ill-judged opposition of the Earls of Derby and Sefton, and of a few other landowners, who were determined, at all events, that the line should not be carried over their estates. Unfortunately for the projectors of the railway, for the public, and for themselves, they succeeded ; and hence it became necessary to carry the railway directly over the hills, instead of round them. The first consequence of this forced change of plans was the necessity for constructing a tunnel, under the town of Liverpool, a mile and a half in length, from the docks at Wapping to the top of Edgehill ; the second was the necessity for forming a cutting, seventy feet deep, through the red sandstone rock at Olive-mount ; the third, and worst of all, was the necessity for ascending and descending the Whiston and Sutton Hills, by means of inclined planes, of 1 in 96. The cost of forming the line was greatly increased by the change of plans, and the line itself was permanently injured, without benefit to any human being.

The first shaft of the tunnel under the town of Liverpool was opened in September, 1826. " During the whole of the year 1827," says the historian of the line, " the formation of the tunnel under Liverpool was carried forward with spirit and perseverance. Night and day the excavation proceeded, and many difficulties in the execution of the work had to be overcome. In some places the substance excavated was a soft, blue shale, with abundance of water ; in other places a wet sand presented itself, requiring no slight labour and contrivance to support, till the masonry, which was to form the roof, was erected. In passing under Crown-street, near the (old) Botanic Garden, for want of sufficient props, the superincumbent mass fell in from the surface, being a depth of thirty feet, of loose moss-earth and sand.* On some occasions the miners refused to work, and it not unfrequently required the personal superintendence and encouragement of the engineer to keep them at their posts. The tunnel was constructed in seven or eight separate lengths, communicating with the surface by upright shafts, through which the substance excavated was conveyed away. The exact joinings of these different lengths, so as to form one complete whole, as now exhibited, was, of course, from time to time an object of considerable interest, and to the

* The bed of the old Mosslake.

proprietors of some anxiety; and the accuracy with which this was effected is highly creditable to the engineer, and to Mr. Locke, the assistant-engineer of that department. On the 9th of June, 1828, it was reported to the directors that the last joining between the several lengths of the tunnel was effected.”* The whole rise, from the Wapping-station, at the docks, to the tunnel mouth at Edgehill, is 123 feet; the tunnel is twenty-two feet wide and sixteen high; and its total length is 2,250 yards.†

Another work, rendered necessary by the change of plan forced on the engineers and projectors of the line, was the cutting in the rock, at Olive-mount, 70 feet in depth. The stone in this cutting was valuable; so that, though the works on this part of the line were costly, the expenditure was not altogether thrown away.

After crossing the pleasant plain of Broad-green, the line reached the rising ground at Whiston and Rainhill. This ascent was found to be absolutely insuperable by tunnel or excavation; and the road was, therefore, carried up it by the Whiston inclined plane, and down it, on the opposite side, by the Sutton. The rise on these inclined planes is from 1 in 89 to 1 in 96.

According to the original plan of the railway, as drawn by George Stephenson, it would not only have avoided the high lands between the river Mersey and Rainhill, but would also have passed the Sankey-valley, to the north of St. Helens, at a point where the works would have been easy of construction. By the change of plan forced upon the engineer, by the opposition of the owners of property on the original line, both the projectors of the railway and the people of Liverpool, Manchester, and South Lancashire were deprived of the advantage of a railway running through the coal-field of Lancashire; and, at the same time, the projectors of the line were compelled to carry their works across the Sankey-valley, at a point where the waters of the brook had dug out an excessively deep channel through the marl-beds of the district. “In this year (1828) principally,” says Mr. Henry Booth, “was effected the piling for the foundations of the piers of the great viaduct over the Sankey-valley; a business of much labour and cost, but indispensable for the security of the superstructure. About two hundred piles, varying from twenty to thirty feet in length, were driven hard into the foundation site of each of the ten piers. The heavy ram employed to impart the finishing strokes,

* An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, &c., by Henry Booth, Treasurer to the Company, 39, 40, 41.

† Ibid, 49.

hoisted up with double purchase, at snail's-pace, to the summit of the piling-engine, and then falling down like a thunderbolt on the head of the devoted timber, driving it perhaps a single half-inch into the stratum below, is well calculated to put to the test the virtue of patience, whilst it illustrates the old adage of 'slow and sure.' The viaduct comprises nine arches, of fifty feet span each, stretching across the valley of the Sankey, over which the railway was to be carried, at the height of nearly seventy feet above the level of the Sankey Canal."*

In addition to these great works, it was found necessary to build sixty-three bridges, either above or below the road; and in one case—that of the great Kenyon excavation—to dig out 800,000 cubic yards of clay and sand. The estimate of the capital necessary for constructing the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, as originally planned, in 1825, was £400,000; when the plan was changed, in 1826, the estimate was raised to £510,000; but the sum expended, up to the 31st May, 1830, when the line was nearly ready to be opened, though far from being completed, was £739,165. 5s.† Fortunately for the projectors of the line, they had as much under-estimated the income as they had the cost of construction: hence the promoters of this great and novel undertaking obtained a handsome reward for the risk they had run, and the public spirit and intelligence which they had displayed.

Whilst the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was in course of construction, a controversy arose as to the comparative advantages of locomotive and fixed engines. The engineer of the company and the major part of the directors were in favour of locomotives; but a minority of the board had a strong feeling in favour of fixed engines. At their request, Mr. James Walker, of London, and Mr. John Urpeth Rastrick, of Stourbridge, were appointed to inspect the railways in the north, and to report on the comparative advantages of the two methods of applying steam power. They made a report, in which they expressed the opinion that fixed engines were more economical than locomotives. Mr. George Stephenson had previously made a report to the directors, in which he had expressed himself strongly in favour of locomotive engines; and, after the report of Messrs. Walker and Rastrick had appeared, Mr. Robert Stephenson and Mr. Joseph Locke, the son and the pupil of Mr. Stephenson, drew up a report, compiled from the reports of Mr. Stephenson, in which they replied to the report of Messrs. Walker and Rastrick, and again

* An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, by Henry Booth, 41, 2. + Ibid, 97.

asserted the superiority of locomotive engines. Fortunately the opinions of Mr. Stephenson prevailed; and the directors, with a view of stimulating ingenuity, offered a premium of £500 for the best locomotive, which, being constructed on the principle of burning its own smoke, should take a certain weight at a given speed. This offer produced the grand trial and race of locomotives, which took place at Rainhill, about eight miles from Liverpool, in the month of October, 1829, and which first showed the world the power of the locomotive steam-engine on a well-constructed railway.

On the morning of the 8th October, the day fixed for this unexampled race, the sides of the "race-ground"—that is, the level part of the railway between the Whiston and the Sutton inclined planes—were covered with spectators, and each of the rival engines had its friends and backers. The engines were five in number, namely, the *Rocket*, built by Mr. Robert Stephenson, weighing 4 tons 5 cwt.; the *Novelty*, built by Messrs. Braithwaite and Ericson, weighing 3 tons 1 cwt.; the *Sanspareil*, built by Mr. Hackworth, weighing 4 tons 15½ cwt.; the *Perseverance*, built by Mr. Burstall, weighing 2 tons 17 cwt.; and a horse-machine, named the *Cycloped*, built by Mr. Brandreth, weighing 3 tons. The real trial was between the *Rocket* and the *Novelty*; and the latter, which was very light and elegant in its appearance, was rather the favourite.

"The *Rocket*," say Messrs. Robert Stephenson and Joseph Locke, in their account of this original contest, "was the first called out. This engine was placed on four wheels. The boiler is cylindrical, having twenty-five tubes passing directly through it, for the purpose of conveying the heated air from the fire, which is contained in 'a fire-box' attached to one end of the boiler. The cylinders are fixed on the sides of the boiler, and work diagonally to the outside of the two fore-wheels of the engine. These wheels are four feet eight inches in diameter; those on which the fire-box rests are only two feet six inches. This plan of passing tubes through the boiler was suggested by Mr. Henry Booth, the treasurer to the railway company, whose object was to expose the greatest surface to the action of the heated air with the least area of the tube: by this means the heat is rapidly transmitted into the water, and prevents that escape into the chimney to which large pipes are more or less subject."*

* Observations on the Comparative Merits of Locomotives and Fixed Engines as applied to Railways; being a Reply to the Report of Mr. James Walker, to the Directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, compiled from the Reports of Mr. George Stephenson: with an Account of the Competition of Locomotive Engines at Rainhill, in October, 1829. By Robert Stephenson and Joseph Locke, Civil Engineers.

The "Novelty" of Messrs. Braithwaite and Ericsson was next exhibited. It consisted of an upright boiler, or steam reservoir, at the bottom of which was the fire-place, surrounded with water. The fuel was conveyed down a small tube which passed through this boiler, and combustion was supported by means of a blast worked by the engine. From the bottom of this boiler, another of a cylindrical shape passed horizontally above the main axles of the carriage, and a pipe, twice returned, passed through it, for conveying the heated air from the furnace. The cylinders were placed perpendicularly, with cross heads, working by two bell cranks, which were connected by rods to the main axle of the carriage. The appearance of the "Novelty" was light and elegant: the machinery was ingeniously contrived to work out of sight; and the whole formed as compact a machine as could well be imagined. There was nothing which calls for particular remark in Mr. Hackworth's or Mr. Burstall's engines. The Cycloped was a great curiosity, being nothing less than a horse in a tread-mill. Owing to a dispute about the conditions of the race, nothing was done the first day, to the great disappointment of the spectators.

On the 9th October, the rules of the race having been fixed, the "Novelty" started off smartly, but, in running her second trip, the bellows for creating the blast gave way, and the engine would not work until it had been repaired. A defect had also been discovered in the boiler of the "Sanspareil." The "Rocket" was the only engine in racing trim; but, as it had been arranged that it should not make its trials until the next day, no regular race was run, though a coach, containing about thirty persons, was attached to it, with which it dashed along at the rate of twenty-five to thirty miles an hour, to the unspeakable delight and astonishment of the spectators.

The "Rocket" started on its first trial trip at eight o'clock on the morning of the 10th October, and, with a load, including its own weight, of seventeen tons, ran thirty miles in two hours fourteen minutes and eight seconds, which is at the rate of nearly thirteen-and-a-half miles (thirteen four-tenths) an hour. On its second trip it ran thirty miles in two hours six minutes and forty-nine seconds, or at the rate of upwards of fourteen miles an hour. It varied its speed, sometimes reducing it to little more than ten miles, which was the minimum speed required, and then increasing it to nineteen-and-three-quarter miles an hour. The "Rocket" concluded the trial at the rate of twenty-four miles an hour, or four times the speed of the experiments tried on the Killingworth Railway, in the

year 1824. Other trials were afterwards made, the result of which was that none of the other engines fulfilled the conditions required of them, whilst the "Rocket" far surpassed all that had been asked or even thought of. It wound up the race by making two trips at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour, or nearly three times the highest speed that had been spoken of as possible before the committee of the House of Commons.

The first journey from Liverpool to Manchester and back was made on Monday, the 14th of June, 1830. At a quarter before nine o'clock on that day the directors, consisting of Charles Lawrence, chairman, John Moss, Joseph Sandars, Robert Gladstone, William Rotherham, R. Harrison, Hardman Earle, James Bourne, David Hodgson, William Wallace Currie, Esqs., and Henry Booth, Esq., the treasurer, took their seats in two of the new coaches, in company with Charles Tayleur, John Cropper, and other gentlemen, and started on the first railway excursion from Liverpool to Manchester. After passing through the small tunnel, seven carriages, laden with stone, were attached to the engine, making a load, including the engine, of 39 tons. The order for starting having been given, the procession moved slowly towards Waver-tree-lane, where the speed was increased. The carriages passed through the deep cutting at a rapid rate, the bridges and sides of the slopes being lined with spectators, who had thronged to see the partial opening of the magnificent work. On arriving at the foot of the inclined plane an assistant locomotive engine was attached to the carriages, and the train ascended to Rainhill at a steady pace. At the end of the ascent the assistant engine was detached, and the "Arrow" proceeded with the train towards Manchester, at the rate of sixteen or seventeen miles an hour. On arriving at the Sankey Viaduct the speed was decreased, on account of the unfinished state of the embankment adjoining the bridge. The engine then moved rapidly past Newton to the Kenyon excavation, where a fresh supply of water was taken in, occupying about seven minutes. It afterwards proceeded at the rate of about seventeen miles an hour across Chat Moss; and, after taking in another supply of water at Eccles, proceeded to Manchester, where it arrived at six minutes past eleven. The journey was performed in two hours and one minute, after deducting twenty minutes for watering. The directors, having examined the bridge and other parts of the works, proceeded to the house of Mr. Gilbert Winter, one of the Manchester directors, and there passed the following resolution:

“Manchester, 14th June, 1830.

“At a special meeting of the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, held here, on their arrival this day by the ‘Arrow’ locomotive engine, from Liverpool,

“Resolved, that the directors cannot allow this opportunity to pass, without expressing their strong sense of the great skill and unwearied energy displayed by their engineer, Mr. George Stephenson, which has so far brought this great national work to a successful termination, and which promises to be followed by results so beneficial to the country at large and to the proprietors of this concern.

(Signed)

“CHARLES LAWRENCE, Chairman.”

Having partaken of a lunch, the directors returned to Oldfield-lane, where the carriages were in readiness to receive them; and, after having been greeted by many thousands of persons who had assembled to witness the unexampled sight, they left Manchester, on their return to Liverpool. The train, which consisted of two carriages, containing forty or fifty persons, darted through the dense mass of persons who thronged the railway near Manchester, passed across Chat Moss at the rate of twenty-two miles an hour, and arrived at Edgehill, Liverpool, (after deducting seven minutes for stoppages,) in one hour and thirty-five minutes. “It is scarcely possible,” says a notice of this trial, written on the day on which it was made, “to over-estimate the importance of these experiments. Wonderful and gratifying as were the results of the previous trials, they were far less satisfactory than the trials of yesterday. The whole distance between Liverpool and Manchester has now been accomplished in two hours and one minute, with an immense load, and in one hour and thirty-six minutes with a load of a more moderate description. The power of the engines to keep up a rapid motion for a long distance has been fully established. The average speed of the return from Manchester was twenty miles an hour, and in passing over Chat Moss the carriages proceeded for a time at the rate of twenty-seven miles! The engine is on the same principle as the ‘Rocket’, which gained the prize at Rainhill in October last, the principle by Henry Booth, Esq., and the manufacture by Messrs. R. Stephenson and Co., of Newcastle.”*

On Wednesday, the 15th September, 1830, the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which had been so long anticipated with the liveliest interest, took place. The day was brilliant: the company included the most distinguished statesmen, warriors, and men of science

* Liverpool Times, June 5, 1830.

of the age ; and immense, incalculable multitudes, assembled from all parts of South Lancashire and the nearest districts of Cheshire, lined the railway from Liverpool to Manchester to witness the extraordinary spectacle. The day began in exultation and triumph, but ended in consternation and grief ; for, at the very moment when it had been rendered evident to all that the wonders which had been anticipated from the application of steam to railways were about to be realized, a terrible accident deprived Liverpool of one of the most distinguished men who ever represented the borough in parliament, and the nation and the world of one of the greatest statesmen who ever impressed his opinions and his principles on the policy of his own and of other countries.

Amongst the men of distinguished talent and rank who took part in the opening of the railway were Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, at that time Prime Minister of England ; Sir Robert Peel, Bart. ; the Right Hon. William Huskisson ; Sir James Graham, Bart. ; the Hon. E. G. Stanley, now Earl of Derby ; Lord F. L. Gower, now Earl of Ellesmere ; Prince Esterhazy ; the Marquis of Salisbury ; Earls Wilton, Glengall, Gower, and Lauderdale ; Viscounts Combermere, Melbourne, Sandon, and Belgrave ; and a splendid assemblage of ladies and gentlemen from distant counties, as well as from all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. The chief magistrates of Liverpool and Manchester, the leading shareholders in the railway, and many of the principal merchants and manufacturers, as well as of the landowners of South Lancashire, were present. At about twenty minutes before eleven a signal gun was fired, when the procession began to move slowly forward. The Duke of Wellington was in a splendid carriage, drawn by the "Northumbrian" engine, in company with a distinguished party of ladies and gentlemen, and was most enthusiastically cheered wherever he was recognized. The Northumbrian was followed by the Phoenix, the North Star, the Rocket, the Dart, the Comet, the Arrow, and the Meteor, all drawing trains of carriages decorated with flags, and filled with gaily-dressed companies of ladies and gentlemen. The procession passed beyond Wavertree-road, through the midst of tens of thousands of the inhabitants of Liverpool, at a very deliberate speed ; but on entering the first excavation its pace was accelerated, and it darted through the Olive-mount cutting at the rate of twenty-four miles an hour. Great numbers of persons had gone out of the town to Broad-green, Huyton, and Rainhill, to obtain a view of the several trains as they passed over the lofty embankment at Broad-green, and mounted the incline to Rainhill. After ascending the inclined plane

the procession proceeded to Rainhill, where the Northumbrian engine stopped for a short time and went on to the other line, that the duke might have an opportunity of examining the elliptical bridge, over which the high road is conveyed. On approaching the Sutton inclined plane the duke's carriage again took the lead, passing the others with astonishing rapidity, and in a short time was seen gliding over the Sankey Viaduct. At this point great crowds had assembled from Warrington and St. Helens to see the train pass over the viaduct, who rent the air with shouts of delight as train after train darted over that stupendous erection. Shortly after passing the ancient borough of Newton, the train crossed the bridge over the Warrington road, and soon after arrived at Parkside, a watering place for the engines. Up to this point of the journey all had gone "merry as a marriage bell"; but it was here that the fatal accident occurred which changed all this joy into grief and consternation.

The train drawn by the Northumbrian arrived first at Parkside, and there stopped for the purpose of taking in water, and at the same time of allowing the various engines and carriages forming the rest of the procession to pass by on the northern lines of rails, in order that they might have a view of the duke and of the other persons of note who were in the first carriage. It happened that the place where the duke's carriage was kept standing was most unfortunately chosen, for on each side of the railroad was a deep pool of water, approaching within about three feet of the rails, so that parties alighting from the carriages were compelled to descend between the lines of rails. The directors had, indeed, in their placards, particularly requested that no person would alight from the carriages; but this caution (which, if it had been attended to, would have effectually prevented accidents) was very generally disregarded. After the two leading engines of the procession, the Phœnix and the North Star, had passed the grand carriage, an interval of several minutes took place before the arrival of the Rocket, which was the next in order, and a number of gentlemen descended from the carriage and walked to and fro upon the line. Amongst them was Mr. Huskisson. During the two years preceding the opening of the line the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson had had political differences, which had interrupted the intimacy that had long existed between them; but, on alighting from the train at Parkside, Mr. Huskisson went up to the side of the carriage in which the duke was sitting, to congratulate him on the events of the day. The duke, on seeing him approach, rose and received him with the

warmest cordiality. Whilst they were conversing the alarm was given that the Rocket was approaching on the other line. Mr. Huskisson, with others, immediately ran across the line, but doubting whether they would be safe on the narrow slip of ground between the rails and the pool of water, they all ran back and attempted to climb into the carriages. All succeeded except Mr. Huskisson, who was at that time in very feeble health. Before he could get into the carriage the open door was struck by the Rocket, and he was thrown on to the ground between the rails. Either in struggling to rise, or from some involuntary movement of his limbs, or from the position in which he was originally thrown, his left knee lay in a bent position across the line on which the Rocket was moving, so as to bring both the thigh and the leg beneath the wheels of the engine and the carriages, all of which passed over it, fracturing the bone of each in the most dreadful manner, and at the same time causing a very extensive laceration of the muscles and integuments, particularly on the inner side of the thigh, which was cut through by the flange of the wheel quite down to the fractured bone. From the moment when the accident happened it was evident to all that its consequences must be fatal. This was instantly felt by Mr. Huskisson himself. He was immediately removed to the Vicarage at Eccles, where he died the same night, at nine o'clock, having displayed the utmost fortitude and resignation during many hours of mortal agony. His last words were, "I hope I have lived the life of a Christian." The following week his mortal remains were interred in St. James's Cemetery, Liverpool, amidst the sincere lamentations of tens of thousands of his admirers. A beautiful little chapel has been raised above his remains, in which stands a noble statue of the deceased statesman, from the chisel of Gibson. Though less brilliant as an orator than many of his contemporary statesmen, no man of modern times has given a stronger or more lasting impulse to the policy of his own and of other countries than William Huskisson.

CHAPTER NINETEENTH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

FROM THE YEAR 1825 TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Having collected from the mouths of living witnesses and other transitory sources, and having placed on record the circumstances which attended the formation of the first great railway ever constructed, either in England or any other country, I now proceed to record the other events worthy of notice, which occurred in Liverpool, from the year 1825, to the accession of her present Majesty, in the year 1837.

Early in the year 1825 the town council determined to fill up the Old Dock, the cradle of the commerce of Liverpool, and to erect on the site a handsome and costly building, to serve as a Custom-house, Post-office, Stamp-office, and Dock-office. By this unwise decision the port was deprived of one of the most central and convenient of its docks, and the new Revenue-buildings (as they were named) were placed on the lowest ground in the town, instead of being placed on some one of the commanding sites adjoining, from which they might have been seen from all parts of the river. In the month of September, 1826, the Old Dock was cleared of all its shipping, and the work of filling up was commenced shortly afterwards. By an arrangement made with the government, in July, 1827, it was agreed that the site of the new Revenue-buildings should be given by the corporation, and that the treasury should pay the sum of £150,000 towards the erection, in five yearly sums of £30,000 each. The foundation of the new Custom-house was laid on the 12th of August, 1828, during the mayoralty of Thomas Colley Porter, Esq. The following is a copy of the inscription engraved on the brass plate placed under the stone:—"BOROUGH OF LIVERPOOL. The first stone of this building, intended for a Custom-house and other public offices connected with the interests of this flourishing port, was laid by the worshipful Thomas Colley Porter, mayor, on the 12th day of August, being the anniversary of the birth of his most gracious Majesty

George the Fourth, in the ninth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1828.”*

In the month of March, 1826, the foundation-stone of the fort, on the rock, at the Cheshire side of the entrance to the river Mersey, was laid by the mayor, Peter Bourne, Esq., in the presence of a numerous company. On the upper surface of the stone was fastened a plate of copper, bearing the following inscription :—“This foundation-stone of the Rock Perch Battery, projected by and under the direction of John Sykes Kitson, Esq., Captain in the Royal Engineers, for the defence of the port, was laid on the 31st of March, 1826, by Peter Bourne, Esq., mayor of Liverpool, in the seventh year of the reign of his Majesty George the Fourth. His Grace the Duke of Wellington, Master-General of the Ordnance.” This fort is armed with long 36-pounder guns, and effectually commands the entrance to the port of Liverpool.

Great improvements were made at the Seacombe ferry in the year 1826, by which that ancient ferry was rendered one of the most useful and agreeable outlets from the town of Liverpool. At that time Seacombe was the only ferry below Wallasey-pool, and the fine range of country, extending from Seacombe to the sandhills of Wallasey, contained only two or three small villages, inhabited by a primitive race, engaged either in farming or fishing, with an occasional turn at smuggling and wrecking.

In September, 1826, the foundation-stone was laid of a church dedicated to St. David, the patron saint of the Welsh principality, in which Divine service is performed in the Welsh language, and according to the rites of the Church of England. At least 20,000 of the inhabitants of Liverpool are of Welsh origin, and, like the natives of the principality generally, they are distinguished by orderly habits and a strong sense of religion. They have several other places of religious worship in Liverpool besides St. David's Church.

Coaching continued to be carried on with great spirit between Liverpool and Manchester. In October, 1826, the Regulator coach made the journey of thirty-six miles in two hours and thirty-two minutes.

In January, 1827, a large house, in Hanover-street, which had been built by the family of the Steers, the descendants of the engineer of the Old Dock, at a time when Hanover-street was the most fashionable street in Liverpool, was purchased by the directors of the Bank of England, as a place of business, for the branch bank, which they were about to form

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, August 12, 1828.

in Liverpool, under the provisions of the bank act of 1826. Until that act was passed, the direct operations of the Bank of England had been confined to London, although no notes, except those of that bank, had ever been used in Liverpool or Manchester. Very shortly after the act of 1826 had authorized the directors to form branches in the country, they established a branch in Liverpool, which carried on its business in Hanover-street, until two or three years ago, when the directors caused a handsome stone building to be erected in Castle-street, in which the business is now conducted.

In the early part of the year 1827 the fields lying between what, in old times, was called Crabtree-lane, but now Falkner-street, and Upper Parliament-street, were laid out as building-ground, by the proprietor, Major Edward Falkner. His plan was to form a square in the centre, to which it was proposed to give the name of Wellington-square, with wide streets running from it in various directions. The plan has since been carried out, nearly the whole of the fields having been covered with handsome streets and good houses, but the name of Falkner-square has been given to the central square, instead of that of the great general of the age.

The great improvement of laying down roads on the principle of M^cAdam was introduced in Liverpool, in the year 1827. Church-street and the upper part of Mount-pleasant, opposite the Wellington-rooms, were the first portions of the streets of Liverpool which were M^cAdamized.*

On the 8th of June, 1827, the foundation-stone was laid of the beautiful lighthouse, erected on the dangerous rock at the entrance of the river Mersey, immediately below the fort. Thomas Littledale, Esq., then mayor of Liverpool, laid the stone, in the presence of a great number of gentlemen and ladies. The following is the inscription on the plate:—"The first stone of this lighthouse was laid by Thomas Littledale, Esq., mayor of Liverpool, on the 8th of June, 1827.

"THOMAS BRANCKER, Esq., }
 "JOHN EWART, Esq., } Bailiffs.
 "JOHN FOSTER, jun., Architect."

This lighthouse is eighty-six feet in height, is built of limestone, and shows a revolving light of white and red,—two white lights and a red. It completes the land-lights at the entrance and the approaches to the river.

The Clarendon-buildings were erected in the year 1827. They contain rooms for public meetings, as well as offices.

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 8, 1827.

On Monday, the 5th of November, 1827, the telegraph formed along the hills and headlands of Cheshire and Wales, to give notice from Holyhead to Liverpool of the approach of homeward-bound vessels, of shipwrecks on the coast, of the state of the winds out at sea, and of other matters connected with commerce and navigation, was first brought into use. "The first telegraphic communication along the whole line from Holyhead to Liverpool," says a Liverpool paper of the 6th November, "was made yesterday morning, at nine o'clock, when it was announced that the wind had changed at the Head from southwest to west. This change did not take place at Liverpool till an hour after; and, as the telegraph communication was made in five minutes, (the distance being 128 miles,) it may be said that this is a messenger far outstripping the wind in its speed." A still swifter messenger, flying with the speed of lightning, will soon supersede this and all the ordinary telegraphic communications, though the electric telegraph has not yet been applied between Liverpool and Holyhead, owing to the difficulties caused by the wide estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey. This, however, will soon be overcome, by crossing the Dee at Chester, and the Mersey at Runcorn or Warrington.

The office of mayor was vehemently contested in 1827. Two candidates were brought forward, Mr. Nicholas Robinson, an extensive corn-merchant, and Mr. Thomas Colley Porter, a successful tradesman. One or other of the candidates would probably have given way, if their friends would have allowed them; but the merchants would not yield to the tradesmen, nor the tradesmen to the merchants. The consequence was a violent contest, in which from £15,000 to £20,000 was spent in bribery and treating. Towards the end of the contest votes had risen to £20 or £30 a-piece. The election ended in the return of Mr. Porter, who polled 1,780 freemen, against 1,765 for Mr. Robinson. The open bribery of this election gave a great blow to the old municipal government of the town.

A musical festival was held in Liverpool, in the year 1827, which produced the sum of £4,200 for the public charities of the town.

The system of savings' banks was introduced into Liverpool almost immediately after it had been established. In January, 1828, the number of depositors in the Liverpool district was 5,383; the amount deposited was £242,701 9s. 2d.

In the autumn of 1828 the London and Liverpool mail was accelerated, so that, starting from the Postoffice, London, at seven o'clock in

the evening, it arrived in Liverpool at six o'clock on the evening of the following day. The letters were delivered at a quarter before seven, p.m., instead of the next morning, as previously.*

In the spring of 1829 a valuation was made of all property in the county of Lancaster liable to be assessed for parish and county rates, that is, of all land and buildings. It appeared that the yearly value of all property of that kind in the county was £4,214,634, and in the borough of Liverpool £751,126. At the previous valuation, made in 1815, the same kind of property had given £3,106,009 for the county and £584,687 for the borough of Liverpool.†

The first interment at the beautiful and retired cemetery at St. James's-mount took place on the 11th June, 1829.

In the autumn of 1829 the foundation-stone of the North Dispensary, for the relief of the poor in sickness and time of accident, was laid by William Brown, Esq., one of the present members for South Lancashire, and the munificent supporter, not only of the Dispensaries, but of all the other charities of the town. In the preceding year the Liverpool Dispensaries had given assistance to 44,000 persons.‡

A return, showing the revenue arising from the production and consumption of exciseable articles, in the year 1829, in the various collectorships in the kingdom, (exclusive of London,) gave the following results:—Liverpool, £618,000; Manchester, £776,000; Hertford, £564,000; Halifax, £513,000; Wigan, £505,000; Bristol, £450,000; Newcastle-on-Tyne, £415,000; Northwich, Cheshire, £349,000; Lichfield, £341,000; Leeds, £310,000; Rochester, £306,000; Glasgow, £677,000; Stirling, £426,000; Haddington, £288,000.

The cattle market, at Stanley, near the Old Swan, was opened in August, 1830, having been removed from Kirkdale, in the suburbs of Liverpool. This has become one of the greatest cattle markets in the kingdom, owing to the large importations of cattle and sheep from Ireland, Wales, Cumberland, and the Highlands of Scotland. A few Spanish and French cattle have occasionally been seen in this market, but these importations are very rare at Liverpool.

The vacancy in the representation of Liverpool, caused by the death of Mr. Huskisson, was not filled up till the month of December following, when it gave rise to the famous Ewart and Denison contest, in which more money was spent than had ever been expended in any previous

* Billings's Liverpool Advertiser, September 9, 1828.

† Liverpool Times, April 28, 1829.

‡ Ibid, September 15, 1829.

borough election, either in Liverpool or anywhere else. In this extraordinary contest upwards of £100,000 was spent, in treating or buying the votes of rather more than 3,000 freemen. Of 4,401 persons who voted at that election, not much more than 1,000 gave their votes without receiving bribes, varying from £20 to £100. The scandal caused by this election greatly assisted in carrying the Reform Bill.* At the close of the poll, which lasted eight days, Mr. Ewart had polled 2,215 votes and Mr. Denison 2,186. Mr. Ewart was declared to be elected, but was unseated on petition, and the borough very narrowly escaped disfranchisement. As the men on whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, were not greater sinners than the other dwellers in Jerusalem, so the parties engaged in this monstrous election were not worse than the candidates and the electors in many other boroughs in the kingdom. At that time corruption was the rule and purity the exception. Happily, this scandalous practice of bribery at elections is now unknown in Liverpool,—certainly as much so as in any borough constituency in England.

Early in 1831 the system of joint-stock banking was first introduced into Liverpool, under the provisions of the banking act of 1826. The "Bank of Liverpool" was the first joint-stock bank established in Liverpool. The capital of this successful and well-conducted bank was fixed at £2,500,000, to be raised in 25,000 shares of £100 each, of which not more than 500 shares were allowed to be held by any one person. Mr. William Brown presided at the first meeting of the shareholders, which was held at the Clarendon-rooms, on the 17th of March, 1831. At this meeting it was announced that application had been made for upwards of 18,000 shares; that 15,638 had been granted; and that the remainder of the 25,000, into which the capital stock of the company was divided, would be left at the disposal of the directors, to be by them appropriated in such manner as would best advance the interests and credit of the bank. Mr. Joseph Langton was appointed manager of the bank, and the following gentlemen were chosen directors, for the first year:—Mr. William Brown, chairman; Mr. Edward Wilson, deputy-chairman; Mr. Isaac

* Lord Brougham said, in the House of Lords, "He had himself witnessed a contested election in a great rotten borough,—for he would so denominate Liverpool, and place it at the head of all the rest; and, although for many months afterwards the candidates had no notion of any corrupt or undue practices, the cost of the election amounted to upwards of £40,000. He had been told that three times £40,000 would not be sufficient to pay the expenses of the last election that had disgraced the town of Liverpool; he hoped the last in every sense of the word; for, if the bill (the Reform Bill) were torn to shivers, another and a local bill would be necessary to deprive parties of a franchise which they had abused."

Cooke, Mr. William Donald, Mr. Alexander Gordon, Mr. Adam Hodgson, Mr. George Holt, Mr. Joseph Hornby, Mr. William Lawson, Mr. William Pickering, Mr. Thomas Sands, and Mr. William Stuart.*

In the month of March, 1831, the Stafford Patent Safety Coach made the journey from Birmingham to Liverpool, a distance of about 100 miles, in eight hours and forty-one minutes. This was as great a speed as was attained on that road, for a whole journey.

In the month of May, 1831, the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway caused a tablet of white marble to be erected at Parkside, opposite the point where Mr. Huskisson received the injury which put an end to his life. It bore the following inscription:—"This tablet, a tribute of personal respect and affection, has been placed here to mark the spot where, on the 15th September, 1830, the day of the opening of this railroad, the Right Hon. William Huskisson, M.P., (singled out by the decree of an inscrutable Providence from the midst of the distinguished multitude that surrounded him,) in the full pride of his talents and the perfection of his usefulness, met with the accident that occasioned his death, which deprived England of an illustrious statesman and Liverpool of its most honoured representative; which changed a moment of the noblest exultation and triumph that science and genius had ever achieved, into one of desolation and mourning, and striking terror into the hearts of assembled thousands, brought home to every bosom the forgotten truth, that 'in the midst of life we are in death.'"

Another census of the population of England took place this year, which showed the following results:—Borough of Liverpool, in 1831, 165,221, giving an increase from 1821 of 46,249; Everton, 2,402; Kirkdale, 2,562; West Derby, 9,613; Toxteth-park, 24,067: total, 203,572. Add 10,000 seamen, and the population of surrounding district, and the grand total of the population of the borough and suburbs, in the year 1831, was 234,747 inhabitants.†

In the month of July, 1831, died William Roscoe, the glory of the literature of Liverpool. He was born on Martindale-hill, now Mount-pleasant, in the year 1753, and died within a mile of the place of his birth, after a honourable career of seventy-nine years.‡

In July, 1831, omnibuses first began to ply in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. This was the commencement of a change which has enabled thousands of persons, of moderate means, whose occupations are in Liver-

* Liverpool Times, March 22, 1831.

+ Ibid, July 5, 1831.

‡ Ibid, July 5, 1831.

pool, to reside in the pleasant villages which encircle it, extending from Bootle to Aigburth.*

In the month of January, 1832, a letter was received from the eminent sculptor, Chantrey, announcing that his statue of Canning, which forms the noblest ornament of the Town-hall of Liverpool, was finished. The committee asked and obtained permission from the town council to place this fine work of art on the landing of the grand staircase of the Town-hall. The sum paid to Chantrey for this statue was three thousand guineas.†

The limits of the new parliamentary borough of Liverpool were fixed this year, (1832.)‡

On the 22d of May it was officially announced that the Asiatic cholera had broken out in Liverpool. This terrible disease, which appears to have originated near the mouth of the Ganges, had been gradually making its way across India, Persia, Turkey, Russia, Poland, and Germany, to this country. It first showed itself in Sunderland, on the east coast of England, in the month of November, 1831, and gradually crossed the island, reaching Liverpool in the spring of the following year. In the course of the summer it broke out on board the emigrant ship *Brutus*, three days after it had sailed from Liverpool for the United States. That vessel immediately returned to Liverpool; but the disease was ultimately carried across the Atlantic, and followed the great routes of communication, and the movements of population, in the new world, as it had done in the old. Although the mortality caused in Liverpool by this dreadful disease was considerable, yet it was not so great as that frequently produced by fevers, which excite little attention. The first case noticed was on the 4th May, 1832, and the disease remained in the town for four or five months; but it did not add much to the average rate of mortality, its ravages bearing no resemblance to those of the oriental plague, which destroyed the fourth part of the inhabitants of Liverpool, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; or to the black plague of the reign of Edward the Third, which destroyed so large a portion of the inhabitants, that the survivors were not able to remove the bodies to the parish church-yard, at Walton, but were compelled to bury them around the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the midst of the town. In the year 1832, the population of Liverpool being upwards of 230,000 souls, the number of cases of Asiatic cholera was 4,912; and of the persons attacked 3,389 recovered and 1,523 died.§

* Liverpool Times, July, 1831. + Ibid, February 7, 1832. † Ibid, February 28, 1832.

§ Ibid, September 18, 1832.

In the year 1832, the Parliamentary Reform Bill made an entire change in the mode of electing members of the House of Commons, in Liverpool, as well as other places.

It has been mentioned in a former part of this work that the burgesses of Liverpool were summoned to return members to parliament as early as the year 1296, the 25th of Edward the First. This was the first parliament called by royal authority in which the town population of England was represented, and in that parliament Adam Fitz Richard and Robert Pinklowe appeared as the representatives of the burgesses of Liverpool. According to the constitution of the House of Commons, as then established, all the royal boroughs of the kingdom, that is to say, all the places in which the crown-lands were let on burgage, and which possessed charters granted by the crown, were summoned to return members to parliament. This included most of the places which had risen above the rank of mere villages. In each of these boroughs the elective franchise was vested in the holders of the burgage-lands ; hence the term burgesses. From a very early period the governing body claimed and exercised the right of conferring all the privileges of a burgess on their own children, on their apprentices, on persons willing to buy the freedom of their respective boroughs, and occasionally on powerful neighbours and other favourites. According to the earliest account the number of burgages or burgesses in Liverpool was originally one hundred and sixty-five, and it did not rise much above that number until the reign of James the First, so slow was the progress of the town and port. At times, indeed, the number even decreased. Unfortunately, the return respecting Liverpool in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, made in 1343, does not give us the names and occupations of the burgesses, as many of the other returns do. All that it tells us is the amount of their movable property, which was equal to about £1,500 of our present money. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, in the year 1457, the number of burgesses was 168. It was afterwards reduced by war and pestilence ; so that, at a common hall held in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Liverpool was at its lowest point, only 126 burgesses were found to attend. From that time the number of burgesses or freemen increased, with the growth of the town. In the reign of James the First, in the year 1620, the number of burgesses had increased to 245. At a contested election, held in the year 1695, 415 persons voted for the two candidates. Allowing for double votes, upwards of 1,000 burgesses must have voted in a contested election in the year 1710, when, at the close of the poll, the numbers were, Cleveland, 542 ;

Johnson, 492 ; Norris, 447 ; Clayton, 439. At that time the town council was not only willing to sell the freedom of the borough to all persons who settled in it, but even required that all strangers who came to settle in the town should buy it. The fees from the sale of freedoms formed a considerable item in the income of the corporation. In 1683 the freedoms sold produced £117; in 1694, they produced £134; in 1699, £175; in 1701, £208; in 1711, £352; in 1722, £206. About the year 1730 a violent contest rose between the town council and the body of the burgesses, on the subject of holding a common hall, or general assembly, of the constituency, and at that time the town council was less disposed to increase the number of burgesses or freemen. During this struggle the fines from grants of freedom sank in one year, 1730, to £8, and in 1731 to £17; but shortly after the old practice was resumed, and the freemen's fines produced £361 in 1733, and £367 in 1734. In the beginning of the reign of George the Third, the practice of selling freedoms still continued, though on a smaller scale; but it was soon after altogether discontinued. This was a great error, as it divided the population into two rival classes of freemen and non-freemen; rendered the latter hostile to the corporation; and excluded a considerable proportion of the merchants, brokers, professional men, and many of the tradesmen and shopkeepers of the town, not only from municipal power, but from the parliamentary franchise. Still the number of freemen continued to increase, by birth and apprenticeship, and by occasional gifts of the freedom to eminent men and favourites of the town council. At the contested election between Brougham and Canning, in 1812, 2,726 burgesses polled, which was a greater number than had ever polled before by 313 votes. At the last great contest under the old constituency, that between Ewart and Denison, in the year 1830, the number of voters polled was 4,401. By the Parliamentary Reform Bill, which became law in the year 1832, the boundaries of the borough were greatly extended, and made to include the whole of Toxteth-park and parts of West Derby, Everton, and Kirkdale; a great suburban district, which now contains a population of 100,000 inhabitants. In Liverpool, as throughout the kingdom generally, the franchise was given to all ten pound householders who had paid their government and local taxes, in addition to the old burgesses. The result was to double the constituency the first year. The household part of the constituency has since continued to increase rapidly, whilst the number of the old burgesses has diminished almost as rapidly. The constituency now amounts to upwards of 18,000 electors.

According to a classification of the voters of Liverpool, made after the first contested election under the Reform Bill, it appeared that 2,221 were of the class of merchants, gentry, clergy, bankers, brokers, and wholesale dealers; 3,566 were shopkeepers and tradesmen; and 3,304 were mechanics and labourers.*

On the night of Monday, the 7th January, 1833, a dreadful fire broke out in Lancelot's-hey, which destroyed fourteen warehouses, eight dwelling-houses, 10,000 bales of cotton, 700 hogsheads of sugar, and other property, amounting in the whole to £198,000. Colonel Jordan, the commanding officer of the district, had his leg shattered by the fall of the ruins, so as to render it necessary to amputate the limb. The supply of water at this fire was insufficient, then a very common event in Liverpool fires.

In the month of February, 1833, a cause was tried before Lord Chief Justice Denman, in the Court of Queen's Bench, which involved the right of the corporation of Liverpool to that large portion of its income which it derives from town dues, a tax of about a twelfth of one per cent. on goods exported from or imported into the port. The question of their legality had never been tried before, although they had been collected from the time of Henry the Third, (1219,) and probably much earlier. The various litigations which had taken place in connection with the town dues previously, had turned either upon the ownership of the estate in those dues, or on certain claims of exemption founded on old charters, granted to the parties claiming that exemption, not on the general question of the legality of the dues. The question of their legality was, however, fully raised in the cause tried before Lord Denman in 1833, and was then decided in favour of the corporation of Liverpool.

The ground taken by the corporation in this case was that the town dues had formed part of the *jura regalia*, the ancient rights of the crown; and that they had been sold by the crown to the parties from whom the corporation of Liverpool, in its turn, had bought them.

In proof of the assertion that these dues had belonged to the crown, for many ages, a great number of leases and records were produced, which were considered fully to establish that point. The first document produced was an extract from Domesday Book, from which it appeared that all the land between the Mersey and the Ribble, including that on which the town of Liverpool now stands, belonged to the crown, which therefore possessed all the rights of the crown upon it, one of which rights was the demanding

* Liverpool Times, January 8, 1833.

of certain small dues on all trade, foreign and domestic, carried on in the town. Those were the dues described in Magna Charta as the "just and ancient customs of the kingdom"; and it will be seen from a list of the fee farm rents paid to the crown, given in a previous part of this work,* that they were paid in all parts of the kingdom, from London, Bristol, York, Chester, Lincoln, and other great cities, to Bridgenorth, Bala, and Liverpool, and other insignificant towns. According to a list of these dues, as collected at London in the year 1268, they consisted of troneage or weighing duty, of customs on all manner of goods coming from foreign parts, of metage of corn, customs of fish, tolls at the river gates, customs of the river Thames, stallage, soccage, &c. In London these dues produced upwards of £700 a-year, equal to £10,000 a-year of the money of the present time, and were let to the citizens, who had the risk and expense of collecting them, sometimes for £300, and at other times for £400 a-year, the latter sum being equal to about £6,000 of our money.

The first lease produced by the corporation of Liverpool was one of King Henry the Third, letting all the royal rights in Liverpool to the burgesses of Liverpool, for a term of four years, at a yearly rent of £10, equal to about £150 of the present money. The date of this lease is March 25th, 1229, the 13th year of the reign of King Henry the Third. Next was produced a record dated twenty-eight years later, that is, in the year 1256, which showed that the fee-farm (as it was then called) of Liverpool was in the hands of Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward the First, during the minority of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, to one of whose ancestors, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, it had been granted by King Henry the Third, on Michaelmas Day, 1229. An "inquisitio post mortem", dated forty years later, in the year 1296, was then produced, from which it appeared that Edmund Plantagenet, the first Earl of Lancaster, died that year, possessed of the tolls, market, and foreign tolls of Liverpool, still worth £10, or £150 of our money, which he had received from his father, King Henry the Third, along with the rest of the confiscated estates of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, in the year 1266. Another record was produced, which showed that the tolls of Liverpool were worth £10, or £150 of modern money, in the year 1327, when they passed into the hands of Henry Plantagenet, the grandson of Earl Edmund. An "inquisitio post mortem", made in the year 1348, soon after the death of this earl, showed that the tolls, stallage, markets, and fairs of the town of Liverpool, which had become worth £26 a-year,

* P. 94.

or about £300 of our money, had passed into the hands of his son Henry, afterwards the first Duke of Lancaster. A lease was produced of the farm of Liverpool, granted by Duke Henry, in the year 1354. Several leases were afterwards produced, granted by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who next became possessed of these estates, in right of his wife, Blanche Plantagenet, the heiress of Duke Henry. Leases or deeds were then produced, showing the possession of the fee-farm of Liverpool by all the kings of the Plantagenet line, from Henry the Fourth, the first king of the House of Lancaster, to Richard the Third, the last king of the House of York. Numerous leases were afterwards produced of all the kings and queens of the House of Tudor, namely, Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. Leases were afterwards produced, granted by King James the First. The deeds were then produced by which Charles the First sold all his rights in Liverpool, to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London; by which the Lord Mayor and citizens sold those rights to Lord Molyneux; and by which the Molyneux family first leased them to the Corporation of Liverpool for a term of one thousand years, and afterwards sold their reversionary right to the same body. This great mass of evidence, beginning with Domesday Book, and coming down to the present time, was brought together by the late Mr. Charles Okill, after a labour of many years. On examining it, Sir James Searlett, afterwards Lord Abinger, gave the following opinion:—"On the whole it appears to me, that the corporation of Liverpool have as strong a case as any that has fallen under my knowledge, in support of their claims; and I think there can be no doubt of their success if they proceed to trial." The result confirmed the correctness of this opinion. The cause was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, in February, 1833, before Lord Chief Justice Denman and a special jury; and, under the direction of that eminent judge, a verdict was given in favour of the corporation.

In the summer of 1833, another large and commodious dock, forming the southern extremity of that magnificent line, was opened to the timber trade, one of the greatest and most valuable trades of the port. This dock occupies the site of the dam of the tide mill, formerly known by the name of Jackson's Dam. "This dock," says an account, published at the time when it was opened, "presents a splendid specimen of mural architecture, and its vast and capacious quay, laid down on the east side, on the principle of an inclined plane, expressly adapted to the landing of timber, together with the finishing of the docks, and the

elegant and appropriate erections by which the walls are surrounded, adds another appendage to the port, of which the metropolis of the kingdom might justly be proud."

In the summer of 1833 the Victoria Channel, now the most frequented of all the entrances to the river, was carefully explored by Captain Denham and Lieutenant Robinson, who were deputed by the Admiralty to make a survey of the River Mersey. When first explored this channel was found to afford 12 feet of water two hours after flood, and 17 feet water at half-tide. It has proved an invaluable acquisition to the navigation of the port.*

A parliamentary return, published in 1833, gives the following report of the amount of Postoffice revenue received, at nine of the principal cities and towns of the empire:—London, £637,178; Dublin, £80,610; Liverpool, £70,018; Manchester, £53,499; Edinburgh, £42,758; Glasgow, £35,754; Bristol, £33,887; Birmingham, £28,684; Leeds, £29,315: total, £1,399,246.

The sailing of the spring fleet for the North American colonies in the month of April, 1834, was a magnificent sight. After six weeks of contrary winds the wind became favourable for going to sea, on Sunday, the 6th of April. There were at that time lying in the docks of Liverpool, waiting for a wind, 133 vessels, of the burden of 37,585 tons, all bound for British America, besides an immense number for the United States, the West Indies, and other countries, and a swarm of coasters. All these got into the river with the Sunday morning's tide, and completely covered it with a cloud of sails. In two or three hours after high water the river was almost deserted, the wind having carried the whole fleet round the Rock, but the outward-bound vessels continued in sight nearly the whole of the day, divided into two fleets, each of a hundred and fifty to two hundred vessels, which proceeded to sea in full sail, one through the north and the other through the south channel.

On the 10th of February, 1835, an expedition sailed from Liverpool, with two iron vessels, built in the river Mersey, to explore the river Euphrates. It was at that time thought that it might be desirable to open an intercourse with India, by way of Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Bassora; but the result of the expedition was to show the difficulty and danger of the Syrian route, and to give the preference to Lieutenant Waghorn's admirable plan of communicating with India, by way of Egypt.

* Liverpool Times, Aug. 27, 1833.

In the month of March, 1835, the *Jumna*, the first English vessel that ever made the voyage from Liverpool to Canton, returned to Liverpool, having sailed out and home, besides remaining three months at Canton, in ten months. This was the quickest passage that had been made up to that time.

In March, 1835, the Carlisle mail, and all the northern coaches were detained for many hours by heavy falls of snow.

In April, 1835, it was announced that what were then called "the North Docks" were almost ready to be opened. Since then an entirely new set of docks has been constructed, still further north, than those Northern Docks.

On Wednesday, May the 8th, 1835, seventy-three vessels entered the port with a single tide.

In the Month of June, 1835, it was announced in the "Gazette", that the Assizes for the southern part of Lancashire would henceforward be held at Liverpool instead of Lancaster.

In July, 1835, Lord Brougham visited Liverpool, for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of the Mechanics' Institution, Mount-street. In the month of September, 1835, the borough of Liverpool was divided into sixteen wards, under the provisions of the Municipal Act, which passed through Parliament in the session of that year.

In November, 1833, "a court of inquiry, into the existing state of the corporation of Liverpool", was held in the Court-room, in the Sessions'-house, in Chapel-street, before George Hutton Wilkinson and Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Esqs., two of his Majesty's commissioners appointed to inquire into municipal corporations in England and Wales. This inquiry extended to all the boroughs of the kingdom, and was followed by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. The following is a brief sketch both of the municipal government which was found to exist in Liverpool at the time of the inquiry, and of the changes which were made by the act which followed it:

The first point of inquiry before the commissioners was as to the numbers and personal composition of the common council, the governing body of the corporation. It was found to consist of forty gentlemen, all of them men of excellent standing in the town.

By the Municipal Reform Act the number of members of the town council was raised to sixty-four, of whom forty-eight are town councillors and sixteen aldermen.

The next point of inquiry was as to the limits of the municipal

borough. These were found to be co-extensive with the parish of Liverpool. By the Municipal Reform Act the limits of the municipal borough were greatly extended, so as to be co-extensive with the parliamentary borough.

A list of royal charters to the burgesses of Liverpool was put in, the particulars of which have been given in the early part of this work.

The originals of all these charters, the oldest of which are written on slips of parchment not much larger than a man's hand, were produced for the examination of the commissioners.

The common seal of the borough was also produced. It is made of silver, and is of great antiquity.

The style and title of the corporation were stated to be, "The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the town of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster."

The first of the officers of the corporation was the mayor. He was elected on St. Luke's Day, the 18th of October. It was stated that the mayor was elected by the burgesses, and that the choice of mayor sometimes led to severe, and, it might have been added, very expensive contests. The mayor had the right of making one freeman. The sum allowed to the mayor to sustain the hospitalities of his office was £1,200 a-year, besides wine and a carriage. Under the Municipal Reform Act the mayor is elected by the town council.

The bailiffs were also elected by the burgesses. This was an onerous office, as they had to attend almost daily to public business, and acted as coroners for the borough. They were also officers and judges of the Court of Passage. The ancient office of bailiff was abolished by the Municipal Reform Act.

Next to the bailiff was the recorder, who was always a barrister. The charters required that he should be an "honest and discreet man, skilful in the laws of England." His salary was 500 guineas. The Municipal Act made no important change as to the office of recorder.

The town-clerk came next. Mr. Thomas Foster then held that office, having recently been elected by the town council in the place of Mr. Statham. The salary of this office was only £105, but it was afterwards proved to be worth £4,000 or £5,000 a-year, when fees and other emoluments were taken into the account. The sum which Mr. Foster claimed as compensation, when he was deprived of the office, was £80,000. He obtained an annuity of £4,000 a-year for his life, but only lived to enjoy it for half-a-year. The office of town-clerk is now ably filled by Wm. Shuttleworth, Esq. His salary is £2,000 a-year.

With regard to the borough magistrates and aldermen, it was stated that every member of the common council who had passed through the office of mayor became a magistrate and an alderman for life. This excellent arrangement, which gave dignity to the office of mayor and stability to the council, was abolished by the Municipal Reform Bill. The magistrates are now appointed directly by the crown, and the aldermen are elected by the town councillors.

The meetings of the council were held the first Wednesday of every month. This practice is continued. The meetings are now open: they were formerly held with closed doors.

The office of treasurer of the corporation was held by Mr. John Dean Case, with a salary of £1,000 a-year. It is now held by Mr. Wybergh.

Mr. John Foster was surveyor of the corporation, with a salary of £1,000 a-year. His father had held the same office before him. Mr. John Foster, jun., had also a commission on the building of the Custom-house of five per cent. on the outlay. The office is now held by Mr. John Weightman.

Next came the swordbearer, whose duty it was to issue summonses. His salary was 200 guineas a-year.

The office of clerk of committees was held by Mr. Okill. He received a salary of £500. Mr. Okill was also historian and antiquarian to the council, (though those offices were not named in his appointment,) and rendered the greatest service to the corporation, by investigating and clearly explaining the grounds of its title to the town dues.

Mr. Thomas Corrie held the office of receiver of the town dues. He was paid by a commission, which had produced £1,030 yearly, on an average of years. The office is now held by Sir Thomas Brancker, at a salary of £750 a-year.

The freedom of the town, it was stated, was acquired in two ways; by birth, and by servitude under indenture for seven years, within the borough, to a freeman. It was also given occasionally for distinguished services, local or national. The privileges of a freeman were to import and export his own goods without paying town dues, and to vote at elections for mayors and members of parliament: his special duties to serve on juries. The number of persons entitled to be free was about 5,000: the number of those who had taken up their freedom was 4,400, in 1830. The freedom of the town is still acquired by birth and servitude. Its only peculiar value now is in the exemption from the payment of town dues, though it also confers the right of voting at parliamentary elections.

It appeared that the ruling body of the corporation was the town council, and that the council filled up all vacancies in its own number as they occurred. The burgesses had made many efforts to obtain the power of electing the members of the town council, especially in the year 1791, when they chose Mr. Richard Walker as a common councilman, and in 1792, when they elected Mr. Birch, afterwards Sir Joseph Birch, to the same office ; but, in both those cases, juries of the county of Lancaster had decided that the burgesses did not possess any such power. The consequence of these decisions had been to continue the election of the members of the town council in the hands of the council itself. By the Municipal Reform Bill the right of electing forty-eight town councillors was given to all resident householders, who had paid government and local taxes for three years, and the right of electing sixteen aldermen was given to the town council. The right of electing the mayor was also given to the whole town council, consisting of sixty-four aldermen and town councillors.

It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the ancient local court, the Court of Passage, or Paysage, was kept up, and that the mayor and bailiffs presided over it, as they had done for upwards of six hundred years. This useful court was retained, and was rendered still more useful by the appointment of a good lawyer to act as judge. Henry Roscoe, Esq., one of the sons of William Roscoe, and himself an accomplished scholar as well as a sound lawyer, was the first judge of this court. Charles Crompton, Esq., is his worthy successor.

In February, 1836, the day and night police, as at present formed, was first organized.

In the month of September, 1836, a great reduction was made in the Liverpool dock dues. The amount remitted was about £60,000 a-year.*

In the month of February, 1837, it was found that the steam navigation of the port had increased so greatly as to render it necessary to appropriate two of the docks, the Clarence and the Trafalgar, exclusively to the use of steamers. This great interest had grown up since the year 1819, when there were only two steam-vessels trading from Liverpool, to places outside the river Mersey.

At the meeting of the Grand Junction Railway Company, in January, 1837, it was announced that the line of railway from Liverpool to Birmingham would be opened in the course of the year 1837 ; and at the

* Liverpool Times, September 6, 1836.

meeting of the London and Birmingham Company, it was stated that the line would be opened from London to Birmingham in the course of the year 1838.

The Royal William, one of the first steamers that ever crossed the Atlantic, was built by the City of Dublin Steam-packet Company, in the spring of 1837, and from the first gave evidence of the speed and power which enabled her to assist in deciding the great problem, of whether a vessel worked by steam alone could make the voyage from Europe to America.*

On Thursday, the 25th May, the inhabitants of Liverpool joined, with those of the other great cities and towns of the empire, in congratulating the Princess Victoria on her having completed her eighteenth year ; and, within a month of that time, on the 20th of June, 1837, they joined, with the rest of her subjects, in hailing the accession of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria to the Throne of the British Empire.

* Liverpool Times, March 12, 1837.

CHAPTER TWENTIETH.

LIVERPOOL UNDER QUEEN VICTORIA.

In the first twelve months of the reign of Queen Victoria three great undertakings were perfected, which have given a wonderful impulse, not merely to the prosperity of Liverpool, but to that of the British Empire, of Europe and America, and of the whole human race. The first of these was the opening of a magnificent line of railway, 200 miles in length, extending from Lancashire to London, and passing through the heart of England; the second was the traversing of the Atlantic Ocean, from England to the United States and British America, by means of steamships; the third was the perfecting of the electric telegraph. The effect of the first of these great undertakings was to reduce the time of communication between Liverpool and London from an average of twenty-four to one of eight hours; that of the second was to shorten the time of communication between Liverpool and New York, from an average of about twenty-eight days to one of little more than ten; and that of the third was to annihilate time and space, for the purposes of communication, and to apply to the use of man a power capable of conveying intelligence round the great globe itself in an instant of time.

On the 4th of July, 1837, the Grand Junction Railway was first opened to the public. That portion of what is now so well known as the London and North-western line, creates a railway communication ninety-eight miles in length, from the port of Liverpool, and the great manufacturing districts of Manchester, to Birmingham and the rich mineral districts of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. Warned by the fate of Mr. Huskisson, there was no public display. The first train, drawn by an engine named after the great philosopher of Manchester, Dr. Dalton, started from Liverpool at seventeen minutes before seven o'clock, on the morning of the 4th of July. It consisted of three first-class carriages and a mail carriage. The first stage of the journey, from Liverpool to

Warrington, a distance of nineteen-and-a-half miles, was performed in forty minutes, including the time consumed in attaching three Manchester carriages and a mail carriage, at the Newton junction. After a delay of about ten minutes at Warrington, the train proceeded towards Hartford, over the plain of Cheshire, crossing the river Mersey and the Mersey and Irwell Canal, near Warrington, by a bridge of two arches, each of seventy-five feet span; the river Weaver, the canal, and the valley at Dutton, by a stupendous viaduct, 1,200 feet in length, supported on twenty arches, each of sixty feet span, and ten feet higher than the arches of the Sankey Viaduct; and the river Weaver and the Vale Royal by a lofty embankment and another noble viaduct. The train reached Hartford at five minutes past eight, and Crewe at ten minutes before nine. The Madely summit was ascended in fine style, up an incline of 1 in 188. At Whitmore, fifty-four-and-a-half miles from Liverpool and forty-three-and-a-quarter from Birmingham, the Liverpool and Manchester train passed the down train from Birmingham, carrying the mail-guard and letter-bags, for the first time. The next stage, of fourteen miles, from Whitmore to Stafford, was made in twenty-eight minutes. About five miles further, at Penkbridge, the first mixed train from Birmingham was met. At ten minutes before eleven the train reached Wolverhampton. During the whole journey beyond Warrington, (up to which point railway trains had already lost their novelty,) the bridges and roadsides were covered with people, who received the train with loud cheers and other demonstrations of joy; and, on arriving at Wolverhampton and the densely-peopled districts between that town and Birmingham, immense multitudes crowded round and even upon the road. Fortunately, the terrific scream of the railway whistle cleared the line fast enough to prevent accident, and at thirty-one minutes past eleven the first train from Liverpool and Manchester arrived at Birmingham, having performed the journey of ninety-seven-and-three-quarter miles in five hours and one minute.

On the same day on which the railway from Liverpool to Birmingham was opened throughout, an experimental trip was made on the London and Birmingham line, from London as far as Box-moor, a distance of twenty-five miles; but it was not until the autumn of the following year that the railway communication between Liverpool and London was rendered perfect, by the opening of the whole of the London and Birmingham line. Still the shortening of the time of communication was very considerable, as will be seen by the following account of what was then considered a wonderfully rapid journey to and from London, which

appeared in the Liverpool Albion, of the 10th of July :—" Rapid Traveling. A gentleman left Liverpool, on Friday, by the half-past two railway train, for Birmingham. Thence he posted it to London, which, after sundry disasters on the road, he reached at six o'clock the next morning. From London he proceeded by an ordinary stage-coach conveyance to Birmingham, and arrived at Liverpool, by the last railway train, shortly after eleven o'clock on Saturday night. The whole journey, upwards of 400 miles, was completed in the short space of thirty-two-and-three-quarter hours; the quickest, there can scarcely be a doubt, on record." Within three months of the opening of the Grand Junction Railway it had carried 144,818 passengers, and had received an income of £72,000.*

The seventh annual meeting of the British Association was held in Liverpool, in the month of September, 1837. The Earl of Burlington occupied the chair as president, supported by a numerous body of men of science. Amongst a variety of subjects discussed at this meeting there were three which possessed a peculiar interest in Liverpool. Those were the question of the possibility of crossing the Atlantic by steam, the announcement of the discovery of the electric telegraph, and a paper on the Tides, Currents, and Banks of the River Mersey.

The question of the possibility of crossing the Atlantic by steam was raised in the Section of Mechanical Science, by Dr. Lardner, who there contended, as he had previously done, in an elaborate printed essay, that no steam-vessel could carry the quantity of coal necessary for a voyage of 3,200 miles, the distance from England to the United States, without being disabled from carrying anything else. His argument was founded on the performances of the *Medea*, the best of the Government steamers then afloat; and its chief fallacy consisted in assuming that no better steamer than the *Medea* could be constructed. He stated that the *Medea* contained a measured capacity of 800 tons: that her machinery occupied 220 tons of the 800, leaving only 580 to spare: that the quantity of coal necessary to propel the *Medea* 3,200 miles, as ascertained by her actual consumption and past performances, was 540 tons, which weight, added to 220 tons of boilers and machinery, would only leave 40 tons available for passengers, men, and stores, even if the enormity of the load did not sink the vessel before it got to sea, or soon after. The learned doctor's conclusion from these facts was as follows:—" It is therefore demonstrable that, in the present state of steam navigation, if this voyage

* Letter of John Moss, Esq., Chairman, in the Liverpool Times, Oct. 18, 1837.

shall be accomplished in one uninterrupted trip, the vessel which performs it, whatever may be her power and tonnage, must be capable of extracting from coals, a greater mechanical virtue, in the proportion of three to two, than can be obtained from them by the combined nautical and mechanical skill of Mr. Lang, the builder of the *Medea*, and Messrs. Maudsley and Field, who supplied her splendid machinery, and this on the untenable supposition that the average Atlantic difficulties are only equal to those to which the *Medea* was exposed."

This reasoning, which tended to render Atlantic steam navigation impracticable, was warmly and powerfully resisted, especially by Mr. Guppy, a Bristol gentleman, who was one of the parties concerned in building the Great Western steam-ship, a vessel whose noble performances rendered Dr. Lardner's *reductio ad absurdum* itself the greatest of absurdities. Mr. Guppy contended that great improvements had been made in the constructing of steam-ships since the year 1832, when the *Medea* was launched. In proof of this he mentioned the performances of the *Bernice*, which had gone 1,572 miles, with 128 tons of coal; and of the *Atalanta*, which had gone 2,180 miles, with 154 tons; thus proving it to be possible to carry coals for a voyage of 5,000 miles.*

With regard to the Great Western, the first steamer ever built to try the practicability of the voyage from England to the United States, Mr. Guppy said, "A vessel was now building at Bristol, of the measurement of 1,340 tons. She was fitted up as a sailing vessel, in the usual style, only that, owing to her great length, she had four masts instead of three. She had just arrived in London from Bristol, having made a circuitous voyage in four days. When her engines are in working order, and the average quantity of water was in her boilers, they weighed 350 to 400 tons. This left 900 tons for coals, and reckoning the average consumption of coals at thirty tons a-day, she could carry coals, if it were necessary, for thirty days. If she were found to average a speed of nine miles an hour, which he believed she would do, she ought to complete her voyage in fifteen days. These were the data on which he expected that steam communication would be established across the Atlantic." It will be seen, in the succeeding part of this chapter, that these calculations, as to the speed of the Great Western, were more than realized.

* The royal mail steamers from Liverpool to Halifax and New York carry as much coal as would propel them to the Cape of Good Hope. (See Evidence of Samuel Cunard, Esq., before Parliamentary Committee of 1851.)

It was announced, at this meeting of the British Association, that Professor Wheatstone's wonderful invention, the electric telegraph, which would establish a communication, "independent of light, place, and almost of time," had been perfected, and would shortly be brought into use.

At this meeting of the association a valuable paper was read by Captain H. M. Denham, resident marine-surveyor of the port of Liverpool, "On the vertical and horizontal capacity of the river Mersey." This paper was accompanied by a trigonometrical plan, embracing the two great estuaries of the Dee and Mersey, with all the sands and channels, ranging over 105 square miles; that is, as far out to sea as where the cross set of the Irish Channel limits the deposit or undershelf of the bank. The paper, which this plan was intended to illustrate, stated that the Mersey, between its orifice at the Blackrock Lighthouse and Warrington-bridge, presents an area of 113,174,200 square yards, containing at the full and change of the moon 779,174,880, and at the quartering 292,653,290, or the average quantity of 535,914,640 cubic yards of tidal water. This mass of water, it stated, circulates to and from the flood, occupying five hours and twenty minutes in rushing through the straits, (or neck of the bottle, which the entrance strait is to the expansive space within,) at the maximum rate of six-and-three-quarter miles per hour, equal to twenty-three-and-three-quarters transitu; the whole occupying six hours and thirty minutes in disgorging itself and the freshes, at a maximum rate of seven miles an hour, equal to twenty-nine-and-a-quarter transitu. From an analysis of the mass of sediment carried by the water which enters and leaves the estuary at each tide, it appeared that the quantity of solid matter carried into the bay and port of Liverpool was 380,989 cubic yards at each flood tide, and the quantity carried out was 379,954 cubic yards, producing a deposit of 48,065 yards of solid matter each tide, equal, on all the tides of a year, to a deposit of 35,087,450 yards. The cubical accumulation and increase of the banks in Liverpool bay, during the preceding fourteen years, amounted to 160,170,938 yards. Captain Denham, in conclusion, said that he anticipated that, if the deposit went on at the rate stated, a period might be predicted when the Mersey would not command a ship channel with the ocean. It therefore behoved him to state that, although man could not command the descent of rain, or, consequently, the scouring of valleys and the discharging of rivers, yet, on his powers of limiting the tidal boundaries of the estuary depended the existence of the reflex impetus at its orifice, which would force the under-water shelves of the banks, and a channel through them some-

where, even to the fourteen miles cross-line, or set of the Irish Sea. But, diminish the back water at the estuary, by the slightest displacement of the tidal reception, which, for want of conservancy guardianship, has been going on, and the port is ruined." These and other statements on this important subject led to further inquiries, the nature and results of which will be given in the account of the events of the year 1840.

From a parliamentary return, published in 1837, it appeared that the number of letters sent yearly, between the towns of Liverpool and Manchester, was 582,227. The postage was then 7d. per letter.

In the month of August, 1837, a regular daily communication, by steam-boat, was first established between Liverpool and Glasgow.

About this time iron began to be brought into use as a material for shipbuilding. Mr. John Laird, of Birkenhead, was one of the earliest and most successful builders of iron vessels. A steamer built by him of that material, for the Pasha of Egypt, the great Mehemet Ali, began to ply on the river Nile in the autumn of 1837.* He also built the vessels in which Colonel Chesney explored the Euphrates; a set of vessels for carrying troops on the Indus and the Sutlej: the Quorra and Alburca, the vessels with which his brother, Mr. Macgregor Laird, and the Landers, explored the lower part of the river Niger; and, at a later period, the steam-frigate Birkenhead, and a multitude of other vessels, for national and mercantile purposes. Since this time iron has come into general use for shipbuilding purposes, either separately or in combination with wood; and from its cheapness, durability, and safety, promises to have a powerful effect in maintaining the maritime greatness of England.

The Sirius, Captain Roberts, the first vessel that ever crossed the Atlantic by the power of steam alone, started from the harbour of Cork on the morning of the 4th April, 1838. This vessel was the property of the St. George's Company, but was chartered by the British and American Steam Navigation Company, to make two or three voyages to America, whilst their great steam-ships, British Queen and President, were building. Multitudes of people were assembled to see the Sirius depart. At ten o'clock the signal-gun was fired, and the Sirius proceeded to sea, amidst loud cheers. On the following day she was spoken in lat. 51, long. 12, by the ship Watt, bound to Liverpool. The man who first saw her ran to the cabin in great alarm, and told the captain that they must

* Liverpool Times, September 5, 1837.

be very near land, as a steamer was approaching them. On the 10th of April the Sirius was seen by the ship *Intrepid*, in lat. 47, long. 24, and again on the 14th, by the *Baltimore*, in lat. 45, long. 37.22. She had encountered very heavy weather, and had not made more than 110 miles a-day. She was still 1,620 miles from New York, and opinions were much divided as to whether she would get there. No further intelligence was received respecting the Sirius until the 18th of May, when she arrived safely at Falmouth, bringing the news that she had made the voyage from Cork to New York in eighteen days, and from New York to Falmouth in twenty-two days; and the further news that the *Great Western* had arrived safely at New York, after a good passage of fourteen days.

The *Great Western*, the first steam-ship that ever performed the voyage from England to New York, sailed from King's-road, Bristol, on Sunday, the 8th of April, and arrived at New York on the 22nd of the same month, twelve hours after the Sirius, having gained upon her more than four days in the voyage across the Atlantic, and having made the run from Bristol to New York in fourteen days, or not much more than the third part of the time usually taken by sailing vessels in making the voyage from Europe to America. This voyage of the *Great Western* not merely proved the practicability of crossing the Atlantic by means of steam power, but proved it to be comparatively easy, with ships of proper construction.

The handsome dividends of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway rendered it possible to raise the immense capital necessary for constructing the two hundred miles of railway between South Lancashire and London, and the Liverpool and Manchester line served as a basis for the greater part of the railways since constructed. As the Grand Junction started from the middle of the line in a southerly direction, and, after reaching Birmingham, sent out further lines, one of which was continued to London, and thence to Dover and Southampton, whilst another ran down the valley of the Severn to Gloucester and Bristol, whence it was continued to Plymouth; so the first northern system of railways started from the same base line, and has been carried, step by step, to Preston, to Lancaster, to Carlisle, and so on to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Nor has the extension in other directions been less remarkable. Lines of railway, starting from the Manchester end of the line, continue it to Leeds, to York, and to Hull; to Sheffield, to Lincoln, and to Grimsby; whilst a line starting from Birkenhead, and originally

intended to connect the ancient city of Chester with Liverpool, has been continued to Holyhead in one direction, and Shrewsbury and Ludlow in another; and will, doubtless, be united, before long, with the lines recently formed through the coal-fields of South Wales. The general result of forming all these lines has been to bring the most populous districts of Lancashire and Cheshire within an hour or two's ride of Liverpool; the West Riding and Staffordshire within four hours; London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Bristol within about eight hours; and all the principal towns, cities, and seaports, from Aberdeen to Plymouth, within twelve hours. When to the effect of these lines of railways, radiating to all parts of England and Scotland, we add the effect of lines of steamboats sailing regularly from Liverpool, or communicating with all parts of the British coast, from Southampton to Inverness; and all parts of Ireland, from Cork to Londonderry; it will be seen how it is that Liverpool has become the great centre of personal communication in the British islands, and the rendezvous for emigrants and voyagers. As I proceed with this work I shall refer to each railway communication connected with Liverpool, at the date at which it came into operation.

In January, 1838, the first half-yearly meeting of the proprietors of the Grand Junction Railway was held, at which it was announced that 232,202 persons had been carried along the line, during the preceding half-year, without a single accident.* The company began to carry goods on the 1st February, 1838. Their rate of carriage to Birmingham was 1s. 6d. per cwt., the same as the canals.

A large cotton-mill was built on the canal bank, at Liverpool, in the year 1838, by Mr. John Aspinall Turner. It is still at work, and is the only one of any consequence in Liverpool.†

The first yearly meeting of the Mechanics' Institute, held subsequent to the completing of the handsome and commodious building in Mount-street, was held on the 14th March, 1838. At that time the total number of members was 2,286, namely, 470 life members, 877 yearly subscribers, 218 quarterly, 366 sons of members, 163 apprentices, and 195 ladies. This institution, though originally formed for the benefit of mechanics, has gradually become a great educational establishment for the middle classes.

At a meeting of the dock committee, held on the 22nd March, 1838, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Eyre Evans, supported by Mr. Charles Horsfall, Mr. William Potter, Mr. Thomas Leathom, Mr. Benn,

* Liverpool Times, January 23 and 30, 1838.

† Ibid, January 27, 1838.

Mr. James Aikin, and other leading members of that body, to erect a line of warehouses along the west side of the Prince's Dock, for the convenience of discharging vessels. The plan and mode of working these warehouses were proposed to be much the same as that of the West India and St. Katharine's Docks, in London. The announcement of this determination was very warmly welcomed by a large portion of the merchants and shipowners of the port, although it met with considerable opposition in other quarters. In the month of April following, a memorial was presented to the mayor, aldermen, and councillors of Liverpool, requesting that they would confirm the resolution of the dock committee, in favour of erecting warehouses on the quay of the Prince's Dock. This memorial was signed by upwards of a hundred of the leading firms or merchants of the town, including, among others, the well-known names of Baring Brothers and Co., Sandbach, Tinne, and Co., Wildes, Pickersgill, and Co., Gibbs, Bright, and Co., R. Zwilchenbart, W. and J. Tyrer, Vianna and Jones, Joseph Sandars, Focke and Boulton, J. Taylor Crooke, Dirom, Richmond, and Co., Heyworth and Co., Charles S. Middleton, Nicol, Duckworth, and Co., M'Crackan, Jamieson, and Co., Roscow, Arnold, and Leete, Moon Brothers, George Armstrong, Ker, Imrie, and Tomlinson, George Kendall, David Cannon, Cotesworth and Smith, J. and G. Campbell and Co., A., F., and R. Maxwell, Robert Henderson and Sons, Bahr, Behrend, and Stewart, Charles Holland, William Barber, Chapman and Willis, Cox and Henderson, and John Bibby, jun. The memorial set forth,

“That great delays, inconveniences, and loss occur in the discharge of ships in this port, more particularly with cargoes of bonded articles.

“That ships from the East Indies are frequently detained three weeks in discharging here, while, in London, it is effected, with ease, in the ordinary course, in two days.

“That the difference between the two ports arises solely from the advantages of having warehouses on the sides of the docks in London, and from the want of them in Liverpool.

“That the detention is frequently the means of losing a market to the merchant and a freight to the shipowner, amounting, in many instances, to the rent of the largest warehouse for a whole year.

“That, in the opinion of your memorialists, nothing is so much required, nothing could tend so much to the despatch, economy, and security, and to the improvement of the business of this great port, as the building of warehouses on the brink of the docks.

“That it would be the means not only of increasing the trade, by adding to its facilities, but, also, by the saving of time, by the saving of dock space, and the consequent enormous outlay of money which otherwise will soon be required for the formation of new docks.

“That your memorialists rejoice to observe that the dock committee have determined in favour of a measure so desirable, and so consonant to the duties of the trust reposed in them.

“That the only objection made, or that can possibly be started, is that attempted by the private warehouse proprietors, whose arguments could easily be confuted, and whose alarms proved exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded, if your memorialists did not rely that the principle will not be admitted of staying general improvement, and a great public benefit, because of the real or supposed injury that may occur to individuals.

“Your memorialists confidently hope and respectfully solicit that you will confirm the resolutions of the dock trustees to build dock warehouses.”

At the meeting of the council, at which the above memorial was presented, the following communications on this subject, from Messrs. William and James Tyrer and Mr. George Kendall, were read :

“JAMES AIKIN, ESQ.

“Dear Sir,—In answer to your favour respecting the time taken up in Liverpool in the discharge of vessels from the East Indies, all parts of South America, Havana, &c., we beg to state that the average time taken up would be, for ships of 300 tons register, about twenty days, exclusive of the time for passing entries, which generally takes six days, and a day or two more for obtaining a landing-waiter.

“We have hardly any occasion to state to you the time taken up in discharging, arising from the weighing of the produce on the quays, sorting of marks, mending bags, coopering packages, stopping from landing during rain, and putting packages back again into the vessel, should there be no entries, or there not being a draft of five bags of the same mark.

“This might be obviated, and it cannot be done in any other way, but by building warehouses along the docks, as in London ; and, by the letter enclosed, from Mr. Kendall, who is a large shipowner, and a nautical man, and agent for the London docks, you will see what facilities there are in London.—We remain, dear sir, yours, respectfully,

“Liverpool, April 10, 1838.”

“WILL. & JAS. TYRER.

“P.S.—A majority of the shipowners (not belonging to the port) now prefer their vessels going to London, on the same terms, who formerly demanded £100 or £200 additional for doing so; and we are quite convinced it will be a serious injury to the port if something is not done to remedy the evil complained of.

“W. & J. T.”

“Gentlemen,—In answer to your inquiry as to the time of vessels discharging in London and Liverpool, I beg to state, most positively, (having an intimate knowledge of both ports,) and am ready, if called upon, to make oath to what I now state to be true: that vessels in London, say of 300 tons register, discharge, say 450 tons, sugar, cassia, saltpetre, rice, &c., from the East Indies, Brazil, west coast of South America, Havana, &c., in two or four days, depending on the dock; if in the West India Docks, two days; in the St. Katharine Docks, three days; and in the London, four days; this being the ordinary time taken up in discharging.

“In Liverpool vessels of the same size, and from any of the places above-mentioned, it would take twenty-one days: some vessels might be discharged in a shorter time, and some it would take longer; but, on the average, it will be, as I have stated, twenty-one days.

“This is exclusive of the time taken up before the entries are passed, which, on an average, is about six days.—I remain, gentlemen, yours, respectfully,

“GEORGE KENDALL.

“Liverpool, April 10, 1838.”

Great as were the advantages of the plan, and strong as was the support which it received, the opposition which it met with in its original form of a proposal for erecting warehouses on the side of the Prince's Dock was fatal to it, and it would have been defeated altogether, had it not been for the ability and perseverance with which it was advocated by Mr. Eyre Evans, and other gentlemen.

The London mail to Liverpool was first despatched by railway on the 28th of May. The London and Birmingham line being unfinished, the mail did not reach Liverpool until half-past ten, a.m. The letters were delivered at eleven, a.m., instead of six, p.m., as previous to the introduction of railways.

The Transatlantic Steam Company's steam-ship *British Queen* was launched in the spring of 1838, and the unfortunate *President* steam-ship soon after. The dimensions of the *British Queen* were as follow:—Length, 275 feet; breadth, including paddle-wheels, 64 feet; burden,

1,862 tons; force of engines, 500-horse power.* The President much the same.

The Manchester and Bolton Railway was opened on the 24th of May, 1838. The first trip was performed in twenty-six-and-a-half minutes, the length of the line being nine miles.†

In the month of July, 1838, the City of Dublin Steam-boat Company first gave the people of Liverpool the advantage of a direct steam communication between Liverpool and New York. On Thursday, the 5th day of that month, the company's fine steamer, the Royal William, Lieut. Swainson, R. N., commander, sailed from this port on her voyage to New York. She was a beautiful and swift boat, but not large enough, nor possessed of sufficient power, for the Atlantic voyage. She made her first voyage out to New York in nineteen days, and back to Liverpool in fourteen-and-a-half days. The greatest distance which she made in any one day was 239 miles, the smallest 116 miles. The merit of commencing a line of steamers between Liverpool and New York belongs to Mr. Charles Wye Williams, the managing director of the City of Dublin Steam Company, who had previously rendered an invaluable service to Ireland, to Liverpool, and to the whole British empire, by organizing a fleet of seventeen steamers, which every year performed a thousand voyages between the principal ports of England and Ireland.

On Monday, the 17th of September, 1838, the London and Birmingham portion of the present London and North-Western Railway was completed and opened to the public. On that day the first through train started from London at eight o'clock in the morning, and reached Liverpool at a quarter before eight at night, having performed the whole journey in eleven-and-three-quarter hours. The express trains now perform it in about half that time.‡

In October, 1838, the steam-ship *Liverpool*, built for the late Sir John Tobin, by Milnerest and Humble, began to run from Liverpool to New York. She was at that time the largest steamer that had ever been built in the port of Liverpool. She made the passage out in sixteen-and-a-half days.§

Early in October, 1838, it was announced that the government had determined to establish a line of mail steamers from England to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and that the contract for building and working them would be thrown open to general competition.||

* Morning Chronicle, May 29, 1838.

† Manchester Guardian, May, 1838.

‡ Liverpool Times, September 18, 1838. § Ibid, October 23, 1838. || Globe, October, 1838.

On Monday, the 22nd of October, the North Union Railway, the original line from Liverpool and London northward, was opened from Parkside, where it leaves the Liverpool and Manchester line, to Preston. The length of the line is twenty-two-and-a-half miles. This distance was performed in the trial trip in forty-five minutes.*

In the course of the winter of 1838 the Liverpool Church Building Society made an appeal to the friends of the Church for contributions, in aid of the erection of several new churches. The sum of £12,000 was subscribed in a few days.†

The handsome building erected by the Royal Bank, in Dale-street, was opened in January, 1839.

Previous to the introduction of steam on the Atlantic, the American packets, which kept up the communication, had gained the highest reputation for speed. Those beautiful and admirably managed vessels made 119 voyages in the year 1838, and their average passages were thirty-four days from Liverpool to New York, and twenty-one-and-a-half days from New York to Liverpool. The steamers which ran during the same year made the voyages as follows:—The Liverpool, made the voyage from Liverpool to New York at the average rate of seventeen days four hours, and from New York to Liverpool in fifteen days sixteen hours. The Great Western, which was incomparably the best of the early steamers, made the voyage from Bristol to New York in the average time of fifteen-and-a-half days, and back in thirteen days. Her shortest voyage to New York was fourteen-and-a-half days, and to Bristol twelve-and-a-quarter days.‡

It appears from a return, published in 1839, that the cost of building the new Custom-house and Revenue-buildings was £283,804 13s. 8d. The estimate was £175,000.§

In the autumn of 1839 a splendid dinner service of plate, of the value of 1,000 guineas, was presented to Mr. John Moss, the chairman of the Grand Junction Railway Company, by the proprietors, as an acknowledgment of the services which he had rendered to them and the public in the progress of that great undertaking. The plate bore the following inscription:—“To John Moss, Esq., from a numerous body of proprietors of the Grand Junction Railway, in testimony of their grateful sense of his services as chairman of the board of directors, from the commencement of that undertaking, being a period of seven years. 1839.”||

* Liverpool Times, October 23, 1838.

+ Ibid, December 18, 1838.

‡ Ibid, February 19, 1839. § Ibid, September 10, 1839. || Ibid, September 24, 1839.

The Liverpool Polytechnic Society, formed for the purpose of encouraging mechanical knowledge, and of collecting information on subjects connected with the useful arts, began its useful labours in January, 1839. One of the first subjects brought under its notice was the best mode of forming the chimneys and roofs of houses, a subject forced on the notice of the inhabitants of Liverpool, in the most painful manner, by the great storm of January the 7th, 1839, in which many lives were lost on land by the falling of chimneys, and many off the port by the wreck of vessels. No storm so terrible in its violence, or so destructive in its effects, has occurred since the dreadful morning and day of the 7th of January, 1839.*

In February, 1839, Mr. Jesse Hartley, surveyor and engineer of the Liverpool Docks, gave in his estimate, which was laid before Parliament, of the cost of forming the Albert Dock and Warehouses, and other dock works then contemplated. The sum for which he stated that he expected to be able to finish them was £930,400. This estimate of Mr. Hartley's was accompanied by another estimate from Mr. George Withers, the treasurer of the Dock Estate, of income likely to be derived from those works, which he estimated at about £50,800 a-year.† Had it not been for the reduction of dues, in 1817, the income would have been greater than the estimate.

The comparative amount of mileage duties paid to Government by railways and stage-coaches, in 1837, 8, and 9, was as follows:—1837, railways, £10,296; stage-coaches, £503,742: 1838, railways, £16,892; stage-coaches, £482,194: 1839, railways, £39,570; stage-coaches, £454,496.‡

In the year 1839 the advowson of the Rectory of Liverpool, including the patronage of the parish churches of St. Nicholas and St. Peter, was sold to Mr. John Stewart. The price was said to be £8,150.§

In June, 1839, the Grand Junction Railway Company reduced the charge for carrying goods from Liverpool to Birmingham from 1s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. per cwt. to 1s. 3d. and 1s. 1½d. The company also announced that it was prepared to carry goods from Liverpool and Manchester to London.||

It appears, from a parliamentary return, that there were 1,751 public-houses in Liverpool, in July, 1839.

In the summer of 1839 a parliamentary return was published under the title of "Mail Conveyance Contract", containing the particulars of

* Liverpool Times, January 8, 1839.

† Parliamentary Paper, Session 1839, Queen Victoria. ‡ Return to House of Commons.

§ Liverpool Times, April 30, 1839.

|| Ibid, June 18, 1839.

an agreement entered into by government with Mr. Samuel Cunard and Messrs. David MacIver and Mr. George Burns, for conveying the mails from Liverpool to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Boston, in the United States, by means of a line of steam-ships. This was the origin of the British and North American royal mail steamers, which have now kept up the communication between Europe and America for upwards of eleven years, with a speed, regularity, and safety which have made them the admiration of the old world and the new. The contract, as set forth in the parliamentary return, provided that the mails should be despatched twice every month in the summer and once in winter from Liverpool to Halifax, and twice every month from Halifax to Liverpool, making twenty voyages each way per annum. The wish of Mr. Cunard and his partners was, that they should start every week, as they do at present, but they could not induce the government to engage in so great an enterprise. The contract further stipulated that Mr. Cunard and his partners should provide and keep a sufficient number of good and efficient steam-vessels, furnished with engines of not less than 300-horse power, and that they should convey the mails and dispatches twice every month to Boston from Halifax, and to Halifax from Boston, and, when the St. Lawrence was not obstructed by ice, from Pictou, in Nova Scotia, to Quebec, and from Quebec to Pictou, by good and substantial steam-vessels, provided with engines of not less than 150-horse power. It was further agreed that the commissioners of the admiralty should appoint the two days in each month, on which the steamers were to leave Liverpool and Halifax respectively, and that they were then to proceed, without loss of time, direct to the end of the voyage. The despatch of the mail from Halifax for Boston was to take place as soon as possible after the arrival of the mail at Halifax, and this was also to be the case with the Quebec mail, and after that mail had reached Pictou. The commissioners of the admiralty were to have the power of altering the days of sailing, on giving three months' notice, and at any time they might delay the departure of a steamer for not more than twenty-four hours. The contractors were to provide suitable accommodations for the naval officers sent by the admiralty in charge of the mails; and any stoppage, delay, or putting back into port, not sanctioned by the naval officer, to be subject to a penalty of £100. Any delay of twelve hours in proceeding on a voyage, either from Liverpool or Halifax, after the appointed time, was to subject the contractors to a fine of £500, with an additional fine of £500, for every additional delay of twelve hours. A similar delay in the smaller vessels, carrying the mails from Halifax, to be subject to a fine of £200.

With regard to the number and nature of the vessels to be employed in carrying the mails, it was provided that not less than four of the large steam-boats, for the voyage across the Atlantic, should always be kept seaworthy, and in complete repair. The contractors bound themselves to introduce and adopt all improvements directed by the admiralty, or suggested by the progress of science. To secure the goodness of the vessels, the naval officer in charge of the mails, calling other persons to his assistance, was to have full power and authority to survey and examine the vessels whenever he shall think fit, and repairs which he should direct in writing, were to be made as soon as possible, under a penalty of £100. The lords of the admiralty, also, reserved to themselves a power to survey the vessels, and to order any improvements to be made in them which they thought expedient; and the contractors bound themselves to carry those improvements into effect, to the satisfaction of the admiralty, or forfeit £500.

In return for all these services, and for supplying and maintaining these numerous and costly vessels, the Government agreed to pay Mr. Cunard and his partners £60,000 per annum, in quarterly payments: the contract to commence on the 1st June, 1840, or at an earlier day, if so agreed on, and to continue in force for seven years from the commencement, and thenceforward until twelve calendar months' notice, in writing, should be given by either party. Mr. Cunard and his partners bound themselves, in a penalty of £15,000, to fulfil their part of the contract. Such was the origin of this great enterprise.

The following facts will show the progress which railway travelling had made by the end of the year 1838, and railway revenue by the middle of the year 1839. The number of passengers conveyed, in the year 1838, along the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and along lines of equal or greater length, was as follows:—Liverpool and Manchester, 609,336; Grand Junction, 445,290; London and Birmingham, 459,385; Newcastle and Carlisle, 196,051; and Leeds and Selby, 90,637. The income of the Liverpool and Manchester line, for the half-year ending June 30, 1839, was £123,814, its profits £48,211; the income of the Grand Junction, for the same half-year, was £191,936, its profits £98,109; the income of the London and Birmingham line was £270,814; its profits £168,874. In the year 1831, the first full year in which the Liverpool and Manchester line was at work, the number of passengers upon it had been 445,047.*

* Companion to the Almanac for 1840.

In February, 1840, the dock committee, with commendable gallantry and loyalty, named the new steam-ship dock, the Coburg Dock, in honour of the happy union of her Majesty the Queen with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.*

On Wednesday, February 19th, the large Independent chapel, in Great George-street, built for the Rev. Thomas Spencer, and worthily occupied by the Rev. Dr. Raffles, from the time when it was opened to the time when it was destroyed, was burnt to the ground in a few hours. The congregation immediately resolved to rebuild the chapel, in a very superior style; and the beautiful building, now known as Great George-street Chapel, was erected on the site of the old one, at a cost of about £16,000. In this the Rev. Dr. Raffles has ministered since it was erected. There are few places which have been more fortunate than Liverpool, in obtaining and retaining men of distinguished talents and excellence in the ministry of religion. The truly Venerable Archdeacon Brooks has now laboured in Liverpool, in the cause of God, for upwards of fifty years; the Rev. James Lister, the leading minister of the Baptists, laboured regularly from the year 1803 until the year 1847, and occasionally, as his strength allowed, until the time of his death, in the present year 1851; and the labours of the Rev. Dr. Raffles extend from the year 1811 to 1851, and still continue.

In February, 1840, died James Cropper, a successful Liverpool merchant and an excellent man. The great features of his character were sound sense, perseverance, and benevolence. By these qualities he raised himself to wealth and influence in Liverpool, and entitled himself to the respect of all who knew him, and to the gratitude of thousands who never saw his face. The principal objects with which his name was connected were the repeal of the orders in council, the issuing of which produced the second American war; the opening of the trade to India and China; and the abolition of negro slavery. He also took an active part, along with others, in introducing the railway system. James Cropper was born at Winstanley, in Lancashire, and was for many years at the head of the well known firm of Cropper, Benson, and Co. During the last years of his life he devoted himself almost entirely to works of benevolence, one of the most interesting of which was an orphan school, at Fernhead, near Warrington, which he founded and superintended to the time of his death.

A discussion took place, in the session of 1840, on the subject of the tolls raised from salt and coal on the river Weaver, one of the principal

* Liverpool Times, February 18, 1840.

tributaries of the Mersey. In the course of the discussion it was stated that the sum of £846,543 had been raised by tolls between the years 1795 and 1837, of which amount £389,155 had been applied to lighten the pressure of county rates in Cheshire. The yearly revenue from the tolls of the Weaver had increased from £10,293, in 1796, to £27,900, in 1837. The cost of the original improvement of the Weaver navigation was £10,000.*

In the month of June the following advertisement announced that the royal mail steamers were about to commence running:—"British and North American royal mail steam-ships, of 1,200 tons, and 440-horse power each, appointed by the admiralty to sail for Boston, calling at Halifax to land passengers and her Majesty's mails.

Britannia Captain Robert Ewing.

Acadia Captain Edward C. Miller.

Caledonia Captain Richard Cleland.

Columbia Captain Henry Woodruff.

The Britannia is appointed to sail from Liverpool on the 1st July. Passage, including provisions and wines, to Halifax, thirty-four guineas; to Boston, thirty-eight guineas. The steam-ship Unicorn plies between Pictou and Quebec, in connexion with the above vessels, carrying the mails and passengers. Apply in Liverpool to D. & C. MacIver, 12, Water-street."

The Britannia was the first of this line of steamers which crossed the Atlantic. She sailed from Liverpool on the 4th of July, 1840, and returned to Liverpool on the 14th of August, having made the outward voyage to Halifax in twelve days, and the home voyage to Liverpool in nine days and a half. These were the best passages ever made across the Atlantic; the only ones even approaching them in speed being the two best passages of that noble ship the Great Western.†

The screw-steamer Archimedes, the first vessel of that kind ever seen in the river Mersey, was brought round from London to Liverpool, in June, 1840. Her performances, as well as her appearance, excited general admiration. The following account of the Archimedes was published during her visit to Liverpool:—"On Tuesday and Wednesday, after her cruizes, the Archimedes lay in the middle of the river, and attracted a large concourse of spectators. Viewed from the shore, she has

* Speech of Thomas Thorneley, Esq., M.P., on Weaver Churches Bill, Session 1840.

† Liverpool Times, August 18, 1840.

the appearance of being a very fast sailing yaeht, of 240 tons, extremely sharp at the bows, and having three rakish schooner-rigged masts. A tall, narrow chimney, abaft the mainmast, is the only indication of her pretensions to the designation of a steamer, as she has no external paddle-boxes, which, of course, are not necessary, as the screw she is drawn by is in her centre, and its operation may be said to resemble the giratory movements of a snake. The natural spirit of emulation was manifested by the commanders of several of our river steamers, on Tuesday and Wednesday, but the stranger beat two of the swiftest of the ancient craft, —the mail tender Redwing, and one of the Egremont new iron boats, both exceedingly quick sailers.”*

In the year 1840 Messrs. John and George Wilkin, civil-engineers, who had been employed by the board of trade to inquire into the best mode of protecting and preserving the navigation of the river and estuary of the Mersey, made a report on that important subject, which was laid on the table of the House of Commons, on the 4th of August. This report, besides containing much information, collected by Messrs. Wilkin, gave a summary of previous reports made by other eminent engineers, and a statement of the views of Captain Denham and Lieutenant Lord, on the best mode of preserving the navigation of the Mersey.

The report of Messrs. Wilkin to the board of trade commences by stating that the time of Mr. George Wilkin had been almost entirely occupied with this subject from the beginning of the month of March, 1839; and that, at his recommendation, the corporation of Liverpool had employed Mr. Eyes, to make an accurate report and survey of the shore within the port of Liverpool. This survey, the report states, contained the description and customs of each township, showing whether the same was a manor or reputed manor; whether courts were held, and whether any and what claims were made on the shore, or any privileges exercised therein; the names of the proprietors of land adjoining the beach, the encroachments made thereon, and the marshes over which the tide formerly flowed in the upper part of the river, which exceed 13,000 acres. Messrs. Wilkin add, that the area of the estuary of the Mersey, from the Black Rock to the mouth of Woolston-weir, above Warrington-bridge, (where the tide ceases,) is 23,062 acres, over which, at a twenty-two feet tide, 736,945,213 tons of water flow; and that, as already stated, no less than 13,440 acres of marshes have been abstracted from the

* Liverpool Times, June 10, 1840.

tideway, equal to about twenty-five millions of tons of water, calculated at a twenty-two feet tide.

Messrs. Wilkin then proceed to give summaries of the information collected, and the opinions formed by previous engineers.

The first report which they refer to is that made by Mr. Whidby, the constructor of the Plymouth breakwater, in the year 1818. In this report Mr. Whidby observes that the Mersey is an inlet of the sea, rather than a river, being kept open entirely by the quantity of water that flows into it, and not by the trifling streams which it receives at Warrington and Frodsham bridges; that tidal waters are deep, or otherwise, in proportion to the quantity of water that flows into them from the sea, and the fresh water that comes down to them from the interior. The greater the quantity of water flowing in, the greater will be the depth, from the effect which the increased body of water will have in scouring the bottom, at the time of the ebb tide, in carrying out the swillage. Mr. Whidby further observes, that if all the mud banks above and below Ince, and above and below Runcorn, were embanked, leaving a channel only for the waters that come from the country to discharge themselves, the total ruin of Liverpool would be the consequence. The back-water would be so much diminished, that the scouring effect would be destroyed, and the sand driven on towards the entrance of the Mersey, by the violence of the north-west and western gales, would, in time, accumulate beyond the possibility of removal.

The next report referred to is that of Messrs. Whidby, Chapman, and John Rennie, made in the year 1822, in which those gentlemen state that numerous jetties have been formed between Runcorn and Fiddler's Ferry, for the protection of the land against the violence of the current, extending, in many instances, much further than is necessary, and for the most part operating as injurious impediments to the tideway, which, by obstructing its course, diminish its velocity, and allow time for the alluvial matter with which it is impregnated to be deposited, and form banks and shoals, highly injurious to the navigation.

The third report referred to is that of Mr. Chapman, in 1823, but no portion of it is quoted.

A fourth report of Messrs. Whidby, George Rennie, and Giles, in 1826, recommended that a quay or other boundary line, along the whole of the shores of the river Mersey and its inlets, within the influence of the tide, should be accurately defined upon plans confirmed by parliament.

In a fifth and separate report, made in the same year, 1826, by Mr.

Giles, he gave it as his opinion, that, by means of a shore and river wall, such an uniformity of flood and ebb current will be established up and down the river as to produce the best scouring effect of the tide and land waters, and particularly upon the ebb tide, which would be directed more forcibly upon the south-east end of the Liverpool shore than at present, so as not only to prevent a further accumulation of bank, but most probably to lessen the present extent and height of it ; and that the further result of forming such uniform lines of shore and river wall would equalize and distribute the currents more over the river, above Liverpool in particular, so as to prevent, in a great degree, the accumulation of mud and other sediment under the river walls, and at the entrance to the docks generally, and, at the same time, render the navigation of vessels more direct and easy than can be the case through the various partial forces of currents and eddies of the present tideway.

Messrs. Rennie and Giles, after having given particular consideration to the sea channels and to the river, from the Black Rock to Runcorn, and from thence to Woolston-weir, where the tide ceases, say it is admitted by all intelligent and impartial men, that the preservation and improvement of the navigable channels of a river depend entirely upon the flux and reflux of the tidal waters and the discharge of fresh waters, and that these have the most powerful effect during high spring tides and rainy seasons, in scouring and deepening the channels through which such waters must flow.

After giving the above summaries, and expressing their general concurrence in them, Messrs. Wilkin proceed to give the opinion of Lieutenant Lord, R.N., the marine-surveyor of the port, on the best mode of preserving and improving the navigation. They say, “ We have thought it desirable to request the corporation of Liverpool to state their views as to the plan of operations, in the event of a Conservancy (Bill) being granted. The town-clerk has favoured us with two letters from Lieutenant Lord, R.N., the marine-surveyor of the port, to the chairman of the conservancy committee. He recommends that the lines of high water should be accurately marked and defined, and that no future encroachments should be allowed, without authority ; that the edges of the banks, which, in the upper part of the river, are composed of earthy sand, should be protected by a fencing of stone, or other suitable material, to prevent any part from being carried away. This, he says, would render permanent a scouring force of water, which would maintain the sea approaches in an effective state ; and it would then remain to watch the

changes that might arise in the sandbanks in the river and its approaches, and to adopt such timely remedies as might be necessary. He (Lieut. Lord) refers particularly to the dredging operations, which were so successfully carried on for a period of ten months, during the last year, by which means a most valuable channel was opened, at a small expense ; that success depends entirely on the column of water running out of the Mersey on the ebb tide, and on a minute attention to what was taking place in that region. He considers the natural formation of the Mersey admirably adapted for scouring and keeping open the sea channel, if encroachments are not allowed to be made on its banks, but he doubts the propriety of scarping and removing rocks."

The recommendation of Messrs. Wilkin to the board of trade, founded upon the above facts and opinions, was, that a public act should be introduced by the board of trade, for the conservancy of the navigation of the Mersey, under the powers of which a conservancy board should be formed, consisting of the mayor of Liverpool for the time being, of one of the dock trustees, of a third member appointed by the board of trade, on the part of the public, and, if it was thought desirable, of a fourth member, appointed on the part of the canal and navigation companies ; two-thirds of the expense of the conservancy to be borne by the corporation of Liverpool, and the other third by the dock trustees.

The Female Orphan Asylum was established in 1840. It originated with the late Mrs. James Aikin. The want of such an institution had long been a principal subject of her thoughts. A life of active but unobtrusive benevolence had rendered her familiar with the varied miseries of destitution in this large community, and the distress of helpless children attracted her especial sympathy. Her maternal feelings, confined within no narrow instinct, yearned towards suffering children everywhere. The cry of a neglected little one seldom failed to draw her to its side. The necessity of some more adequate provision than had hitherto existed for that most pitiable of all classes, poor female orphans, without relatives or friends to protect them, became every year more apparent to her ; and, with the conviction that such an institution as the present would be attended with incalculable blessings, Mrs. Aikin engaged in the mission of its accomplishment with her whole being. She lost no opportunity of pressing her views upon the minds of her personal friends, and waited on others whom she thought likely to aid her. A number of ladies, including some with whom she was most intimate, took the subject up in her own spirit, and with a zeal worthy of so good a cause. Amongst other friends

whose help she sought was Mr. Harmood Banner, who at once warmly adopted her plan, and contributed most materially to its advancement, by his experience, knowledge of business, and those admirable qualities which have distinguished him in this and other charitable works. With such co-operation, success was not far distant. The ladies formed themselves into a provisional committee, issued a prospectus, and appealed for public support, early in 1840. The appeal was well responded to; and a few months afterwards, on the 5th May, 1840, a public meeting was held at the Royal Institution, at which the mayor presided, to promote the object in view. A house was taken in Upper Stanhope-street, capable of accommodating forty to fifty children; and, on the 24th August, 1840, the first orphan was received.

According to a return from the overseers, laid before the town council in August, 1840, the annual rental of Liverpool was £902,370; that of Kirkdale, £14,147; that of Everton, £53,270; that of West Derby, £42,769; that of Toxteth-park, £93,286; making a total value, within the parliamentary borough, of £1,105,842 a-year. The value of the real property in the county of Lancaster, according to the returns of the commissioners of the income tax, was £7,756,228; and, according to the same returns, there were thirteen English counties, in each of which the value of all the fixed property was less than the value of the same kind of property in Liverpool or Manchester.

On Saturday, the 12th September, 1840, the first experimental trip was made along the Chester and Birkenhead Railway, in a train of seven carriages, drawn by the locomotive, Wirrall. The train reached Chester in fifty minutes. The line was opened the Monday but one following, and the Chester and Crewe a few days later.*

In February, 1841, it was arranged that the plan of erecting warehouses on the western quay of the Prince's Dock should be abandoned, but that dock warehouses should be erected round the proposed new dock, since named the Albert Dock.

The Manchester and Leeds Railway was opened on the 1st of March, 1841, uniting Lancashire with Yorkshire, and completing the railway communication between the Irish Sea at Liverpool, and the German Ocean at Hull.

The census of the population of the kingdom was again taken, in the summer of 1841, when it appeared that the population of the parliamentary borough of Liverpool amounted to 293,963 inhabitants. The increase,

* Liverpool Times, September 15, 1840.

since 1831, was, in the parish of Liverpool, 57,779 ; in Everton, 4,630 ; in Kirkdale, 1,188 ; in West Derby, 7,289 : and in Toxteth-park, 17,113 : total increase in ten years, 87,999. The following are the particulars of the population :—Liverpool, 222,954 ; Everton, 9,148 ; Kirkdale, 3,779 ; West Derby, 16,902 ; Toxteth-park, 41,180 : total population of parliamentary borough, 293,963. An addition of about 50,000 must be made to this for the seamen of the Port ; the population of Birkenhead ; and that of the suburban villages on both sides of the river Mersey.

On the 11th of March, 1841, the steamer *President* sailed from New York, for Liverpool, with twenty-seven passengers on board, including the celebrated actor, Tyrone Power, and Lord Frederick Lennox, besides two children, and the officers and crew. The unfortunate vessel, which was quite new, and of great strength, though deficient in power, considering her immense size, never reached Liverpool ; nor has any certain information ever been obtained as to her fate. The last person who saw her was Captain Cole, of the American ship *Orpheus*, who gave the following account, at a meeting at New York, of the circumstances under which he parted from her :—He said that he left New York, in the *Orpheus*, on the morning of the 11th of March, in company with the *President*, and had her in sight until sundown on the 12th. It appeared, from his log book, that it blew a terrific gale on the 12th and 13th. When last he saw the *President*, she was rising on the top of a tremendous sea, and appeared to be pitching heavily and labouring tremendously. She was then in that dangerous part of the Atlantic, about midway between the Nantucket-shoal and the St. George's-bank, just where the gulf stream strikes soundings, and where the waves rise almost straight up and down, and as high as a four or five story house. That the *President* then must have been shipping seas heavily and fast ; that probably those large bodies of water worked through into the engine-room, or fire-room, and extinguished the fires, in which case the steamer would be comparatively helpless ; that the storm was terrific all that night ; that, next morning, the wind shifted suddenly from north-east to south-east, knocking up a still more tremendous sea, and that the gale continued with unabated fury till midnight of the 13th. It was the belief of Captain Cole that the *President* did not outlive the gale, but foundered, with all on board, and that all perished before sundown on the 13th March.

From the opening of the Chester and Birkenhead Railway to the 23d September, 1841, the trains travelled three millions of miles, and conveyed 257,990 passengers, without any accident.*

* *Liverpool Times*, October 22, 1841.

On the 26th April, 1842, the steamer *Hindustan*, of 1,800 tons, was launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Wilson, of Liverpool. The *Oriental* was launched from the same building-yard a little earlier, and the *Bentinck* a little later.

The British and North American royal mail steamers made thirty-eight voyages from Liverpool to Halifax, and thirty-eight from Halifax to Liverpool, between July the 4th, 1840, and June the 11th, 1842. The average of the passages out was thirteen days six hours; that of the passages home eleven days three hours.*

The town and neighbourhood of Liverpool were surveyed and delineated on the noble maps of the board of ordnance, in the summer of 1842.

The Liverpool Collegiate Institution, for the purpose of giving an education of the highest order, formed by the subscriptions of the friends of the established church, was opened in January, 1843. Dr. Sumner, then Bishop of Chester, now Archbishop of Canterbury, presided. The inaugural address was delivered by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.†

In consequence of the numerous and destructive fires which occurred in Liverpool from time to time, and of the great want of a sufficient supply of water to extinguish them, a meeting of the ratepayers was held at the Sessions'-house, on the 17th of March, 1843, John Holmes, Esq., in the chair, at which it was resolved, "That it was of the highest importance to the comfort and welfare of the inhabitants of Liverpool that some efficient plan be adopted for obtaining an adequate supply of water within the parish, for the extinguishing of fires and for watering the streets of the town." Authority was given to the commissioners of paving and sewerage to raise £50,000 for that purpose. It was the wish of the commissioners to have sunk a well near the Necropolis, for the purposes mentioned in the above resolution, but both the water companies opposed it, on the ground that it would diminish the supply in their wells; and it was provided by the bill, as ultimately agreed to, that the well should not be sunk in the borough, or within a mile and a quarter of the Windsor well. Under the powers of this act a well was sunk at Green-lane, about three miles from the Liverpool Exchange.

The improvements at Birkenhead, by which that rising town has been made one of the best-planned and best-arranged places in England, had

* Nautical Magazine for July, 1842. † Liverpool Times, January 10, 1843.

made considerable progress in 1843. According to a statement laid before the commissioners in the month of September, in that year, it appeared that the ancient township of Birkenhead contained 998 acres, which had been increased to 1336, by joining to it portions of Claughton and Oxton. Of this ground 226 acres had been laid out in a beautiful park, under the superintendence of the present Sir Joseph Paxton. About sixteen miles of streets had been laid out, and all thoroughly sewered, being equal to the quantity of sewerage usually found in a town of 140,000 inhabitants. At the census of 1841 the number of houses had been 1,256, and the population 8,227; but it was supposed that the population had nearly doubled itself in two years. The number of passengers who crossed the Woodside Ferry yearly was supposed to be 200,000, and about 5,000 on ordinary days.*

A French tourist, who travelled by railway from London to Liverpool, in 1843, and sailed from Liverpool to Dublin, gives the following account of his impressions:—"I shall not attempt to describe to you the vast and fertile country intersected by the lines of railway from London to Liverpool. My course was so rapid that I was rather blinded than charmed with the immense variety of sites which every minute, indeed every second, appeared only to vanish again. My mind can only recel this phantasmagoria as it does the prospects which we see in our dreams, and which, on waking, leave nothing but confused and transitory images on our minds. I left London at half-past ten in the morning, by the mail train, and arrived at Liverpool at half-past six, having thus travelled 212 miles in eight hours, although the train remained half-an-hour at Birmingham, and ten minutes at five or six stations. The magnificent steamer *Princess* was waiting for us on our arrival at the port, the engine already throwing off its steam, and the chimney pouring out volumes of smoke. In a few minutes the mail, the luggage, and the passengers were all on board; the *Princess* then moved away gently, described a rapid and majestic curve, and then started off rapidly westward. We were no longer in Liverpool or in England. The sea was calm and unbroken as a lake, the weather superb, and the night passed without accident. I slept delightfully in a little bed of mahogany, clean, elegant, and attractive as the sofa of a Parisian *petite maitresse*. At five o'clock in the morning I was on deck; the sun was already shining, and promised another brilliant day. From the bosom of the sea rose, on our left, the green mountains of Wicklow, girt with light clouds, driven rapidly along by a fresh breeze.

* Report of Birkenhead Markets Committee, September 5, 1843.

At six o'clock the Princess entered the harbour of Kingstown, which is now the rendezvous of ships-of-war and of steam-packets. A railway unites Kingstown to Dublin, and in less than a quarter of an hour the traveller finds himself transported to one of the finest quarters of the Irish capital."*

At a meeting of the dock committee, in September, 1843, Mr. Hartley called the attention of the committee to the long time that had elapsed since the docks were let dry, and proposed that they should be allowed to run dry, in turns, that he might have an opportunity of cleaning them. This ought to be done every three years, at least. The report further stated, that for the twelve months ending July, 1824, the number of vessels which entered the port was 10,001, tonnage 1,180,914; and in the year ending at the same date in 1843, the number of vessels was 16,606, tonnage 2,445,276. In 1824 the dock space was $50\frac{3}{4}$ acres; in 1843, $96\frac{1}{2}$ acres; and, when the Albert Dock was finished, it would be $106\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Notwithstanding this increase, Mr. Hartley was of opinion that a further extension of dock space was desirable. At the same meeting of the dock committee a report was read from Lieutenant Lord, R.N., the marine-surveyor of the port, in which it was stated that the depth of water in the Victoria Channel, during the late spring tides, had been found to be 41 feet 3 inches at high water, and 9 feet 10 inches at low water.

On the 30th October, 1843, an interesting debate took place in the town council, on the subject of the sale of a portion of the estate of the corporation, on the brink of Wallasey-pool,—the space on which the Birkenhead docks are forming; and on the purchase of a large quantity of land on the North-shore,—the ground on which the northern docks have since been formed. This debate arose out of the report of the finance committee, in which it was stated that that committee, in the name of the council, had disposed of thirteen lots of land, containing 200,000 yards, on the edge of Wallasey-pool, for a term of seventy-five years, and for the sum of £120,000; and that they had arranged with the Earl of Derby for the purchase of 1,000 yards in length of the shore of the river Mersey, to the north of the then existing dock estate. The report recommended that the committee should be authorized to make this purchase, at a sum not exceeding £17,500. The committee thought that if this purchase, together with another, in contemplation by the dock committee, were completed, it would not, for fifty

* Letters of a French Tourist.

years, be necessary to make docks beyond the limits of the purchase from his lordship ; and, indeed, they doubted whether, under any circumstances, it would be advisable to make docks beyond the limits of that purchase. The sale of a portion of the land on Wallasey-pool would give a greatly-increased value to the much larger quantity of land which the corporation would still retain.

Mr. Eyre Evans, and other gentlemen, strongly opposed the sale of the land on Wallasey-pool. Mr. Evans said that they might have made the pool subservient to the welfare of Liverpool ; they might have made it a receptacle for empty and lying-up vessels, and for many other uses. It would have been a lumber-dock for Liverpool, precisely the thing it wanted ; and, instead of that, they were about to spend a million of money to get that very room for lumber. Who had been examined on the question ? Had the surveyor of the docks been called on for plans, or to produce the ancient plans which he had by him at that moment, to show what were the uses the estuary could be put to ? With all this valuable knowledge, which was possessed by the elder members of the council, but withheld from or unknown to the more recent members, they hurried on this affair without doing it any justice ; without bringing forward, to a full and fair and proper discussion, the question whether they ought or ought not to sell that property, what were the uses to which the estuary and the land on its margin could be put, or what would be the benefit or injury that would result to Liverpool.

After a long and warm debate the council divided, when the sales at Birkenhead were confirmed by a majority of 31 to 25 votes. The following gentlemen voted against the confirmation of these sales :—Councillors : James Aikin, Thomas Blackburn, William Preston, John North, Joshua Edwards, William Thornhill, Henry Copeland, Henry Holmes, John Stewart, John Procter, Robert Rigby, John Kilshaw, James Parker, J. Plumptre, Richard Harbord, G. G. Hornby, and T. B. Barclay. Aldermen : Eyre Evans, Richard Houghton, Thomas Bulley, James Lawrence, and Thomas Holt.

The purchase of the Kirkdale shore was agreed to without any debate. Mr. G. H. Lawrence said, that the council having agreed to sell a portion of the estate on one side of the river, he now came to ask them to increase their corporate rights on the Liverpool side. The mode of doing this was to buy 1,000 yards of shore frontage, extending beyond Beacon's-gutter, the northern boundary of the town. The duchy of Lancaster had agreed to give up its rights on this portion of the shore, for the sum of £800 ;

but a stipulation was attached to the surrender of the duchy rights, which was, that the corporation should engage to make a river wall to the property, one-half in five years, the other in ten. The purchase of the shore, on these terms, was confirmed without a division.

The commissioners of Birkenhead, having obtained possession of a large part of the bank of Wallasey-pool, immediately proceeded to give notice of an application to parliament, for powers to form extensive docks in the pool. The Liverpool dock committee, in the same month, gave notice of their intention to apply for powers to construct the great line of docks, now known as the north docks, on the land just acquired from the Earl of Derby. It is well known that both these applications were successful; that the north docks have since been formed, and are now producing a revenue of £45,000 a-year; and that considerable progress has also been made with the Birkenhead docks, although they are still unfinished. An account of what was projected and what has been done, both at the northern and the Birkenhead docks, will be given in the course of this work.

In January, 1844, Mr. Charles Horsfall, who had rendered many important services to the commerce of Liverpool, during a long and useful life, retired from the dock committee. The following observations, written at the time of Mr. Horsfall's retirement, by the author of this work, express the opinion which he still entertains of the value of his public services:—"During the last thirty or forty years Mr. Charles Horsfall's name has been honourably known in connexion with almost every object of public utility in the town of Liverpool: he has held every office which it was in the power of his fellow-townsmen to confer upon him; he has discharged the duties of all to the satisfaction of the public; and he has earned the respect of his fellow-townsmen of all classes and creeds by his conduct in every relation of life. To the dock estate his services have been especially useful, on account of the clear and large views which he has always taken of the interests of that great trust."*

A return was published in 1844, by the registrar of births, deaths, and marriages, as to the amount of mortality and the comparative chances of life in Liverpool, London, and the rural districts. This return, which was extremely unfavourable to Liverpool, showed that of 100,000 persons born in Liverpool only 48,211 were alive at ten years of age; 44,808 at twenty years of age; 40,349 at thirty; 33,748 at forty; 25,878 at fifty; 17,461 at sixty; 8,375 at seventy; 2,271 at eighty; 261 at ninety; and 33 at

* Liverpool Times, January 2, 1844.

a hundred. In London, of every 100,000 persons born 64,921 were alive at ten years of age; 61,684 at twenty; 56,668 at thirty; 49,852 at forty; 41,309 at fifty; 29,839 at sixty; 16,344 at seventy; 4,502 at eighty; 360 at ninety; and 9 at a hundred. In the rural part of the county of Surrey, the return showed that of 100,000 persons born 75,428 were alive at ten years of age; 70,885 at twenty; 65,559 at thirty; 69,413 at forty; 52,061 at fifty; 42,634 at sixty; 28,035 at seventy; 11,205 at eighty; 795 at ninety; 100 at ninety-five; 15 at a hundred; and 2 at a hundred and five. This, and other statements of a similar kind, produced a great impression on the public mind of Liverpool, and led to the adoption of many measures of sanatory improvement, which will be more particularly described hereafter.

At the meeting of the town council, on the 6th of March, 1844, Mr. James Aikin, the chairman of the observatory committee, announced that this port at length possessed an astronomical observatory worthy of its commercial greatness, and one which, from the excellence of its instruments, would be able to indicate the true time with infallible certainty, so as to enable the captains of merchant ships to regulate their chronometers exactly, and thus to avoid those errors of time which were so often fatal at sea. Very shortly the instant of noon would be shown at Liverpool as at Greenwich, by the falling of a ball at the observatory. The committee, he stated, had also succeeded in securing the services of Mr. Hartnup, an astronomer in every respect qualified to render the Liverpool Observatory useful to science.*

In July, 1844, the Birkenhead Dock Bill received the royal assent.†

In December, 1844, it was announced that the Liverpool Observatory was in full work, for the guidance of navigators. At one invariable moment of each day a large ball was made to fall suddenly from a high pole or mast. The exact point of time which it was chosen thus publicly to proclaim was the precise moment of one o'clock at the Royal Observatory of Greenwich, which, of course, differed from one o'clock at Liverpool by the amount of the longitude of Liverpool west of Greenwich. This is twelve minutes, within the fraction of a second, so that any clock indicating forty-eight minutes past twelve, or twelve minutes before one, at the moment of the ball leaving the cross at the summit of the mast, indicated the true mean time of Liverpool, and the quantity by which a timepiece might vary from this indication was, of course, the amount of its error, fast or slow, as it might be. So admirably was the matter arranged,

* Liverpool Times, March 12, 1844.

† Ibid, July 23, 1844.

that an error of a second of time would be thought extravagant, and never occurred.*

In February, 1845, died Mr. Thomas Winstanley, a true lover of the fine arts, and one who did more to create and sustain a taste for painting and sculpture in Liverpool than any of his contemporaries. He united to a sincere love of the beautiful in art a most intimate knowledge of the works of the great painters and sculptors of all countries and ages. He took a principal part in forming the collection of the works of the old masters at the Royal Institution, and in organizing and sustaining the yearly exhibition of the works of living artists, which has now become one of the permanent pleasures of the inhabitants of Liverpool. His frequent lectures, and his publications on the subject of art, were distinguished by good taste and knowledge. In private life he was one of the kindest of men and most agreeable of companions. His memory is justly dear to all who knew him, and to no one more so than to the writer of this brief notice.

In the spring of 1845 all was bustle and activity about the Birkenhead docks. Seven hundred men were at work day and night, and two thousand were set to work as the summer approached. It was then expected that the docks would be partially opened in two years, and completed in three. The dock warehouse company were making fifty millions of bricks, for the large and commodious warehouses which have since been built.†

In the session of 1845 the Liverpool and Manchester and the Grand Junction Railways, the two first great lines formed in England, agreed to amalgamate their property and interests. For some time they were worked under the title of "The Grand Junction Railway Company"; but soon after another amalgamation united the London and Birmingham line to the other two, on which the joint companies assumed the present well-known title of "The London and North Western Railway Company."

The steam-ship *Great Britain*, built at Bristol by the same enterprising company which built the *Great Western*, began to ply between Liverpool and New York in 1845. The burden of this stupendous vessel is 3,500 tons, (old measurement,) her length over all 320 feet, and beam 51 feet. She is altogether formed of iron, and propelled by the screw, being the most wonderful vessel ever built, if we take into account her size, her material, and her mode of propulsion.

In August, 1845, the first line of screw-steamers between Liverpool

* Liverpool Times, December 17, 1844.

† Ibid, March 4, 1845.

and the *Levant* began to run. The first vessel was the *Novelty*, the second the *Levantine*, both for Constantinople. This was the beginning of a great change, by which nearly the whole trade between Liverpool and all the countries within the Straits of Gibraltar has come to be carried on by means of screw-steamers.*

The total number of houses built in Liverpool between the years 1838 and 1845, both included, was 14,982, namely, in 1838, 1,652; in 1839, 997; in 1840, 1,577; in 1841, 1,761; in 1842, 2,027; in 1843, 1,390; in 1844, 2,450; in 1845, 3,728. The extraordinary increase in the number of houses built in 1844 and 1845 was partly the result of an excellent local law, forbidding the use of cellars as dwelling places.

In February, 1846, it was announced that the directors of the Grand Junction Railway had determined to establish an express train, to start from Liverpool for London at six o'clock in the morning. This train was to arrive in London about twelve o'clock, thus rendering it possible for merchants, brokers, and other men of business, who might be desirous to attend sales of sugar, cotton, silk, wool, indigo, and other articles, or professional men having business to perform, which required their personal presence, after passing the previous night at home, to spend four or five hours in London, and yet reach home the same night by the express train from London.†

A meeting was held at the Clarendon-rooms, Liverpool, in April, 1846, Charles Lawrence, Esq., in the chair, to originate a testimonial of respect to Mr. Henry Booth, the treasurer and chief-manager of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, from the time of its formation to that of the amalgamation of the line with the Grand Junction Railway. The chairman, after passing a warm and well-merited eulogium on the services of Mr. Booth, moved the following resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that Mr. Henry Booth is eminently entitled to a public testimonial, for the important services which he has rendered during a period of nearly twenty years, not only to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, with which he has been so long and so beneficially connected, but to railways in general, which have been largely benefitted by his matured experience in the management of their affairs." A committee was then appointed to carry out the object of the above resolution, consisting of the directors of the late Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company, the directors of the Grand Junction Railway Company, Robert Bickersteth, Esq., Thomas Bolton, Esq., Robertson Gladstone, Esq.,

* *Liverpool Times*, August 12, 1845.

† *Ibid*, February 24, 1846.

T. S. Gladstone, Esq., George Holt, Esq., Hugh Hornby, Esq., Wellwood Maxwell, Esq., Alexander Maxwell, Esq., and Samuel Sandbach, Esq.*

The Sailors' Home owes its origin to the philanthropic and spirited exertions of Mr. James Aikin, its chairman, aided by the co-operation of Mr. Charles Cotesworth, vice-chairman, Mr. James Tyrer, treasurer, and Mr. William J. Tomlinson, the invaluable honorary secretary, and a number of other gentlemen, who, with a view to improve the condition and character of British seamen, "to rescue them from corrupting influences, and to induce them to seek and value the comforts of a well-regulated establishment," projected this institution, and, in 1841, called a meeting, by public advertisement, when it was determined to establish a "Sailors' Home, Registry, and Savings'-bank for Seamen," in Liverpool. The fundamental principles were decided upon, and a provisional committee was appointed to adopt measures calculated to advance the desired object. This committee made considerable progress in obtaining donations. A memorial was presented to the town council requesting a grant of land for a building, and a grant was accordingly promised of an eligible site at the north end of the Prince's Dock. At the requisition of this committee, a public meeting was convened by the mayor, Mr. Thomas Sands, and held at the Sessions'-house, October 25, 1844, for the purpose of still further exciting public interest, when there was a very influential attendance, and, by the powerful speeches made on that occasion, a strong and lasting impression was produced. The various resolutions were moved and seconded by the following gentlemen, viz., Mr. Adam Hodgson, Mr. Edward Rushton, (the late lamented stipendiary magistrate,) Mr. James Aikin, Mr. William Potter, the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, the Rev. J. T. Brown, (minister of the Scotch Church,) the Rev. Augustus Campbell, junior rector of Liverpool, Mr. George Grant, Mr. William Rathbone, Mr. Charles Cotesworth, Mr. Thomas Berry Horsfall, Mr. Duncan Gibb, Mr. Joseph C. Ewart, Mr. William Watson, Mr. W. R. Sandbach, Mr. William Brown, M.P., and Mr. George Kendall.

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee, with power to add to their number, viz., Messrs. James Aikin, Josias Booker, Charles Cotesworth, John A. Tinne, James Tyrer, John L. Phipps, William Potter, William Watson, James Bold, Francis Shand, E. W. Jackson, William Rathbone, Richard Harbord, P. W. Pritchard, W. J. Tomlinson, George Grant, Robert Rankin, T. B. Horsfall, Adam Hodgson, Edward Rushton,

* Liverpool Times, April 7, 1846.

J. B. Moore, Joseph C. Ewart, Jonathan Higginson, Duncan Gibb, Andrew Low, William Brown, P. P. Younghusband, George Kendall, John Archer, Robert Bibby, and John Clint.

The sum of £14,800 was subscribed. Temporary premises were taken in Bath-street, and opened April 21st, 1845, for such departments as could then be entered on, consisting of the affording of facilities for paying off crews, the registration and shipping of seamen, the cashing of advance notes, and opening a bank, where seamen could deposit their money, and draw it when and in what manner they pleased. From that date, April 21st, to December 31st, of the same year, 1845, there were 3,332 men registered, all of whom produced satisfactory characters from their late employers, without which certificate no man can be put on the books of the institution; 220 ships were supplied with crews; 2,412 men were shipped; 231 crews were paid off in the institution; 1,308 advance notes, amounting to £3,000, were cashed; and the amount deposited in the savings'-bank was £405. These facts, with others, afforded a satisfactory proof of the appreciation of such an establishment, even in its imperfect state, and held out infinitely greater hopes of success, when the time should arrive for the opening of its other departments, and the development of its entire utility, in a suitable building, with complete arrangements. In lieu of the plot of land at the north end of the Prince's Dock, originally intended, the town council substituted a grant of that on which the Sailors' Home now stands, facing the east end of the Custom-house. Plans were prepared for the building; contracts were entered into; and the foundation-stone was laid July 31, 1846, by his royal highness Prince Albert.

A further sum of money being needed for the completion of the building, a bazaar, in aid of its funds, was held within its walls, on the 23d, 24th, and 25th April, 1851, which yielded the large nett amount of £5,000. An additional, but comparatively small, amount is still required to furnish it. The building was opened at the end of 1850, for the business previously conducted at the temporary rooms, in Bath-street, and is now in full operation, except for the reception of seamen to board and lodge, which important department, especially entitled to the term "Home," will come into operation in the course of 1852, when accommodation will be provided for 350 to 400 men. Up to the end of the year 1850 the number of seamen registered on the books was 14,488, many of them having certificates from captains for six or seven voyages, which may be referred to with facility. In 1850 the number of men

shipped was 7,274; seamen whose advance notes were cashed, 575; crews paid off, 281. £2,196 was placed in the deposit bank; and the balance in the bank, on the 31st December, was £1,429 8s. 8d., against £934 7s. at the same period in 1849.

Since the opening of this institution the present Mercantile Marine Act has been passed; and, seeing that the objects contemplated by the act are similar, though more limited and imperfect, in many respects, than those which the Sailors' Home is successfully accomplishing, and designed still further to accomplish, by voluntary effort, we cannot doubt that government will afford every encouragement to the laudable exertions of the committee of the Home, profiting, by their co-operation and experience, rather to stimulate other seaports to supply deficiencies, after the model here erected, than to retard, by any unwise interference, the well-directed labours of those who, at great personal sacrifice and cost, took the initiative, before the government itself, in the work of ameliorating the condition of the seamen. The Sailors' Home is not only noble in its aims and regulations, but also, in an architectural point of view, is a leading ornament of the town, and reflects high credit on its architect, Mr. John Cunningham.

In January, 1847, Dr. Duncan was appointed officer of health for Liverpool, an office which he still fills, and in which he has rendered the greatest services to the health of the town. At the time of this appointment Mr. Edwin Chadwick, the registrar-general, made the following remarks on the necessity of a liberal expenditure for sanatory purposes, in a place at once so rich and so unhealthy as Liverpool:—"A parsimony," he said, "for objects of such importance as the saving of pain and misery would ill become Liverpool, where there is in course of expenditure, for splendour, on one single edifice, St. George's Hall, upwards of £100,000; a sum which would, if so applied, serve to sweep and cleanse in perpetuity, and make decent, the filthy by-streets of upwards of 23,000 houses, out of the 45,000 houses, which are under the corporation jurisdiction. And allow me to pause by the way," he added, "to offer the suggestion for consideration, since that edifice is to be adorned with statues, whether a place may not be found for one, amongst other men who have adorned Liverpool, to the late Dr. Currie, who, with the physicians of the fever hospital, in the year 1802, pointed out preventive measures, which, if they had been adopted, would have prevented Liverpool being now the least healthy city in Great Britain, and would have averted the heavy mortality burdens by which its population is now depressed." The

suggestion of ornamenting St. George's Hall with a statue of a man whose memory is so justly dear to the friends of literature, freedom, and benevolence, as that of Dr. Currie must ever be, is worthy of adoption ; but it must be added, in justice to Liverpool, that, whilst nearly £200,000 has been expended in adorning the town with one of the noblest buildings of modern times, two, if not three, times that sum has been spent, or is spending, on improvements designed to promote the public health, by means of sewerage and cleansing, of baths and wash-houses, of improvements in the residences of the poorer classes, and of an abundant supply of water, brought from a distance of many miles. It is doubtful whether a town like Liverpool, which can be reached at a trifling expense by the most destitute of the Irish poor, will ever be as healthy as towns less accessible to that poverty-stricken people ; but it would be a great injustice to suppose that the people of Liverpool are erecting magnificent buildings and leaving the poor to perish. Nothing can be further from the truth. Many admirable plans of improvement have been devised ; immense sums have already been expended in carrying them out ; and there is no reason to doubt that everything that is practicable will be done, to render the town as healthy as a town subject to the influx of so much poverty can be rendered. In the course of this work I shall have occasion to mention numerous improvements, all of which were undertaken with a view of freeing the town from the reproach to which it was at one time justly subject. At the time of which I am writing, in January, 1847, when all Ireland was suffering under the plague of famine, the influx of the destitute into Liverpool was so overwhelming, that not less than 29,417 persons received parish relief, as casual poor, in six days, in addition to the resident poor.

An inquiry took place in February, 1847, at the Court-house, before Cuthbert Edward Ellison, Esq., barrister, and George Lowe, Esq., civil-engineer, as to the supply of gas in the town of Liverpool. It appeared, from the statement of Mr. Carson, solicitor to the company, that the Liverpool Gaslight Company was incorporated in the year 1818, with powers to raise a capital of £50,000, in five hundred shares of £100 each. The company was very successful, and, in twenty-three years, expended £143,190 in supplying gas for the streets, public buildings, and houses of Liverpool. In the year 1841 the company obtained additional powers, and then extended its mains into Toxteth-park, West Derby, Everton, Walton, Bootle, Great Crosby, and Wavertree. The price of the company's gas, previous to 1841, was 8s. per 1,000 cubic feet ; it was then

fixed at 7s. ; in 1844 it was reduced to 6s. ; in 1845 to 5s. ; and again, in the course of the year, to 4s. 6d. per 1,000 feet.

Mr. Alfred King, who had been engineer to the company for twenty-one years, and is so still, stated that the company had two large stations, one in Dale-street and the other in Vauxhall-road. The quantity of gas made by the company, in 1844, was 153 millions of cubic feet; in 1845, 178 millions; and, in 1846, $211\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The quantity made had doubled in four years and a half, and trebled in seven years; the company had 150 miles of mains, 132 within the parliamentary borough, and 18 without; the largest main was 12 inches in diameter; the most distant point which the company lighted was Wavertree; 9,600 cubic feet of gas was made, on an average of a year, from a ton of cannel coal; the illuminating power gave a light equal to 20 18-10ths of wax candles, burning six to the pound; the specific gravity of the gas was from 545 to 555; the street lamps burnt about 4 feet of gas an hour; of the 4s. 6d. per thousand charged by the company, at the then rate of consumption, 2s. 9d. went to cost, and 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. to dividend; there were 1,366 streets lighted in Liverpool; the street lamps consumed 42 millions cubic feet of gas; the company lighted 3,065 houses, 141 manufactories, 188 public buildings, 1,353 inns or taverns, 5,963 shops and offices, and 128 lamps in private courts.

In March, 1847, the cargo of the *Emily*, from Shanghai, in China, was discharged into the Albert Dock Warehouses, in five hours, a wonderful instance of despatch and good management. It consisted of 919 bales of silk, 27 bales of hemp, and 2,168 chests of tea; altogether, upwards of 3,000 packages.*

On Monday, the 22d March, the first of the Birkenhead docks, named the Morpeth Dock, was opened, as well as the large and convenient dock warehouses attached to the docks of Birkenhead. The Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, opened the dock, by entering it, on board the steamer *Lord Warden*.† The beautiful park of Birkenhead was opened on the same day.

The alarming influx of the Irish poor into Liverpool, during the winter of 1846 and the spring of 1847, the memorable years of famine, has already been mentioned. The actual number who arrived in Liverpool, from the 16th January to the 17th April, in 1847, was 127,785 persons, namely, 69,695 men, 36,234 women, and 22,686 children.‡

* Liverpool Times, March 23, 1847.

† Ibid, April 6, 1847.

‡ Ibid, April 20, 1847.

In June, 1847, large reductions, amounting, in the whole, to about £38,000 a-year, were made in the dock dues. The reductions were, on cotton, £18,700; on shipping, £14,000; on salt, £3,400; on iron, £1,500; on coal, £1,116.

Mr. Charles Okill, clerk of the committees of the town council, died at his house, at Childwall, on the 20th June, 1847, having been in the service of the corporation of Liverpool for upwards of thirty years, the greater part of which he spent either in compiling plans of the corporation property, or in collecting that mass of evidence, by which the claim of the corporation to its town dues' revenue was so clearly and firmly established, when its right was tried before Lord Chief-Justice Denman. Mr. Okill was a good Latin scholar, and also possessed a fair knowledge of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon languages. He had examined and made copious extracts from every published work which either did, or might be supposed to, throw light on the early part of the history of South Lancashire, beginning with the account of the wars of the Saxon kings, Oswald and Penda, in the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and coming down, step by step, to the reign of King Charles the Second, when that portion of the jura regalia—the town dues of Liverpool—in which he felt so deep an interest, passed into the hands of the corporation of Liverpool. He had also examined the manuscripts in the Harleian and other great collections, and the unpublished papers in the record-offices, with wonderful industry. His collection, which fills upwards of twenty-five volumes of manuscript, and which contains nearly as much Latin as English, is a remarkable evidence of his patience and sagacity, and of his untiring zeal for the interests of his employers. The great mass of it—I should think nine-tenths of the whole—relates to periods of history previous to the reign of Charles the Second; and probably two-thirds of it to the times of the Saxon, Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor sovereigns. Mr. Okill is the guide whom I have followed, in matters relating strictly to Liverpool, to the year 1640. His collection, subsequent to that period, is very incomplete; indeed, altogether unfinished. He was an enthusiastic antiquary, and one of the most industrious and sagacious ever produced either by the present or any other age.

In the parliament elected in the summer of 1847, eight gentlemen were returned connected with Liverpool, either by birth or residence, or immediate descent, namely, the Right Hon. W. G. Gladstone, member for the University of Oxford; William Brown, Esq., one of the members for South Lancashire; Sir Thomas Bernard Birch, Bart., and Edward

Cardwell, Esq., members for the borough of Liverpool ; Sir Joshua Walmsley, member for Leicester, and now for Bolton ; Thomas Thornely, Esq., member for Wolverhampton ; William Ewart, Esq., member for Dumfries ; and William Jackson, Esq., member for Newcastle-under-Lyne.

In the summer of 1847 two distinguished performers made their appearance before a Liverpool audience, Mad'lle Rachel and Jenny Lind. To speak of their merits is superfluous, and it is almost so to say that they were eminently successful in Liverpool. Mad'lle Rachel performed in "Les Horaces", "Phèdre", and other master-pieces of French tragedy. Jenny Lind performed and sang in "La Sonnambula" and "La Figlia." Grisi, Mario, Alboni, and Tamburini appeared a few weeks later, and were also very successful.

On Monday, the 28th September, 1847, Liverpool possessed for the first time the use of the electric telegraph, the most wonderful of modern inventions. Manchester was the first place in the kingdom with which Liverpool was brought into communication ; but very shortly afterwards it was connected with every place in Great Britain to which the magic wires of the electric telegraph extend.

In the autumn of 1847 Lieutenant Lord, R.N., the marine-surveyor of the port of Liverpool, published his most elaborate and accurate chart of the port and the approaches to it.

On the 26th November Harvey Lonsdale Elmes, the architect of those noble buildings, St. George's Hall and the Collegiate Institution, died at Spanish Town, Jamaica, where he had gone, in the hope of benefitting his health, which, like that of too many men of genius, was feeble and precarious. No stranger ever visited Liverpool, for any purpose connected with the arts, who obtained so general an esteem as he did, by his gentlemanlike conduct, his strict integrity, and the great talent which he displayed in his profession. The St. George's Hall and the Collegiate Institution of Liverpool will prove lasting monuments of his taste and genius.

During the year 1847 the British and North American royal mail steamers made twenty voyages to and from Boston and Liverpool, crossing the Atlantic forty times, and steaming a total distance of 120,000 miles. The number of passengers conveyed from Liverpool to Boston was 1,804 ; to Halifax, 249 ; and from Halifax to Boston, 247. The number on the return voyages was, from Boston to Halifax, 253 ; Boston to Liverpool, 1,484 ; Halifax to Liverpool, 270.*

* Liverpool Times, Feb. 24, 1847.

George Stephenson, the great engineer, who found the English railway a clumsy contrivance for carrying coals from the pit's mouth to the shipping port, at the rate of three miles an hour, and raised it to the rank of the swiftest, safest, and most useful mode of transit ever discovered by the genius of man, closed his honourable career on the 12th of August, 1848. The following is an extract from the minutes of the Liverpool Board of the London and Northwestern Railway, of the 6th September, 1848 :

“The public papers having announced the lamented death of Mr. George Stephenson, on Saturday, the 12th ult.,

“Resolved unanimously,—That the directors embrace this the first opportunity of recording the strong sentiments which they entertain of admiration for the talents, and esteem for the character, of a man whose death they cannot but regard as a national loss. The directors, on the present occasion, look back with peculiar interest to their first connexion with Mr. Stephenson, in the construction of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway; to a period, now twenty years past, when he floated their new line over Chat Moss, and cut his way through the rock cutting at Olive Mount. Tracing the progress of railways from that first beginning to the present time, they find Mr. Stephenson foremost in urging forward the great railway movement; earning and maintaining his title, to be considered before any other man, the author of that universal system of locomotion which has effected such mighty results, commercial, social, and political, throughout the civilized world. Two years ago the directors entrusted to Mr. Gibson, of Rome, the duty and the privilege of producing a statue that might do honour to their friend, then living amongst them. They did not anticipate that on the completion of this work of art the great original would be no more; that they should be constrained to accept the marble effigy of the engineer, in place of the living presence of the man.”

“Resolved,—That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mr. Robert Stephenson, with an expression of the directors' earnest sympathy under the irreparable loss which he has experienced.”

The process of clearing out the cellars of Liverpool had made some progress in the beginning of the year 1849. The number of cellars vacated at that time was 3,000, but 11,000 still remained, which were occupied by 27,000 persons.*

In March, 1849, sixty-five of the clergy of Liverpool and the neigh-

* Liverpool Times, Feb. 24, 1849.

bourhood joined in an address of congratulation to Dr. Bird Sumner, who had so long presided over this diocese, as Bishop of Chester, on his elevation to the dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the same month upwards of twelve hundred of the leading inhabitants of Liverpool joined in an address to Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq., the mayor of Liverpool, expressive of their warm approbation of his firm and prudent conduct, during the alarming popular excitement produced by the French revolution of that year, and the dangerous sedition to which it gave rise in Ireland.

On the 20th June, 1849, a meeting was held at the Town-hall, to organize a plan of paying off the debts of the Infirmary, and of the Northern and Southern Hospitals, amounting altogether to about £5,000, by means of a flower show and a fancy fair. The idea of thus freeing those invaluable institutions from the burdens which very seriously interfered with their usefulness originated with Mrs. J. Bramley-Moore, the lady of the mayor for the time being. The plan was taken up with great spirit, and led to one of the most brilliant festivals ever held in Liverpool, the lasting result of which was not merely to pay off the debts of the charities, but to leave a large balance in their favour. During three days the beautiful grounds of the Park were crowded with multitudes both of the resident inhabitants and of strangers. The fancy fair was held in the month of August, in Prince's-park.

The most interesting local event of the year 1851, and the appropriate commencement of a new half-century, was the visit of our good and gracious Queen Victoria, with the Prince Consort, and the royal children, to her old and loyal town of Liverpool. This was the first visit ever made to Liverpool by a reigning sovereign of England, for the avowed object of becoming acquainted with the town and port, and of expressing interest in the well-being of its inhabitants. Manchester was honoured with a similar visit on the same occasion, and for the like purpose. In her progress through Lancashire, the most populous county of her dominions, her Majesty passed through the midst of nearly two millions of her subjects, who crowded to meet her in countless numbers, wherever she stayed, even for a few moments, or where it was even known that she would pass. Every where she was received with the warmest and most cordial expressions of affection; indeed, her Majesty's visit to Lancashire was a continued triumph—a triumph not won by deeds of slaughter, in fields of blood, but by an exemplary performance, amidst the temptations of the highest rank, of the domestic duties which form

the happiness of society ; and by a judicious, dispassionate, impartial, and strictly constitutional use of the prerogatives, which render the sovereigns of England the arbiters of conflicting parties, and ensure security in this happy country against the confusion caused by struggles for the supreme power in the state.

The first official intimation of her Majesty's intention to visit Liverpool was received by the mayor, in the month of September, when it was announced that she would arrive at Croxteth-hall, the seat of the Right Hon. the Earl of Sefton, lord-lieutenant of the county, on Wednesday, the 8th of October ; and, after dining and spending the night at the hospitable mansion of that noble earl and his amiable countess, would the next day visit Liverpool, to inspect the town and its public buildings, the river Mersey and the docks, and afterwards to receive an address from the mayor and corporation, and to lunch at the Town-hall. The Corporation, which has always been distinguished for its attachment to the House of Hanover, and which showed it pre-eminently in the reigns of the first and second Georges, when nearly all Lancashire was overrun by the armed adherents of the House of Stuart, determined to give her Majesty a reception worthy of the first seaport of the empire, and of the Queen of England. The Committee of the Dock Estate, the Chamber of Commerce, and the whole mercantile, trading, and working classes of the port, all, according to their position, rank, and means, were equally anxious to show honour to a sovereign who is alike dear to all. In addition to a very liberal expenditure by the Corporation and the Dock Committee, many thousand pounds were expended by the inhabitants in adorning their houses with flags of welcome, and in constructing arches of evergreens, adorned with flowers, at the entrance of the town, and in the principal streets. Had Liverpool been favoured with such a day as any one of the three on which his Royal Highness the Prince honoured the town with a visit, at the opening of the Albert Dock and the founding of the Sailors' Home, it would have presented as beautiful a sight on land as ever was exhibited by an English town on a festive occasion, whilst the docks and the river, covered with thousands of vessels, ornamented with tens of thousands of flags, and crowded with the ships of all nations, would have presented a sight such as is not to be seen in any other port in the world. Unfortunately, the weather spoiled the spectacle ; but her Majesty, nevertheless, expressed herself highly gratified with her reception.

At her entrance to the town the Queen was received by the mayor,

(John Bent, Esq.,) and on the Landing-stage by Charles Turner, Esq., and the dock committee. Her Majesty entered the borough from Croxteth, by the West Derby-road, and proceeded through the town along Brunswick-road, Moss-street, Brownlow-street, Oxford-street, part of Hope-street, Leese-street, Bold-street, Church-street, Lord-street, part of Castle-street, Brunswick-street, and Strand-street, and across the north bridge of George's Dock, to the Landing-stage, on the river. There she embarked on board her own beautiful little steamer, *Fairy*, steamed up the river until nearly opposite Rock Ferry, crossed to near the Cheshire shore, steamed down the Cheshire side to nearly opposite the Rock Light-house, then crossed to the Lancashire side, and, sailing up the river, returned to the Landing-stage, where she disembarked.

The Queen and Prince Albert, with the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Princess Alice, and the Princess Helena, alighted at the awning of the north entrance to the Landing-stage, and were received by Mr. Turner, chairman of the Dock Committee; Mr. Shand and Mr. Jesse Hartley, on behalf of the Committee of the Dock Trust; and by Mr. Brown, M.P., Mr. T. B. Horsfall, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. John Aikin, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce. Earl Grey and Lord Carlisle were in attendance on the Queen, and the royal suite consisted of the Viscountess Canning, lady in waiting; the Hon. Beatrice Byng, maid of honour in waiting; and Sir James Clarke, physician to her Majesty. The Mayor of Liverpool was also in attendance.

The following address of the Dock Committee was presented to the Queen by Mr. Charles Turner and Mr. Francis Shand:

“TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“May it please your Majesty,—We, the Corporation of the Trustees of the Liverpool Docks, beg leave, with profound respect, to express our devoted loyalty to your Majesty's person and crown, and our grateful sense of the honour conferred upon us by the inspection which your Majesty has now been pleased to make of the port of Liverpool, and of the docks, and other very extensive maritime works therein, under our management and control.

“In common with all our fellow-subjects, inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood, we have hailed with the liveliest satisfaction and thankfulness your Majesty's determination, accompanied by his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and other members of your royal family, to visit this great commercial emporium of your dominions; and we venture most respectfully to hope that the acquaintance which your Majesty

has now formed with a site of enterprise and industry which, in their manifold operations, contribute so largely to the power and prosperity of this kingdom, as well as the loyalty and delight inspired by your royal presence, and manifested alike afloat and on shore, and with heartfelt enthusiasm by all classes, and every person present at the humble pageant which your Majesty has condescended to accept and grace, will not have proved altogether uninteresting to your Majesty.

“ This auspicious visit is the first which circumstances have permitted your Majesty to honour us with, but we cannot but thankfully remember that the illustrious Prince, your royal consort, has before been graciously pleased to give his sanction to, and permitted to be associated with his name, a great work,—portion of the Liverpool Dock Estate, new in principle at that time here, but now in most successful operation ; as well as to afford very seasonable encouragement and support to an institution for the benefit of our seamen, which his royal highness will hear with pleasure is largely fulfilling the useful objects which, as its founder, he ventured to predicate.

“ That your Majesty may, on some future occasion, be induced to repeat, and with increasing interest, the favour which we now so gratefully acknowledge, and that each year of your Majesty’s reign may be rich in such and all other proofs of the happiness, prosperity, and affectionate loyalty of your people, is our most earnest and devoted prayer.

“ Given under our common seal this ninth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.”

The box in which the address was presented was made from a piece of oak found during the excavations for one of the docks at the north end of the town ; a trunk which, no doubt, once flourished as part of the ancient forest of Liverpool. It is as black as ebony, and has received a brilliant polish.

The following address of the Chamber of Commerce was presented to the Queen by Mr. Brown, M.P., Mr. T. B. Horsfall, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. John Aikin :

“ TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“ May it please your Majesty,—Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the president, vice-president, the council, and members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce beg, with all humility and respect, to approach your Majesty with feelings of devoted loyalty to your Majesty’s throne and person, and with the tender of our sincere and heartfelt congratulations on your Majesty’s arrival in this town, accompanied

by your royal consort, and the other members of the royal family. And while we feel assured of the deep and lively interest which your Majesty at all times takes in the welfare of every portion of the British empire, we cannot but look upon your present visit as an evidence of the special interest which your Majesty has been pleased to take in the prosperity of the town of Liverpool, and in the promotion of that commercial enterprise which is conducive at once to the peace and prosperity of the country. The happy event of seeing in the midst of us that gracious sovereign who, in the providence of God, has, for a period of fourteen years, so happily ruled over this country, will, we feel assured, be the means, if possible, of increasing that loyalty which has ever characterized the people of Liverpool, and of cementing more closely that bond of union and affection which ought always to subsist between a sovereign and a people.

“That Almighty God may shower down his richest blessings on your Majesty, your consort, and your royal children, and that you may long continue to reign over a happy and contented people, is the fervent prayer of your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the president, vice-president, council, and members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.”

The Queen received both addresses very graciously. Her Majesty’s manner was extremely graceful and affable, she smilingly expressing her sorrow that the day was so unfavourable, not for her own sake, but for the sake of the people, who had to endure such uncomfortable weather.

The addresses having been presented, Lord Cathcart, Colonel Phipps, and the mayor led the way down the avenue leading to the stage. Her Majesty, leaning on the right arm of Prince Albert, followed, Mr. Turner being on the Queen’s right hand, and Mr. Hartley on the left of Prince Albert. The ladies in attendance, Earl Grey, the Earl of Sefton, &c., brought up the rear.

After receiving the addresses on the Landing-stage, her Majesty and the royal party proceeded to the Town-hall, passing along Strand-street as far as the Custom-house, and examining the exterior of that massive building, and of the Sailors’ Home.

About one o’clock the loud shouts of a vast multitude announced the approach of the royal party to the Town-hall. The company assembled to receive her Majesty, and to witness the presentation of the address from the corporation of Liverpool, consisted of the mayor, the sixty-four aldermen and town councillors, the dock committee, many of the first

merchants of the town, and a charming company of beautiful and elegant ladies.

Precisely at a quarter-past one o'clock her Majesty entered the grand ball-room, accompanied by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, by the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and two other of the royal children. Earl Grey was in attendance, and the Earl of Sefton and a numerous party from Croxteth were also present.

Her Majesty, the Prince, and the royal children were in mourning for the Prince of Prussia.

As her Majesty entered the whole company arose, and when she had taken her stand on the raised chair, with Prince Albert on the left hand of her, and the royal children on the right, (a little behind her,) the company saluted her by bowing respectfully, which her Majesty acknowledged with her usual kindness and grace.

The Recorder, Gilbert Henderson, Esq., then stepped forward and read the following address :

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

"May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Liverpool, approach, with profound respect, to offer the homage of our devoted loyalty, and to express the universal joy of the inhabitants of this borough, now for the first time gladdened by your royal presence.

"We welcome with delight a sovereign who, displaying from the throne a brilliant example of private virtue, so sways the sceptre of public rule as to unite the hearts of her people in firm and dutiful attachment to her person and government.

"Knowing that your Majesty is ever intent on the welfare of the realm, we view this gracious visit as a mark of royal regard for the town and trade of Liverpool ; and we indulge a hope that your Majesty will have seen with satisfaction the public buildings now in course of completion, and the arrangements to accommodate the shipping of a seaport remarkable for the rapid progress and extent of its commerce.

"Our joy on this auspicious occasion is enhanced by the presence of the illustrious Prince, your royal consort, who to many well-earned titles to national admiration and esteem, as the patron of science and improvement, adds peculiar claims on the gratitude of this community: we rejoice that the great works inaugurated here by his royal highness, and which blend his name with our commercial enterprise, are now in full operation,

and that the structure which he graciously condescended to found is now completed as a Sailors' Home.

"Thankful for the wise and benign exercise of royal authority, and for the advantages of constitutional government, we fervently pray that many years of public and private felicity may be added to your Majesty's reign, and that future generations in this kingdom may long enjoy, under your royal line, such blessings as are now most gratefully acknowledged.

"Given under the common seal of the borough of Liverpool, this ninth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one."

Her Majesty replied to the address in a clear and beautiful voice, every sound and modulation of which was heard to the furthest corner of the room, and in a tone of warmth and sincerity which no one could listen to without feeling that she cordially returned the ardent love of her subjects. She expressed herself highly gratified by the marks of attachment which she had received from the inhabitants of this great emporium, of which she entertained a just and a sincere admiration. Her words were as follows:

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I accept with pleasure your loyal address, and I am glad to convey through you, to the inhabitants of this borough, my best thanks for the very cordial welcome which I have received from them on the occasion of my visiting, for the first time, this great commercial town, of which I have viewed, with just admiration, the magnificent public works and buildings."

After her Majesty had read the reply, Mr. Hugh Hornby and Mr. John Holmes, the mover and seconder of the address, had the honour of kissing hands.

The mayor, John Bent, Esq., was then called to step forward and to kneel. For an instant a sword was seen to glitter, and immediately the Queen called on him to rise, SIR JOHN BENT.

Her Majesty was then conducted by Sir John Bent to the window overlooking the area of the Liverpool Exchange, which was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, who received her Majesty with the most vehement and long-continued cheering.

After conferring this honour on the chief magistrate, her Majesty retired, with the rest of the party, to partake of a private luncheon. Not a sound was heard until they had left the ball-room; but, the moment that they had passed through the doors, a vehement and irrepressible burst of cheering rose from the whole assembly, which was repeatedly taken up.

After an absence of twenty minutes her Majesty returned to the grand ball-room, and, after bowing to the company, left the Town-hall, at a quarter to three o'clock.

Before the Queen quitted the Town-hall her Majesty and the Prince stepped from the window upon the central balcony, and remained there for some little time, enjoying the fine view which Castle-street presented. The multitudes thronging the streets below sent forth cheer after cheer during the whole time her Majesty remained in view. Precisely at a quarter to three o'clock the Queen, her Consort, and children, entered the royal carriages, and, escorted as before by the 16th Lancers, proceeded by way of Dale-street, Manchester-street, and St. John's-lane, to St. George's Hall.

Throughout the whole route the same enthusiasm marked the progress as had been previously manifested. Her Majesty entered the hall by the covered way which had been formed, extending from the eastern portico to the front of the steps. She was received by Mr. John Buck Lloyd, and a few other gentlemen connected with the Council, who conducted her through the chief portions of the building, and gave the necessary explanations. Both her Majesty and Prince Albert appeared struck with the vast size and noble character of the edifice.

Before leaving the building the Queen, the Prince, and the royal children stood forth beneath the southern portico. Their appearance was the signal for one loud, long, and heart-stirring cheer from the masses of people who were congregated on the ground below in Lime-street, and the crowds upon the stages which skirted the thoroughfare.

At the railway-station, Mr. Glyn and Mr. Rotherham were the directors in waiting to receive her Majesty. Amongst those on the platform were the Earl and Countess of Sefton, the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Cathcart and staff, Mr. Thornely, M.P., Mr. Hardman Earle, &c. At half-past three precisely the Queen and Prince Albert, with the royal children, appeared on the platform, when they were received with loud cheers by the party assembled. Her Majesty and the Prince immediately stepped into the state-carriage, his royal highness having most cordially shaken hands with the mayor, Sir John Bent. The Queen stepped to the front of the carriage frequently, and acknowledged the cheers with great affability. The train, driven by Mr. Norris, departed in a few minutes, the Queen and Prince again presenting themselves, and bowing repeatedly to the assembly. The next minute the train entered the tunnel, and the Queen was on her way to the Earl of Ellesmere's.

On the following day her Majesty visited the mayor, corporation, and inhabitants of Manchester. Her reception there was as affectionate and loyal as that which she had met with at Liverpool, and the arrangements for her reception were fully as splendid. A beautiful day and a brilliant sun gave to her Majesty's visit to Manchester the only charm which that to Liverpool wanted. At Manchester, also, her Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on the chief magistrate, Sir JOHN POTTER, thrice mayor of that great seat of skill and industry.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE FIRST, IN 1714, TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Having, in three previous sketches, traced the history of the commerce of Liverpool, and of the rise of industry in the surrounding counties, under the royal houses of Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart, from the time of the granting of the first charter, by King John, in the year 1207, to the passing of the first dock act, by the parliament of Queen Anne, in the year 1709, I now proceed to continue the sketch, from the accession of the house of Hanover to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Although Liverpool had made considerable progress, in comparison with previous times, from the Restoration, in 1660, to the accession of George the First, in 1714, its position was still so humble at the latter period that a single dock, large enough to receive a hundred vessels, was considered sufficient for the accommodation of its commerce. But the impulse was already given by the rise of manufactures in the interior, and by the planting of nearly twenty rich and flourishing colonies on the continent of America and in the West Indies; and the progress had commenced, which has not been checked, to the present time, when upwards of 3,700,000 tons of shipping leave the port in a single year, carrying manufactures of the value of thirty-five millions sterling to all the countries of the globe, and bringing back materials of manufacture and articles of necessity, comfort, and luxury, sufficient for the supply of the looms of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and for the wants of a population of eight or ten millions of souls, in the north-western counties of England, in Ireland, and in Scotland.

It has already been seen, in a previous part of this work,* that the forming of the dock, by which so great a saving was effected in the loading and landing of goods, was followed by the forming of lines of water-

* Page 402.

carriage from Liverpool to three great seats of industry ; namely, to the industrious and flourishing town of Manchester, to the coal-fields of Lancashire, and to the salt-mines and manufactories of Cheshire. The effect of forming these lines was to reduce the cost of conveying goods between Liverpool and the interior to about one-fourth of the previous rate. This was a great advantage, even as related to valuable raw materials and to manufactured goods, articles capable of bearing an expensive land carriage ; but a much greater one as related to bulky and low priced materials, like coal, salt, and timber, of which the original cost was soon doubled, trebled, or quadrupled by the cost of land carriage, especially over unpaved roads and through a heavy country, like the Lancashire and Cheshire of the reign of George the First.

The town of Manchester had already become a place of great trade, at the commencement of the reign of that monarch. The manufactures carried on there, though known as the cotton trade, were still mixed fabrics of woollen, linen, and cotton. According to the best accounts which can be obtained, the quantity of cotton imported into England at that time did not amount to quite two million pounds a-year, or not more than one day's consumption of the present time, when upwards of six hundred millions of pounds are consumed yearly. This small quantity of cotton was mixed up with wool, worsted, and linen, much as cotton is mixed up in the manufactures of Bradford of the present day, though in smaller quantities. Cotton was then as costly an article as wool, worsted, or linen, selling sometimes at the price of 2s. and upwards a pound.* Linen yarn, from Ireland and Germany, was used in much larger quantities.

The mixed manufactures of Manchester were well calculated to furnish clothing, and, therefore, to develope commerce with hot countries, like the West Indies and Africa, in which winter is scarcely known ; and also with the colonies on the mainland of North America, in which, notwithstanding the extreme cold of winter, the summer heats are almost as intense and continuous as those of Jamaica and Barbadoes. The woollens of the West of England, which formed the staple of the exports of Bristol, were too heavy for hot climates ; and even the serges, baizes, and other thin fabrics of wool were inferior, as articles of ordinary wear, to the mixed cottons, linens, and woollens of Manchester. Liverpool thus possessed a superiority in the variety and the suitability of its articles for the tropical colonies. Nor was it wanting in woollen goods ; for, though

* Autobiography of William Stout, edited by John Harland, 107.

the woollens of Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford were at that time inferior in fineness to those of Cirencester, Frome, and the clothing districts of Gloucester and Wilts, they were cheap, and quite fine enough for the wants of a population like that of the British plantations, too busy to be fastidious.

At the accession of King George the First the population of the British colonies of North America amounted to about half-a-million, and that of the English colonies in the West Indies to about a quarter of a million. A large trade had sprung up between the mother country and amongst the colonies. In this mutual traffic England supplied the colonies with capital, in the form of loans and advances; with clothing and implements of industry; and with labour, partly voluntary and partly compulsory: the North American colonies supplied the West India Islands with grain, flour, live animals, salt provisions, both flesh and fish, casks, and building materials; and the mother country with tobacco, timber, shipping, hides and skins, potash, dyewoods, pitch, and, also, with grain and flour in years of scarcity: whilst the West Indies furnished both England and the North American colonies with sugar, rum, pimento, cotton, coffee, and other articles of tropical produce. During the whole of this time there was a considerable amount of voluntary emigration from the British Islands to the North American colonies, and considerable supplies of convict labour were sent; but it had already been found, by the Spaniards and Portuguese, that field labour was not suitable to European constitutions in hot countries, and, moreover, that slave labour was very much cheaper than free, when workmen were scarce. Hence the African slave trade sprang up, and became a principal means of peopling the West Indian Islands, and the southern colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, and the great region then called Georgia, out of which the present state of Georgia, and part of Alabama, have been formed.

It has already been mentioned that the Portuguese commenced the trade in negro slaves previous to the discovery of America, when they cultivated the island of Madeira and the Canary Islands, much in the same way and by the same means by which the West India Islands and the coast of Brazil have since been cultivated. The Spaniards, after wearing out the wretched inhabitants of the Antilles, began to import negroes in great numbers. In the year 1555 the Spanish colony of St. Domingo was altogether cultivated by the labour of negroes. All the coast of Brazil was cultivated, as it still is, by the labour of negroes; and slaves were conveyed round Cape Horn, or up the rivers of South America, to

Peru, where a negro was worth 400 ducats. The first Englishman who engaged in the slave trade was Sir John Hawkins, one of the great sea captains of the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; but this infamous, though most profitable, trade did not become general in England until after the colonizing of Barbadoes and Antigua, in the years 1623-25. From that time the English merchants and shipowners plunged into the trade as eagerly as the Portuguese and Spaniards had done before, and as the French and Dutch did about the same time.

For nearly a hundred years this trade was confined to London, Bristol, and other ports in the south of England. The first slaver ever despatched from Liverpool sailed in the year 1708, nearly a hundred years after the settling of Barbadoes, and sixty years after the conquest of Jamaica. I do not mention this to create the impression that Liverpool felt any reluctance to engage in a trade in which every seaport of Europe was engaged, from Gottenburg to Cadiz. No more scruple was then felt as to the lawfulness of the slave trade than as to the lawfulness of the trade in black cattle. So totally different was the feeling which then prevailed on this subject, that, whilst the article of the treaty of Vienna, denouncing the African slave trade, was regarded as the noblest article of the great pacification of 1815, the article of the treaty of Utrecht, giving England the privilege of importing negroes into the Spanish possessions in America, as well as into her own, was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of the pacification of 1713 !*

The first thirty years of the rule of the house of Hanover were years of peace, plenty, and internal improvement. A sincere and ardent love of peace goes far to atone for the other defects of Sir Robert Walpole, the great minister who then presided over English affairs. During the reigns of George the First and Second, Liverpool continued to advance in prosperity. A second and larger dock became necessary to accommodate the increasing shipping of the port. The following account of the amount and occupations of the shipping of Liverpool, about the year 1752, will show what progress Liverpool had made during the reigns of the first and second kings of the house of Hanover, and what was the position of the commerce of the port a hundred years ago :

* "On the 5th of June Queen Anne went down to the House of Lords, and, in a long speech, announced to both houses the terms upon which an honourable and profitable peace might be made with France." Among these terms were, "that England should have Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and also the assiento, or the right of furnishing South America with slaves from Africa."—*Pictorial History of England*, iv., 266.

In the year 1752, 523 British and 20 foreign ships entered the port of Liverpool. The burthen of the former was 29,178 tons; of the latter, 2,535; making the total tonnage inwards, 31,713. The same year 588 British and 20 foreign ships cleared out of Liverpool, with a burthen of 31,185 and 2,508 tons; making the total tonnage outwards, 33,693 tons.

At that time there were in Liverpool 101 merchants, members of the "company of merchants trading to Africa"; in London, 135; in Bristol, 157.*

In 1752 the number of Liverpool vessels engaged in the trade with the British plantations in North America and in the West Indies was 106. Of those engaged in the trade with the North American plantations, 1 traded with New York, 2 with Philadelphia, 1 with Newbury, 1 with New London, 11 with Maryland, 12 with Virginia, 4 with North Carolina, 4 with South Carolina, and 1 with Nova Scotia. Of those engaged in the trade with the West Indies, 14 traded with Jamaica, 9 with Barbadoes, 13 with Antigua, 7 with Montserrat, 10 with St. Christopher's, 2 with Nevis, and 2 with Tortola.

At the same time there were 88 Liverpool vessels engaged in the trade with Africa. Of these 5 traded with Benin, 10 with Angola, 3 with New Calabar, 11 with Old Calabar, 32 with the Windward and Gold Coast, 9 with Bonny, and 7 with Gambia. All these vessels were also engaged in the trade with America; for the living cargoes which they took in on the coast of Africa they conveyed either to the West Indies or the North American plantations, from Maryland and Virginia southwards; after which they returned to Liverpool, with cargoes of sugar, rum, and other tropical or colonial produce.

Of the Liverpool vessels of 1752, 22 only were regularly engaged in the trade with the continent of Europe.

At this time there was one Liverpool vessel engaged in the Greenland whale-fishery, the *Golden Lion*, belonging to Charles Goore and Co.

The coasters belonging to Liverpool, including the vessels engaged in the trade with Ireland, were 125 in number.

There were also 80 river sloops, of from 40 to 70 tons, employed in the salt trade.

The following are the names of the principal Liverpool shipowners a hundred years since—in 1752:—Arthur and Benjamin Heywood and Co., John Waleh and Co., James Gildart and Co., W. Dobb and Co., Timothy

* Liverpool Memorandum Book for 1753.

Farrar and Co., Robert Cheshyre and Co., William Whalley and Co., J. Manesty and Co., John Brooks and Co., Henry Hardwar and Co., George Campbell and Co., John Robinson, John Bird and Co., Edward Forbes and Co., Edward Lowndes and Co., Roger Brooks and Co., Foster, Cunliffe, and Co., Thomas Leatherbarrow and Co., J. Clayton and Co., Edward Deane and Co., W. Davenport and Co., Richard Nicholas and Co., Francis Green and Co., James Crosbie and Co., John Yates and Co., Samuel Shaw and Co., John Okill and Co., (the only African merchants not engaged in the slave trade,) John Knight and Co., Richard Townshend and Co., Nicholas Torr and Co., Henry Townsend and Co., Richard Savage and Co., William Gregson and Co., John Hardman and Co., William Halliday and Co., John Kennion and Co., Richard Gildart and Sons, James Pardoe and Co., Kennion and Holme, Richard Golding and Co., Joseph and Jonathan Brooks and Co., William Williamson and Co., Thomas Kendal and Co., Peter Holme and Co., Knight, Mairs, and Co., William Farington and Co., John Baekhouse and Co., Thomas Crowder and Co., Richard Armitage and Co., John Tarlton and Co., Jonathan Blundell and Co., T. Chalmers and Co., Matthew and John Stronge and Co., Levinus Unsworth and Co., J. Bridge and Co., Christopher Bailey and Co., Thomas Falkner and Co., Thomas Brownbill and Co., Charles Lowndes and Co., Robert Seel, Joseph Davies and Co., Charles Goore, John Entwistle, Peter Meddows and Co., Richard Hillary and Co., William Leesonby and Co., John Crompton and Co., Isaac Oldham and Co., Bryan Blundell and Co., Thomas Molyneux and Co., Steel, Perkins, and Co., Morris, Melling, and Co., Richard Cribb and Co., Harrison, Barton, and Co., Thomas Dunbarr, John Prat and Co., Francis Watt and Co., Samuel Smith, William Speneer and Co., Potter Fletcher, Edward Trafford, Collins and Hartley, William Barker and Co., John Goodwin and Son, and George Bradley and Co.*

From the year 1752 to the month of June, 1756, the general peace which had been restored in 1748 continued to exist, but in that month and year war was again declared against France. This war, begun under one of the weakest and ended under one of the most powerful administrations that ever existed in England, gave an irreparable blow to the colonies of France, and greatly extended those of England, both in America and in Asia.

This war placed under the dominion of England, and rendered available to British commerce, the immense regions watered by two of the

* Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book for 1753.

most magnificent rivers in the world—the Ganges and the St. Lawrence. As the trade which Liverpool carries on with Canada and the other British provinces in North America is the second, in point of importance, of the various branches of commerce connected with the port, and that with India the third, it may be well to give a slight sketch of the early connection of England with India, and with the vast countries, chiefly planted by the French, along the banks and at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, now known as British North America.

All the countries lying along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, and the whole of the vast region north of the boundary of the United States, were originally planted by France. This was the case with Canada and with Nova Scotia, originally named Acadie; with Cape Breton; with Prince Edward's Island, known by the French as the island of St. Jean; and with the great region of forests to which we now give the name of New Brunswick. The first of these colonies which fell into the hands of England was Acadie, or Nova Scotia, which was surrendered in the year 1713; all the rest passed into the hands of England after the conquest of Quebec, by Wolfe. The whole stream and valley of the St. Lawrence, extending more than two thousand miles into the interior of the American continent; the immense hunting grounds of the north-west, rich in animals of chase; the inexhaustible forests of New Brunswick and Canada; and the equally inexhaustible fisheries of the seas which wash the shores of those countries, became the property of England, by the victories of Wolfe, Amherst, and Boseawen. By a singular course of circumstances, England retains all the colonies originally founded by the French in North America, seventy years after she has lost all the North American colonies planted by herself. At the time when Canada passed into the hands of England, its population was very scanty, and it was only very slowly, and after the French population had been liberally recruited from Britain, that its resources, and those of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, began to be developed. They have made rapid progress during the last fifty years, and no place in Great Britain has gained so much from the progress of those colonies as the port of Liverpool.

The successes of England were even more brilliant on the banks of the Ganges.

The East India Company was incorporated in the year 1600, by Queen Elizabeth. It was formed for purely commercial purposes, although it gradually became a corporation of conquerors; after which

it assumed all the functions of the government of an immense empire, and gradually surrendered the operations of trade to individual merchants, who traded under the shelter of its power. During the first hundred and fifty years of the company's existence it retained its commercial character, only combining with it so much of warlike enterprize and precaution as was necessary to secure its richly-laden ships from being plundered by the fleets of pirates which infested the Indian seas, and its factories from being burnt or pillaged, in the never-ending wars and rebellions amongst the native chiefs.

In the year 1616 the company confined its operations on the continent of India to Surat and Amedavad, in the dominions of the Great Mogul; to Calicut, on the Malabar, or western coast of India; and to Masulipatam, on the Coromandel, or eastern coast.*

In 1638 the company first established itself at Madras, or Madraspatam. It formed this settlement at the request of the Naig, or native chief, who offered, if the English would settle in that district, to erect a fort for them at his own cost, and to exempt them from all customs of trade. So much importance was attached to this position, that the agents of the company at once consented, and built a fort at the expense of the company, to which they gave the name of Fort St. George, the town of Madras retaining its original name. In 1653 Fort St. George was raised to the rank of a presidency; and in 1667 it was incorporated by royal charter, granted by King Charles the Second.

The island of Bombay was ceded to King Charles the Second as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine, on the occasion of her marriage with that sovereign. In 1687 it was made a presidency, and the chief seat of the British government in India; all other settlements being declared subordinate to it.

At the close of the same century the English, French, and Dutch had trading settlements in the rich province of Bengal, on the banks of the Hoogly, one of the branches of the mighty Ganges. The English settlement was at Calcutta, then a mere village; the French at Chander-nagore; and the Dutch at Chinsurah. About that time the rajahs of the surrounding provinces rose in rebellion against the Grand Mogul, and plundered the towns of the nabob of Bengal, on which the English, French, and Dutch hastily fortified their factories, for their own defence. In the course of the year 1698 a grandson of the Emperor Aurungzebe, who had been sent to suppress the rebellion, gave permission to the

* Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, i., 12.

English to purchase the villages of Soota Nutty, Calcutta, and Govind-pore, on which ground the city of Calcutta now stands. A fort was ordered to be built, which was named Fort William, in honour of the reigning king, William the Third.* Calcutta was raised to the rank of a presidency in the year 1715.

Such was the origin of the presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each of them now a great empire in population and wealth, and the seat of a large and rapidly increasing trade with England. In the year 1698 the East India Company gave the following account of their possessions, in a petition, which they addressed to parliament, in the hope of saving themselves from the opposition of a rival company :

“Your petitioners,” they said, “have a revenue at Fort St. George (Madras) and Bombay of about £30,000 a-year; another at Fort St. David’s, of about £6,000 per annum, which revenues are daily increasing, and large extent of lands in both places; have about £3,000 a-year paid them by the Persian; and the perpetual inheritance of Bombay and St. Helena, by several grants from the crown of England; have likewise diverse forts, settlements, and territories in the island of Sumatra, without which the pepper trade would be entirely lost to this nation; have also a strong fortification in Bengal, and several other factories, some of them fortified buildings; settlements, privileges, and immunities, in many places within the limits of the trade: all of which are their absolute property, and have cost them immense sums of money for the purchase and grants, from Indian princes and others, and for the strengthening and other expenses thereof.”†

Such was the East India Company ninety-five years after its formation. In spite of the petition quoted above a second company was formed in 1698; but this new company, being greatly wanting in experience, soon found it prudent to amalgamate with the old one. The company, thus strengthened, took the title of “The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.” The company consisted of all persons holding a share in its capital stock, which then amounted to £2,000,000. Every shareholder, male or female, possessing £500 stock, was entitled to vote and take part in discussions at the meetings of proprietors, who were termed, when duly assembled, a “general court of proprietors.” The directors were twenty-four in number, and each was required to possess £2,000 stock in the company. Thirteen members formed

* Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, i., 12.

† Petition of the East India Company to Parliament, 23rd May, 1698.

a quorum, and, when assembled for business, were termed a "court of directors." A committee was to be chosen to frame by-laws for the government of the company, which laws were to have the same force as those framed by parliament, when not opposed to any existing act.*

The company, thus constituted, confined itself chiefly to trading operations, until near the middle of the eighteenth century, when the wars between England and France extended to their settlements in India, and to all the native chiefs whom they could draw into their quarrels. In the year 1746, the year in which Charles Edward Stuart failed in his invasion of England, the French, who had fortified Pondicherry, captured the city of Madras and Fort St. George, inflicted a loss of nearly £200,000 on the East India Company, and succeeded in retaining their conquest till the close of the war, in 1748, when they agreed to give it up by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Four years before the taking of Madras, Robert Clive, the founder of the British greatness in India, went out to India as a writer; but no sooner had war taken the place of peace than he changed the desk for the field of battle, and, in the year 1747, had become so promising an officer, that the court, writing to the Governor of Madras, strongly recommended him to encourage Ensign Clive in his martial pursuits. The war scarcely ceased in India, for the French backed one candidate for the nabobship of the Carnatic, the English another. It was in the course of these conflicts that Clive gave the most extraordinary evidences of courage and military capacity, especially by his capture and subsequent defence of the city of Arcot, with a small band of men, against an immense army of natives, led by French officers.

In the middle of the year 1756 open war again broke out between England and France, and, at the same time, the company's settlements in Bengal were suddenly attacked by the nabob Saraja-ud-Doula, who captured Calcutta and Fort William, and thrust Mr. Holwell, the governor of the fort, and his companions, into a miserable room, since known as the "Blackhole of Calcutta", where 124 out of 146 perished from heat, thirst, and suffocation in a single night. Clive was immediately despatched to punish this outrage, and recover Calcutta and Fort William. After defeating the rajah's general, he attacked and captured Fort William, on the 2nd of January, 1757. On the 3rd of March, in the same year, Clive captured the French fort at Chandernagore; and, on the 13th of June following, the same daring leader, with 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, and eight pieces of cannon, defeated the army of the nabob,

* Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, i., 12.

50,000 strong, and supplied with 50 guns. This, and a succession of victories over other native chiefs, soon placed the finest provinces on the Ganges in the hands of Clive. Colonel Coote was scarcely less successful in the Madras presidency and the neighbouring provinces, in which the French, after fighting with their usual courage, were totally defeated. After a desperate defence of eight months, in which the French garrison suffered much from disease, Pondicherry surrendered to Colonel Coote, on the 17th of January, 1761. The general result of these and other conflicts, carried on in India between the years 1757 and 1765, was to give to the East India Company possession of upwards of 150,000 square miles of the richest territory in India, watered by the innumerable branches and tributaries of the Ganges and other great rivers, producing every variety of tropical produce, cultivated by nearly forty millions of peaceful and industrious inhabitants, yielding a revenue of several millions a-year, and capable of conducting and sustaining an enormous commerce. As many years elapsed before Liverpool and the other outports of the empire were admitted to any share in this great trade, I postpone an account of the products of India, and of the development of its commerce, to a later portion of this work.

A few years after these vast regions had been added to the British Empire a number of mechanical inventions of transcendent importance in the useful arts were perfected in England. These gave full scope to those great means of generating motive power, for manufacturing purposes, which are supplied by the innumerable streams which flow down from the central heights of England, through the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Stafford, Derby, and Nottingham; and to the still greater means supplied by the coal-fields, which form the most valuable of all the sources of wealth possessed by those counties. Hence they fixed manufactures in the north-western districts of England, and thus secured the commercial greatness of Liverpool.

Until the age of Sir Richard Arkwright, neither the streams nor mines of the north of England furnished more than a secondary aid to the textile manufactures of the country. Up to that time the great labour of producing the yarn or thread from which all fabrics, whether of cotton, woollen, linen, or silk, were afterwards made, was performed by the slow process of spinning it, thread by thread, by the human hand, on the spinning-wheel. Thus the undivided attention of one person was required to produce a single thread; and though this labour was executed by women and children, yet the yarn thus spun was dear,

scarce, and of very unequal quality. It does not appear that spinning-schools, like those of Saxony, * ever existed in Lancashire, or any other part of England; hence a large part of the linen yarn, which was commonly mixed up with the cotton goods of Lancashire, was, in those days, produced in Ireland and Saxony, where flax was generally cultivated, and where labour was comparatively cheap. At that time yarn was one of the principal imports, not one of the exports, of Liverpool.

In the year 1770, the year after that in which Arkwright took out his patent for spinning, by means of rollers turned by the power of horses, the following quantities and kinds of yarn were imported into Liverpool, for the use of the Lancashire manufacturers: namely, 5,274 trusses 1 quarter 124 packs 13 boxes 23 bales and 9 bundles of Irish yarn, (linen;) 1,227 packs of bay yarn, 4 packs of cotton yarn, 43 packs and 842 mats foreign yarn, 14 bags woollen yarn, and 5 boxes of thread; whilst only 6,037 bags 3 bales and 3 barrels of raw cotton were imported there in the same year. The price of the yarn so laboriously produced was often very high, for the supply was seldom equal to the demand. In 1742, coarse yarn, of 20 skeins to the pound, was sometimes sold at 3s. 9d. per lb.; and was often dearer. In the same year superior English yarns were sold at 5s. per lb., whilst still finer yarns, imported by the East India Company, were sold at from 12s. to 12s. 6d. per lb. These prices formed a fatal obstacle to the spread of the manufacture, the progress of which was so slow that the increase in the quantity of cotton imported into England, during the first sixty-four years of the eighteenth century, was only from 1,985,868 lbs. in the year 1701, to 3,870,392 lbs. in the year 1764.†

Although it has been clearly shown by my brother, Mr. Edward Baines, in his *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, that a patent for spinning cotton, by means of rollers, was taken out by Lewis Paul, of Birmingham, in the year 1738; and although there is strong evidence that the merit of first making a machine for spinning, by means of rollers, belongs to John Wyatt, the partner of Lewis Paul; yet the merit of rendering that invention of practical use,—a source of wealth to himself, and infinitely greater wealth to the nation and the world,—undoubtedly belongs to Richard Arkwright, a native of Preston. In the specification of his patent, which was enrolled on the 15th July, 1769, he

* Page 361.

† Custom-house Return, quoted in Mr. Edward Baines's *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, &c., 109.

stated that he “ had, by great study and long application, invented a new piece of machinery, never before found out, practised, or used, for the making of weft or yarn from cotton, flax, and wool, which would be of great utility to a great many manufacturers, as well as to his majesty’s subjects in general, by employing a great number of poor people in working the said machinery, and by making the said weft or yarn much superior in quality to any ever heretofore manufactured or made.” According to the description given in the patent, it appears that the machine consisted of a cogwheel and shaft, “ which received their motion from a horse”, giving motion, through a series of wheels, to four pair of rollers. The following account of the whole process I take from my brother’s History of the Cotton Trade:—“ In every mode of spinning the ends to be accomplished are, to draw out the loose fibres of the cotton wool in a regular and continuous line, and, after reducing the fleecy roll to the requisite tenuity, to twist it into a thread. Previous to the operation of spinning, the cotton must have undergone the process of carding, the effect of which is to comb out, straighten, and lay parallel to each other its entangled fibres. The cotton was formerly stripped off the cards in loose rolls, called eardings, or slivers; and the only difference between the slivers produced by the old hand-cards and those produced by the present carding engine is, that the former were in lengths of a few inches, and the latter are of the length of some hundreds of yards. Let it be remarked, that the sliver or earding requires to be drawn out to a considerably greater fineness, before it is of the proper thickness to be twisted into a thread. The way in which this is now accomplished is by two or more pairs of small rollers, placed horizontally,—the upper and lower roller of each pair revolving in contact: the sliver of cotton, being put between the first pair of rollers, is by their revolution drawn through and compressed: whilst still passing through these rollers it is caught by another pair of rollers placed immediately in front, which revolve with three, four, or five times the velocity of the first pair, and which therefore draw out the sliver to three, four, or five times its former length and degree of fineness: after passing through the second pair of rollers, the reduced sliver is attached to a spindle and fly, the rapid revolutions of which twist it into a thread, and at the same time wind it upon a bobbin. That the rollers may take hold of the cotton, the lower roller is fluted longitudinally, and the upper is covered with leather. Such is the beautiful and admirable contrivance, by which a machine is made to do what was formerly, in all countries and ages, effected by the fingers of the spinner. It is obvious that, by lengthening

or multiplying the rollers, and increasing the number of spindles, all of which may be turned by the same power, many threads may be spun at once, and the process may be carried on with much greater quickness and steadiness than by hand-spinning. There is also the important advantage that the thread produced will be of more regular thickness and more evenly twisted."

About the same time that Arkwright was bringing his great machine into use, James Hargreaves, a weaver, of Stand-hill, near Blackburn, was perfecting another most ingenious spinning machine, named the Jenny, which is supposed to have been completed in 1767. Ten years later Samuel Crompton, "a weaver, of respectable character and moderate circumstances", living at Hall-in-the-Wood, near Bolton, invented a machine, which he named a Mule, which combines the advantages of Arkwright's Water Frames and Hargreaves's Jenny. The superiority of the yarn produced by the machine of Crompton was so great that he obtained 14s. per lb. for the spinning and preparation of No. 40, *i. e.*, yarn weighing forty hanks to the lb.; a short time after he got 25s. per lb. for the spinning and preparation of No. 60. He had then spun a small quantity of No. 80, to show that it was not impossible, and for this he got 42s. per lb. "These prices were commanded by the unrivalled excellence of the yarn; and it affords a criterion to estimate the value of the machine, when it is found that the price of yarn No. 100 is at the present day only from 2s. 3d. to 3s. per lb., including the cost of the raw material, which is 10d. or 1s., this surprising reduction having been effected chiefly by the powers of the mule; and that, whereas it was before supposed impossible to spin eighty hanks to the pound, as many as three hundred and fifty hanks to the pound have since been spun, each hank measuring 840 yards, and forming together a thread a hundred and sixty-seven miles in length!"* Such were the results attained when my brother published his History of the Cotton Manufacture, seventeen years ago; but amongst the wonders of the Great Exhibition of 1851, one of the most wonderful was a specimen of muslin, veritable "woven-wind", manufactured from cotton yarn of the almost incredible fineness of No. 5,498, spun by T. Holdsworth, of Manchester.†

The following tables will show the progress of the cotton manufacture during the whole of the eighteenth century: the first of them from the beginning of the century to the date of the inventions of Arkwright and Hargreaves, a period of seventy years, during which the consumption of

* Edward Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture, 200.

† Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition, 479.

cotton increased only from rather less than two million pounds a-year to not quite five million pounds : the second a period of thirty years, during which the consumption increased from rather less than five million pounds to upwards of fifty-six millions of pounds.

Importation of cotton wool previous to the inventions of Arkwright and Hargreaves :

1697.....lbs.	1,976,359	1744.....	1,132,288
1701.....	1,985,868	1745.....	1,469,523
1701 } average yearly	1,170,881	1746.....	2,264,808
1705 }		1747.....	2,224,869
1710.....	715,008	1748.....	4,852,966
1720.....	1,972,805	1749.....	1,658,365
1730.....	1,545,472	1751.....	2,976,616
1741.....	1,645,031	1764.....	3,870,392
1743.....	1,132,288		

Importation of cotton wool from the time of Arkwright's and Hargreaves's inventions to the end of the eighteenth century :

1771 } aver. yearly lbs.	4,764,589	1789....	32,576,023
1775 }		1790....	31,447,605
1776 } aver. yearly lbs.	6,766,613	1791....	28,706,675
1780 }		1792....	34,907,497
1781.....	5,198,778	1793.....	19,040,929
1782.....	11,482,083	1794.....	24,358,567
1783.....	9,735,663	1795.....	26,404,340
1784.....	11,482,083	1796.....	32,120,357
1785.....	18,400,384	1797.....	23,354,371
1786.....	19,475,020	1798....	31,880,641
1787.....	23,250,268	1799.....	43,379,278
1788.....	20,467,436	1800....	56,010,732

The fear of popular violence drove both Arkwright and Hargreaves from Lancashire to Nottingham, and, for a short time, fixed the cotton manufacture on the banks of the river Trent, and its beautiful tributary, the Derwent, which descends with a rapid course from the Peak of Derbyshire, by Cromford, Matlock, and Belper, the seats of Arkwright's first mills, to Derby. The vast superiority of the water-power of Lancashire would have brought it back, even if Watt's great improvement of the steam-engine, had not rendered the coal-fields of the kingdom the seats of all our principal manufactures ; but the improvement of the steam-engine, and its application to the purpose of propelling machinery of all kinds, soon gave Lancashire its original superiority in the cotton manufacture. In 1787 Bolton and Watt erected a steam-engine for the Peels, at Warrington, near the Sankey Canal, which brings down the coal of the St. Helens section of the Lan-

cashire coal-field to the river Mersey ; but it was not until seven years after they had taken out the patent for their improved steam-engine that they constructed for Mr. Drinkwater, of Manchester, the first steam-engine ever used there for the spinning of cotton. The steam-engine, once introduced, soon became the great moving power of machinery over the rich and extensive coal-fields of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire. The great difference between the effect produced by the coal-fields of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, and those of Durham and Northumberland, is that, whilst the latter have been made chiefly the means of creating a great trade in coals to distant places, the former have been made the means of supplying motive-power to machinery, and fuel for the manufacture of iron and salt, on or near the spots in which they are situated.

It has been stated that the textile manufactures of England, cotton, woollens, linens, and silk, though carried to a high degree of excellence before the improvement of the steam-engine, were still limited by the want of a moving power stronger than that of men or horses, and more general in its application than that of running streams. The wonderful expansive power suddenly evolved by the change of water into steam had long been known ; and more than a hundred years before the discoveries of Arkwright, the Marquis of Worcester had proposed a plan of applying it to the use of man. But it was the work of a century to realize that grand idea in a perfect form. In the year 1698 a steam-engine was constructed by Savery ; and this was again improved by Newcomen shortly after. The principal purpose to which these imperfect, though valuable, machines was applied, was that of pumping the water from mines and coal-pits. So little was then understood of the steam-engine as a general means of generating power, that it was not thought of either in the spinning of cotton, woollen, or linen, or in the working of blast furnaces, until some years after the erection of Arkwright's cotton mills and the Carron iron works. The power of horses was first tried to move cotton machinery, and afterwards that of running streams was applied both in the working of cotton machinery and in the blowing of blast furnaces ; nor is it likely that the steam-engine would have superseded the latter, if the genius of James Watt had not discovered the means of applying the expansive power of steam in an engine capable of being used in every position in which fuel could be procured, and of being applied to every purpose for which moving power could be required. Watt's first patent for improvements in the steam-engine was

taken out in the year 1769, but it was not until the year 1775 that the new steam-engine was applied in practice with decisive success. The following passage from a newspaper of that date contains an account of one of the earliest applications of the improved steam-engine :

“ Birmingham, March 11.— On Friday last a steam-engine, constructed upon Mr. Watt’s new principle, was set to work at Bloomfield Colliery, near Dudley. From the first moment of its setting to work, it made about 14 or 15 strokes a minute, and emptied the engine pit (which is about 90 feet deep, and stood 57 feet high in water) in less than an hour. This engine is applied to the working of a pump 14½ inches diameter, and works with one-fourth the fuel that a common engine would require to produce the same quantity of power. The cylinder is 50 inches diameter, and the length of the stroke is 7 feet. These engines are not worked by the pressure of the atmosphere. Their principles are very different from all others.”*

An accomplished writer of the present day thus traces the progress of the application of steam to the purposes of the arts :—“ To continue our examination of the importance of minute observation ; every step of progress from the employment of steam to produce a continuous motion, by Ptolomy Philadelphus, 130 years B.C., to the discovery by Watt of the expansive force of steam in 1782, might be quoted in exemplification. We find Branca and Kircher employing the force of a jet of steam to drive the vanes of a wheel. Baptista Porta observed the pressure exerted by confined steam, and he used it to raise water. The discovery of the pressure of the air, and the investigations of Torricelli, Pascal, Guericke, and Boyle, led to the construction of engines by Worcester and Papin, in which the elastic force of steam and atmospheric pressure were combined in action. Thomas Savery, carefully studying all that had been done previously, appears to have first conceived the correct *idea* of the force, and to have applied it with much greater success than any of his predecessors. In 1698 he got a patent for his discovery, calling it an invention ‘ *for raising water, and occasioning motion to all sorts of millwork, by the impellent force of fire.*’ Newcomen, an ironmonger at Dartmouth, associated himself with Cawley, a plumber of the same place, and they together carefully investigated the phenomena of atmospheric pressure, and the formation of a vacuum by the agency of steam ; and Newcomen certainly transformed an imperfect, and for many purposes a useless, machine into a really efficient steam engine, which could be applied profitably and safely to the most important uses. Newcomen should share

* Letter in Williamson’s Liverpool Advertiser, March 15, 1776.

a pedestal by the side of Watt; the ingenious contrivances of the obscure ironmonger of Dartmouth, the result of minute observation, have had much to do with the advancement of civilization. Of the inventions of Watt it is scarcely necessary to speak; the fertility of his genius is known to all; and the history of his progress informs us that every advance made by James Watt was a comment on the text I have chosen,—the value of observation. Of the importance of the inventions of James Watt well may Arago, in his *Eloge*, speak as follows:—‘We have long been in the habit of talking of the age of Augustus and of the age of Louis XIV. Eminent individuals amongst us have likewise held that we might with propriety speak of the age of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. I do not hesitate to declare my conviction, that when to the immense services already rendered by the steam-engine shall be added to all the marvels it holds out to promise, a grateful population will then familiarly talk of the ages of Papin and of Watt.’”*

Such were the steps in the improvement of this wonderful machine, which has from that time been the grand auxiliary of every invention of man, and by means of which the human race has been able to effect more in facilitating the production of the comforts of life, and accelerating the physical progress of society, during the last eighty years, than it had been able to effect during all the centuries which had previously elapsed from the creation of the world. In none of the arts has its use been greater than in that of the raising and working of metals.

It has been shown, in a previous chapter, that the iron trade of Staffordshire, of which county Liverpool is the natural outlet for the purposes of foreign commerce, had become very extensive in the reign of Charles the Second. Soon after the accession of the House of Hanover the flourishing iron works of that county were threatened with destruction from the same cause which had closed the iron works of Sussex and Surrey, namely, the exhaustion of the woods which supplied the charcoal, the only kind of fuel which had, at that time, been successfully applied to the smelting of iron ore and iron stone. The attempts of Lord Dudley and others to apply coal and coke to the purpose of smelting, though successful on a small scale, had failed when tried on a large one, chiefly from the want of a sufficiently powerful blast to give intensity to the furnaces. Dr. Plott, in his *History of Staffordshire*, describes the attempts to use coal and coke for the purpose of smelting iron stone as entire failures. In speaking of what he calls “the last

* Lecture before the Government School of Mines, by Robert Hunt, Keeper of Mining Records. Session of 1851.

effort" to make iron from pit coal, which was made by a German, of the name of Blewstone, in the time of the Stuarts, he says, "Many were of opinion that he would succeed in it, but experience, that great baffler of speculation, showed it could not be; the sulphurous vitriolic steams that issue from the pyrites, which frequently, if not always, accompanies pit coal, ascending with the flame, and poisoning the ore, sufficiently to render it much worse iron than that made with charcoal." Of coke, as a material for smelting iron, Dr. Plott says, "They have the way of charring the coal in all particulars the same as they do wood, whence the coal is freed from those noxious steams that would otherwise give the malt (of which he was speaking) an ill odour. The coal thus prepared they call cokes, which conceives as strong a heat almost as charcoal itself; and is as fit for most other uses, but for melting, fining, and refining iron, which it cannot be brought to do, though attempted by the most skilful and curious artists." The consequence of these failures was a rapid decline in the iron trade of Great Britain. The furnaces decreased from three hundred to fifty-nine; and the total quantity of iron produced sank in 1740 to 17,350 tons.* England thus seemed likely to lose the manufacturing of iron altogether, and to become dependant on Sweden, which then produced about 48,000 tons of iron yearly, of which 15,000 tons was sent to England; on Russia, which supplied England with 3,000 tons; and on the British Colonies, all of which countries possessed forests vast enough to furnish charcoal for the consumption of centuries.† From this great misfortune England was saved by a succession of discoveries, which furnished the means of generating and sustaining the intense heat which alone is requisite to render coal or coke a useful fuel for the smelting of iron. Since the time of those discoveries the British iron manufacture has spread with astonishing rapidity, and has become one of the greatest sources of wealth, and promoters of commerce, (especially of that of Liverpool,) which England possesses.

One of the first successful contrivances for supplying furnaces with the quantity of air requisite to give intensity to the combustion of coke was a kind of forcing pump. In the year 1760 Mr. John Smeaton constructed a set of cylinders, worked by means of a powerful water wheel, for the purpose of supplying air to the furnaces, at the celebrated Carron Iron Works, in Scotland. "These cylinders were four feet six inches diameter, exactly fitted with a piston, moved up and down by means of a

* H. Scrivenor's History of the Iron Trade, p. 57.

† Ibid.

water wheel. In the bottom of the cylinder was a large valve like that of a bellows, which rose as the piston was lifted up, and thus admitted the air into the cavity of the cylinder below. Immediately above the bottom was a tube which went to the furnaces, and, as it proceeded from the cylinder, was furnished with a valve opening outwards. Thus, when the piston was drawn up, the valve in the bottom rose, and admitted the air that way into the cylinder, while the lateral valve shut and prevented any air from getting into it through the pipe. When the piston was thrust down, the valve in the bottom shut, whilst the air being compressed in the cavity of the cylinder, was violently forced out through the lateral tube into the furnace. There were four of these large cylinders applied to blow the furnace, and so contrived that the strokes of the pistons, being made alternately, produced an almost uninterrupted blast. The pumps being worked alternately by a water-wheel, having four cranks upon its axis, each of which moved the piston of a cylinder, which had a stroke of four feet six inches, some little intermission could indeed be perceived, but it was too trifling to produce any sensible effect on the furnace. A large column of air, of triple or quadruple density, was thus obtained, and effects equivalent to these great improvements followed. The same furnace that formerly yielded ten or twelve tons weekly, now sometimes produced forty tons in the same period, and on the average, in one year, 1,500 tons of metal." The steam-engines in use before the time of James Watt were applied to the same purpose where a fall of water did not exist, and this method of regulating the blast continued in general use for many years, until it was superseded by the water regulator, and by the double-acting blowing cylinder, wrought by a steam-engine of Watt and Boulton's construction. According to Lord Suffield, Mr. John Wilkinson was the first person who applied steam-engines to blow the furnaces. The effect of these great improvements was immediately felt in the rapid increase of the production of iron. In 1740, when charcoal alone was used, the quantity of iron produced in Great Britain was only 17,300 tons, and by the year 1788 the production of charcoal iron had still further decreased to 13,100 tons; but by that time the quantity of coke-made pig iron had risen to 55,200 tons, making the total quantity of coke and charcoal iron 68,300 tons. The impulse thus given to the iron manufacture has never ceased. In 1796 the quantity produced had increased to 125,079 tons, and before the close of the century to not much less than 200,000 tons. The subsequent history of this great trade will be traced, and its influence on the commerce of Liverpool shown, in a succeeding chapter.

Exports of British iron, in tons, from 1796 to 1800,* with an account of the countries to which it was sent :

	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
Continent of Europe...	3,565 ...	1,999 ...	2,516 ...	4,297 ...	6,438
Ireland	3,721 ...	2,689 ...	2,424 ...	4,019 ...	4,370
United States	6,538 ...	5,246 ...	5,816 ...	6,695 ..	6,218
Africa... ..	490 ...	957 ...	1,505 ...	1,703 ...	1,065
W. Indies and B. America	7,848 ...	8,884 ...	9,732 ...	12,743 ...	10,277
East Indies	2,419 ...	2,469 ...	1,809 ...	3,141 ...	3,585

The earlier years of the reign of George the Third were remarkable above all preceding and all succeeding periods, for the number and value of the discoveries in the arts. Besides the steam-engine, the blast furnace, and the spinning machinery of Arkwright, improvements were made in the manufacture of earthenware and glass, which have given a prodigious extension to those valuable manufactures. The manufacture of coarse pottery had existed in Lancashire for many years, and had been carried on to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood of Liverpool; but it was not until the year 1763, when Wedgwood succeeded in perfecting a series of improvements in the quality of the Staffordshire Pottery, that the trade in earthenware took rank amongst the most valuable of the staple trades of the country. A noble and distinguished historian, in resuming his history of the events of the year 1763, speaking of the invention of Wedgwood, says, "The very year of which I now resume the narrative, was distinguished by an event of more real importance than the rise or resignation of Lord Bute. In 1763 an artizan of Staffordshire, Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, produced a new kind of cream-coloured earthenware, superior, both in fineness and durability, to the French and Dutch. The tide of public taste immediately turned in its favour, the foreign earthenwares were rejected, and the home-made preferred. In the following years Mr. Wedgwood introduced many new kinds of porcelain, of various colours and sizes. Until then the district called 'the Potteries' had been of slight significance. But so much did this branch of industry grow and thrive, that, according to Mr. Wedgwood's evidence before the House of Commons, in 1785, there were then employed upon it, in that district only, from fifteen to twenty thousand persons."† "And thus," says the annalist of the trade, "are the meanest materials, the clay and flint-stones under our feet, converted into objects of the greatest utility and beauty." The abundance and cheapness of fuel induced Wedgwood to raise his English Etruria on the coal-field of North Staffordshire; and,

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 146, May 5th, 1806.

† Lord Mahon's History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht, v.

fortunately for the commerce of Liverpool, the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl Gower, and other noblemen and gentlemen connected with Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire were, at the date of Wedgwood's discoveries, forming a magnificent line of water communication from the Trent to the Mersey, which intersected the Potteries and connected them with that port.

As early as the year 1756 the manufacture of glass was introduced, at Warrington ; and soon after the date of the wonderful group of discoveries which I have described a large establishment for making plate glass was formed at Ravenhead, near St. Helens. After struggling with and overcoming many difficulties, the beautiful art of manufacturing plate glass was established there, and still continues to flourish.

Since the discovery of the steam-engine, the possession of abundant supplies of coal, suitable for the use of the furnace, has been the principal fact which has fixed the locality of manufactures in England. It has already been shown, in the first chapter of this work, that the coal-field of Lancashire is one of the richest in the British empire, and that the neighbouring districts of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and North Wales, are almost equally rich in fuel. A circle, with a radius of 100 miles, drawn round Liverpool, includes coal-fields covering 2,466 square miles, one of which approaches within eight miles of the port : a similar circle drawn round the great port of London barely touches the coal, the nearest point of it being eighty miles distant : a similar circle drawn round the port of Hull, includes 2,010 miles of coal-field, but none of it less than sixty miles distant from the port ; a similar circle drawn round Bristol, includes at least 1,000 square miles of coal-field, but the rival ports of Swansea, Cardiff, Newport, and Gloucester, cut off and divide the stream of trade and commerce which would flow to Bristol from those wealthy regions, if it was what Liverpool is, the sole western outlet for the wealth created on the surrounding coal-fields.* Newcastle-on-Tyne and Glasgow (including Greenock and Port Glasgow) are the only two ports in the empire which can be compared to Liverpool for the abundance of, and easy access to, the surrounding coal-fields. The coal-fields of Newcastle have, indeed, developed an immense coasting and channel trade, in coal, for the supply of London, the eastern counties, France, and Germany ; but the manufactories established on the Northumberland and Durham coal-fields, which alone could have created an extensive foreign commerce, have been, and still are, few in number and importance. Indeed, one of the most important of the

* Taylor's Statistics of Coal, 277.

manufactures and sources of commerce, which Newcastle-on-Tyne possessed in the time of the Stuarts, that of salt, has been entirely lost to that port, and transferred to the salt-fields of Cheshire and the port of Liverpool, since the formation of the Sankey and the Weaver navigation united the coal-field of Lancashire with the salt-beds of Cheshire. It has been shown that the river Weaver, from the salt-pits of Cheshire to the Mersey, was thus rendered navigable in the year 1720, and that the Sankey Canal, from the coal-field to the same river, was rendered navigable in the year 1758. From the superior strength and purity of the brine of Cheshire, and the richness of its salt-mines, it soon put an end to the manufacturing of salt from the waters of the sea, and turned the foreign commerce in that great necessary of life to Liverpool, the natural outlet of the products of the Cheshire salt-beds, and to Gloucester, the outlet of those of Worcestershire.

Thus were the foundations of much of the commercial greatness of Liverpool laid during the first thirteen years of the reign of George the Third, by the discoveries of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton, Watt, and Wedgwood; and by the new and improved mode of transit introduced by Bridgewater and Brindley; but, before tracing the effect of those great discoveries, it may be well to give, in a tabular form, an account of the exports and imports of Liverpool in the year 1770, which will serve to show the position of the port, just before the time when the influence of those discoveries began to be felt on the commerce of the country :

COMMERCE OF LIVERPOOL IN THE YEAR 1770.

IMPORTS FOR THE YEAR 1770, BROUGHT INTO ONE VIEW, AND DISPOSED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

Almonds, baskets	-	-	10	Books, bound, box	-	-	1	Coffee, hhds	-	-	-	917
Annata, casks	-	-	6	Boat-boards	-	-	168	Ditto, tierces	-	-	-	41
Anchovies, barrels	-	-	108	Brandy, pipes	-	-	2	Ditto, barrels	-	-	-	18
Annisecds, bales	-	-	5	Ditto, hhds	-	-	4	Cocanuts, puncheons	-	-	-	2
Anchor Stocks	-	-	18	Bread, bags	-	-	4	Ditto, hhds	-	-	-	9
Apothecaries' Drugs, boxes	-	-	4	Bristles, casks	-	-	14	Ditto, bags	-	-	-	40
Aquafortis, casks	-	-	8	Butter, firkins	-	-	14,446	Cocoa, casks	-	-	-	104
Ditto, bottles	-	-	4	Ditto, half-firkins	-	-	218	Cocoa Husks, casks	-	-	-	18
Archelia, bags	-	-	7	Ditto, mugs	-	-	794	Cows	-	-	-	247
Argol, casks	-	-	2	Ditto, kegs	-	-	73	Cow Hides	-	-	-	25,813
Ashes, Pearl, hhds.	-	-	139	Ditto, casks	-	-	8,627	Cow Horns	-	-	-	39,874
Ashes, Pot, hhds.	-	-	175	Ditto, barrels	-	-	50	Cow Hair, hhds	-	-	-	2
Balsam, box	-	-	1	Ditto, tubs	-	-	378	Ditto, bags	-	-	-	30
Bacon and Hams, packs	-	-	23	Ditto, crocks	-	-	89	Cow Tails, bundle	-	-	-	1
Ditto, hhds	-	-	6	Ditto, pots	-	-	50	Cow Hoofs	-	-	-	65,000
Ditto, chests	-	-	6	Bullocks	-	-	4	Cortex Elatherie, hhds	-	-	-	3
Barilla, bales	-	-	48	Bugle, casks	-	-	54	Ditto, barrels	-	-	-	4
Balks	-	-	22,974	Bugle, cases	-	-	113	Ditto, bags	-	-	-	6
		C. gr.		Canvas Spruce, rolls	-	-	453	Coral, cases	-	-	-	2
Ditto middle	-	19	0 0	Capravens	-	-	16	Cod Fish	-	-	-	17,473
Barley, quarters	-	-	24	Capers, quarter-casks	-	-	10	Ditto, Tongues and Sounds,	-	-	-	
Ditto shelled, casks	-	-	4	Cedar, logs	-	-	97	and loose, casks	-	-	-	46
Battens	-	-	1 0 0	Chesnuts, boxes	-	-	4	Currants, casks	-	-	-	11
Beech, pieces	-	-	12	Cloths, Guinea, puncheons	-	-	49			C	q.	
Beef, tierces	-	-	3,089	Ditto, chests	-	-	129	Deals	-	-	341	1 11
Ditto, barrels	-	-	2,352	Clay, Potters', tons	-	-	25	Ditto, half	-	-	27	0 0
Ditto, firkins	-	-	10	Clap-boards	-	-	22	Ditto, ends	-	-	13	3 0
Ditto, puncheon	-	-	1	Copper Ore, casks	-	-	279	Ebony, tons	-	-	-	10
Birch, black, logs	-	-	13	Coffee, puncheons	-	-	5	Eggs	-	-	-	150,000

Farriers' Waste, orates	-	3	Oats, Foreign, qrs.	-	6,050	Sturgeon, kegs	-	-	12
Feathers, beds	-	100	Oats, Irish, qrs.	-	239	Staves	-	-	568,954
Figs, frails	-	1,200	Oatmeal, bags	-	30	Sugar, hhds	-	-	10,089
Ditto, tapnets	-	3,471	Oil, Oporto, pipes	-	10	Ditto, tierces	-	-	1,513
Ditto, quarter-tapnets	-	840	Leghorn, casks	-	2	Ditto, barrels	-	-	862
Fir, Timber and Plank, pces	949		Ditto, half-chests	-	64	Tallow, casks	-	-	1,141
Flax, packs	-	298	Ditto, jars	-	6	Tar, barrels	-	-	9,082
Ditto, mats	-	682	Seville, casks	-	53	Teeth, Elephant,	-	-	6,855
Ditto, bundles	-	69	Vitriol, bottles	-	14	Ditto, Sea Horse	-	-	2
Ditto, bobbins	-	5,158	Turpentine, kegs	-	4	Terras, hhds.	-	-	6
Flaxseed, casks	-	108	Linseed, casks	-	39	Thread, boxes	-	-	5
Fustic, tons	-	171	Palm, casks	-	13	Tiles, Marble Paving	-	-	11,302
Galls, hhds.	-	9	Train, casks	-	721	Tobacco, hhds.	-	-	5,447
Geneva, puncheons	-	4	Olives, kegs	-	19	Tortoise Shell, casks	-	-	5
Ginger, hhds	-	32	Ditto, jars	-	2	Ditto, bag	-	-	1
Ditto, tierces	-	2	Paper, writing, reams	-	10	Tongues, firkins	-	-	64
Ditto, bags	-	1,238	Paper, printed, bundles	-	7	Tree Nails	-	-	10,590
Glue, hhds	-	54		C. gr.		Turpentine, barrels	-	-	2,086
Gloves, Leather, bundle	-	1	Pailing Boards	-	51		C. gr.		
Glass, broken, casks	-	32	Pimento, punches.	-	76	Ufers, single	-	3	1 4
Gravestone	-	1	Ditto, hhds.	-	24	Ditto, double	-	0	3 6
Guinea Grain, casks	-	15	Ditto, tierces	-	89	Velves, Calf, casks	-	-	46
Gum, casks	-	22	Ditto, bags	-	2,487	Walnut Logs and Planks	-	-	69
	C. gr.		Pitch, barrels	-	94	Wafers, boxes	-	-	1
Handspikes	-	29	Pigs	-	176	Wax, sealing, box	-	-	1
Handscopes, dozen	-	11	Pickle, cask	-	1	Wax, Bees', casks	-	-	87
Hay, tons	-	2	Poles	-	828	Ditto, bags and loose	-	-	3
Hemp, packs	-	26	Pork, punches.	-	26	Water, Mineral, hamper	-	-	1
Ditto, bales	-	273	Ditto, tierces	-	87	Pyrmont, chests	-	-	7
Ditto, bundles	-	330	Ditto, barrels	-	951	Spaw, basket	-	-	1
Herrings, barrels	-	226	Ditto, half-barrels	-	275		C. gr.		
Horses	-	11	Prunes, casks	-	22	Wainscots	-	8	2 0
Horse Hides	-	6	Raisins, casks	-	500	Wainscot Boards	-	-	637
Horse, Sea	-	1	Ditto, baskets	-	1,450	Wheat and Flour, bags	-	-	12
Hogs' Lard, casks	-	44	Ditto, jars	-	25	Whales	-	-	3
Honey, pots	-	14	Rags, bags	-	75	Bone, bundles	-	-	9
Hoops, Wood	-	61,100	Reeds	-	9,000	Fins, tons	-	-	50
Icory, sticks	-	102	Rice, tierces	-	14	Oil, barrels	-	-	19½
Indigo, puncheons	-	22	Ditto, barrels	-	1,410	Blubber, casks	-	-	507
Ditto, hhds.	-	16	Ditto, half-barrels	-	253	Wine, Lisbon, pipes	-	-	133
Ditto, tierces	-	3	Ropes, old, tons	-	27	Ditto, hhds.	-	-	4
Ditto, barrels	-	5	Rum, punches.	-	2,236	Ditto, quarter-casks	-	-	15
	Tons. Cwt. gr. lb.		Ditto, hhds.	-	485	Leghorn, half-chests	-	-	61
Iron, Pig	-	462	Ditto, barrels	-	62	Madeira, pipes	-	-	161
Iron, Bar	-	103	Ditto, kegs	-	21	Wine, Ditto, hhds.	-	-	34
Iron Bars	-	73,986	Sago, barrels	-	4	Ditto, quarter-casks	-	-	38
Iron, old, cask	-	1	Sheep	-	41	Oporto, pipes	-	-	628
Kelp, tons	-	327½	Shruff, casks and loose	-	3	Ditto, hhds.	-	-	13
Lead, Black, casks	-	2	Shumac, bags	-	1,817	Ditto, quarter-casks	-	-	26
Lignum Vite, tons	-	22	Shanks and Bones	-	42,000	Rhenish, aum	-	-	1
Lemons and Oranges, boxes	661		Shingles	-	1,600	Spanish, butts	-	-	134
Ditto, chests	-	9	Silk, bales	-	15	Ditto, hhds	-	-	8
Linseed, cask	-	1	Skins and Fur, Rabbits', hhds.	21		Ditto, quarter-casks	-	-	25
Limestone, tons	-	191	Ditto, packs	-	14	Terciera and Fyall, pipes	20		
Linen, Foreign, packs	-	165	Ditto, bundles	-	12	Wool, Cotton, bags	-	-	6,037
Ditto, cases	-	5	Skins, Badger	-	1	Ditto, bales	-	-	3
Linen, Irish, hhds.	-	18	Skins, Bear	-	6	Ditto, barrels	-	-	3
Ditto, packs	-	820	Calf, casks	-	70	Lambs', bags	-	-	30
Ditto, boxes	-	574	Ditto, packs	-	4	Spanish, bales	-	-	4
Linen, trusses	-	288	Ditto, bundles	-	119	Wool, Brazeleeto, tons	-	-	51
Linen, printed, bundle	-	1	Ditto, dozens	-	274	Camwood, tons	-	-	110½
Lock Stocks	-	27,000	Deer, bundles	-	10	Corkwood	-	-	
Madder, casks	-	23	Fox	-	2	Logwood, tons	-	-	958
Mahogany Logs and Planks	4,538		Kid and Lamb, casks	73		Nicaragua, tons	-	-	78
Manna, kegs	-	2	Ditto, dozen	-	1	Redwood, tons	-	-	1,200
Marble, cases	-	10	Otter	-	2	Sassafras	-	-	
Ditto, blocks	-	32	Sea Horse	-	6	Yarn, Bay, packs	-	-	1,227
Masts	-	779	Seal	-	8	Cotton, packs	-	-	4
Mats	-	3,933	Snuff, Spanish, casks	-	2	Linen, Irish, trusses	5,274½		
Merchandise, foreign, casks	17		Snake Root, casks	-	6	Ditto, packs	-	-	124
Nuts, bags	-	208	Soap, box	-	1	Ditto, boxes	-	-	13
Oak and Pine Timber and Planks,			Soapers' Waste, tons	-	435	Ditto, bales	-	-	23
pieces	-	16,573	Soza, bales	-	25	Ditto, bundles	-	-	9
Oak Knees	-	169		C. gr.		Linen, Foreign, packs	-	-	43
Oak and Pine Boards, feet	6,621		Spars	-	36	Ditto, mats	-	-	842
Oars	-	1,120	Squilla, parcel	-	1	Woollen, bags	-	-	14

The impulse given to the commerce of Liverpool by the conquest of the French possessions in America, and by the numerous discoveries above described, received a rude shock in the year 1774, by the commencement of the disastrous struggle between England and the North American provinces, which now form the United States. As the pressure of the wars with France and the Continental Powers fell with greater severity on the commerce of London, Hull, and even Bristol, than on that of Liverpool, from their position, and their greater commercial intercourse with Europe, so the pressure of the first and second American wars fell with greater severity on the commerce of Liverpool, than on that of any other port, owing to the extent of its commercial connection with Continental America, and the adjoining colonies of the West Indies. An account has already been given of the planting of the twelve colonies which were formed by England on the North American continent, in the seventeenth century. The thirteenth colony, Georgia, of which I have not yet spoken, was formed in the year 1732, by General Oglethorpe, a generous enthusiast, whose benevolence has been immortalized by one of our greatest poets. The following sketch of the origin of this large and flourishing colony I abridge from the fifth volume of Lord Mahon's interesting History of England from the Peace of Utrecht:

“Georgia, named after George the Second, was founded by General James Oglethorpe. He found associates in the Earl of Shaftesbury, the author of the *Characteristics*, and others, in his benevolent designs, and in 1732 they obtained a royal charter for their new province—not as proprietors—not with any collateral views of personal advantage, such as might be traced in even the most upright and high-minded of all their predecessors, as in Baltimore and Penn, but solely, as the deed expressed it, in trust for the poor. At their own request they were expressly restrained from receiving any grant of land, or any emolument whatever, for themselves. Their common seal presented a group of silk-worms, at work, with the motto, ‘Non sibi, sed aliis’, thus alluding not only to their own disinterested views, but also, more clearly, to the expected produce of their colony.”*

Thus augmented and extended, the thirteen colonies of North America already surpassed in extent not only the British Islands, but the largest kingdoms of Western Europe. At the commencement of the War of Independence, in the year 1774, they contained 371,124 square miles of territory, the British Islands not containing more than 120,354 square

* Lord Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, v., 113.

miles, the kingdom of France not more than 214,910, and the empire of Austria not more than 257,540.*

The population of the colonies, though small when compared with the extent of territory over which it was spread, amounted to at least two millions and a half. The English government, which desired to conceal from itself the danger of the contest, estimated it at two millions: the first American congress, which desired to give the colonists the most favourable opinion of their ability to carry on the war, estimated it at three millions: Edmund Burke and others, who were alike the friends of England and of America, estimated it at two millions and a half, of which two millions were of European race. The commerce of the American colonies already formed a large and valuable portion of the whole commerce of the kingdom, but more especially of that of the port of Liverpool. According to estimates formed in the year 1774, the total value of all the exports of England was £13,226,146, and of all the imports was £11,822,469; and of these amounts the exports from England to the thirteen American colonies were of the yearly value of £3,378,900; the imports of the yearly value of £3,924,406. This is independent of the trade of the colonies with the West Indies, which was essential to the profitable intercourse of those colonies with the mother country.

The effect of the American War of Independence was to put an entire stop to the commercial progress of Liverpool during seven long and disastrous years. The Customs revenue of the port, which amounted to £274,655 at the beginning of the war, had declined to £188,830 in 1780, the sixth year of the war's continuance; the tonnage fell from 84,792 tons to 79,450, of which a large part consisted of privateers; the population decreased from 35,600 to 34,107; and, at the close of the war in 1783, not less than 10,000 of the poorer inhabitants were supported either by parish rates, or by doles of food, supplied from a fund raised by subscription. The seven years of the first American war were the only seven years of the eighteenth century, during which the port of Liverpool did not increase in population and wealth.

The establishment of the independence of the British plantations, as the United States of America, gave the first great blow, not only to the dominion of the European powers in America, but to the original colonial system of England, and to that of all other nations. Exclusive advantages ceased on both sides; and, too often, the only reciprocity

* Macgregor's Tariffs of America.

between England and its former colonies was a reciprocity of injuries and restrictions; but the English people had so many wants which the people of the United States could supply on better terms than any other nation, and the people of the States so many which the people of this country could supply, that the war of tariffs, though often begun, and frequently carried to a very mischievous extent, never failed to become intolerable to both parties before irreparable injury had been done to either. Of late years this war has entirely ceased: and hence the commerce of England with the United States, and that of the United States with England, at the present time far surpasses that which they carried on with all the world, in the years which preceded, or immediately followed, the Independence of the United States. The population of the United States was taken twice, between the Peace of 1783 and the close of the eighteenth century. The first time in 1790, when it was found to amount to 3,929,827 souls; the second in 1800, when it amounted to 5,305,925. Amongst the circumstances which had the greatest influence on the prosperity of Liverpool in the eighteenth century was the increase of the population of the British plantations, now forming the United States of America, from about 250,000 to 5,305,925 souls.

Another circumstance which gave a considerable impulse to the trade of Liverpool, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was the relaxation of the mischievous restrictions on the commercial intercourse of England and Ireland. This trade, which is now looked upon and treated as a coasting trade, between different provinces of the same empire, was subject to as many jealous restrictions, on both sides of the channel, from about the time of the restoration of Charles the Second to the year 1764, as the trade with France or Spain; nor was complete freedom of trade established between these two portions of the empire until the time of the Act of Union, at the close of the eighteenth century. Still, considerable relaxations of the restrictions on the import of the agricultural and pastoral produce of Ireland, took place immediately after the accession of George the Third; and other restrictions affecting the foreign and colonial trade of Ireland were made near the close of the American war. A failing harvest in England, in 1764, caused provisions to rise to an alarming height in this country, and gave rise to serious riots in Derbyshire, and to very general discontent.* To relieve the distress and remove the discontent, an order in council was issued, which was afterwards confirmed by parliament, admitting Irish beef, pork, butter, and other

* Lord Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, v., 88.

produce into England, duty free. This was the beginning of what has grown to be an immense trade in Irish grain, flour, and provisions, of which Liverpool has been and still is the chief port.

The ten years of peace which intervened between the close of the American war in 1783, and the commencement of the wars of the French Revolution in 1793, were years of great prosperity in Liverpool, as well as in the kingdom generally. The cotton, woollen, iron, and earthenware manufactures, stimulated by the great inventions of which I have spoken in the earlier part of this chapter, doubled, trebled, and quadrupled themselves in a few years, thus furnishing abundant exports for foreign markets, and giving a strong stimulus to shipping, to the demand for raw materials from abroad, and to the cultivation of the soil. Between the years 1786 and 1792 the average amount of tonnage which entered the port of Liverpool yearly increased from 151,347 to 260,380 tons; between the years 1780 and 1786 the Customs revenue of the port increased from £188,830 6s. 1d. to £680,928; and between the years 1786 and 1790 the population increased from 41,600 to 55,732. The increased demand for sugar, cotton, and all articles of tropical produce, gave a great impulse to the demand for labour, and unfortunately, it must be added, to the slave trade.

According to accounts, carefully prepared at the time, it appears that the number of negroes transported yearly from Africa to the West Indies, (for the people of the United States, much to their honour, had abolished the African slave trade,) from 1783 to 1793, amounted to 74,000. Of this number Great Britain imported 38,000, Holland 4,000, Portugal 10,000, Denmark 2,000, and France 20,000.* Of the immense multitude of 814,000 negroes, conveyed from Africa to the West Indies in eleven years, Liverpool had the profit and the disgrace of conveying 407,000. The gross amount brought into the port by this traffic was £12,908,823, in eleven years, or £1,117,647 a-year. The yearly profit to the port from the trade was supposed to be £298,462; and the value of the Manchester, Birmingham, and other goods, taken out to carry on the trade, was calculated at £888,738 2s. 10d. In the year preceding the commencement of the Revolutionary War, the number of Liverpool ships engaged in the African trade was 136, the tonnage, 24,544, or about a twelfth part of the tonnage which entered the port.

It appears, from tables carefully prepared in the year 1793, that the amount of shipping, British and foreign, which cleared out of all the ports

* Account of the African Trade, and Descriptive History of Liverpool, 1795.

of Great Britain, in the year 1792, was 1,565,154 tons, of which 260,380 tons cleared from Liverpool. Thus the clearances of shipping from Liverpool formed rather less than a sixth part of the clearances from all the ports of Great Britain. In the year 1716, two years after the accession of the House of Hanover, they amounted to a twenty-fourth part. Hence it appears that, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, the increase of the commerce of Liverpool was four times as rapid as that of the general commerce of Great Britain. These proportions were maintained to the close of the century.*

The following account of prices, taken from the papers of Messrs. Ewart, Rutson, and Co., in the year 1789, is interesting, as showing the prices of the principal articles of merchandise, previous to the commencement of the wars of the French Revolution :

PRICES CURRENT, ABOUT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION;
AFTER SIX YEARS OF PEACE.

										JANUARY, 1789.			
CURRENT PRICES OF				FROM		TO							
				£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.				
Annatto, Flag	...	...	per lb....	0	0 10	...	0	1 3	...	0	0 1	Export Duty.
Spanish	...	...	"	0	3 9	...	0	4 0	...	0	0 1	"
Argol, Bologna	...	...	per cwt.	2	4 0	...	2	6 0	...	free.		"
Ashes, American Pot	...	...	"	1	9 0	...	1	10 0	...	free.		"
Pearl	...	...	"	1	14 0	...	1	18 0	...	free.		"
Dauzig	...	...	"	1	12 0	...	1	16 0	...	0	2 3	Import Duty.
Barilla, Spanish	...	...	"	1	4 0	...	1	5 0	...	0	5 3	"
Italian	...	...	"	1	0 0	...	1	1 0	...	0	5 3	"
Brandy, Coniac	...	...	per gal....	0	2 4	...	0	2 9	...	0	5 0	"
Cinnamon	...	...	per lb....	0	18 0	...	0	0 0	...	0	4 5	"
Cloves	...	...	"	0	7 6	...	0	7 9	...	0	2 8	"
Cochineal, garbled...	...	...	"	0	14 0	...	0	16 6	...	0	0 3	Export Duty.
Coffee, Granada	...	...	per cwt.	4	15 0	...	5	6 0	...	0	3 6	Import Duty.
Dominica	...	...	"	5	0 0	...	5	10 0	...	0	3 6	"
Jamaica	...	...	"	4	14 0	...	5	0 0	...	0	3 6	"
Mocha	...	...	"	7	11 0	...	0	0 0	...	0	0 0	"
Corn, Wheat, British	...	...	per qr. ...	1	16 0	...	2	9 0	...	0	0 0	"
Rye	...	...	"	1	1 0	...	1	4 0	...	0	3 0	"
Barley, British	...	...	"	0	18 0	...	1	3 0	...	0	0 0	"
Oats, British	...	...	"	0	14 0	...	0	18 0	...	0	0 0	"
Foreign	...	...	"	0	11 0	...	0	17 0	...	0	0 2	"
Cotton Wool, Brazil	...	...	per lb....	0	1 6½	...	0	1 8½	...	Brit. ship, free; For. 1d.		"
Martinico	...	...	"	0	1 3	...	0	1 3½	...	0	0 3½	Import Duty.
Yarn, Turkey	...	...	"	0	2 0	...	0	2 9	...	0	0 3½	"
Flax, Thysenhausen	...	...	per ton..	52	0 0	...	52	10 0	...	free.		"
Narva, 12 head	...	...	"	uncertain.		...	0	0 0	...	free.		"
Peters., 12 head	...	...	"	43	0 0	...	44	0 0	...	free.		"
Flax, Petersburg, 9 head	...	...	"	33	0 0	...	33	10 0	...	free.		"
Figs, Turkey	...	...	per cwt.	2	0 0	...	0	0 0	...	0	12 10	"
Flour, 1st	...	...	per sack	1	18 0	...	2	0 0	...	0	0 2	"
2nd	...	...	"	1	15 0	...	1	17 0	...	0	0 2	"
3rd	...	...	"	1	13 0	...	1	14 0	...	0	0 2	"
Galls, Turkey, in sorts	...	...	per cwt.	8	8 0	...	9	9 0	...	0	1 2	Export Duty.
Ginger, Barbadoes	...	...	"	2	5 0	...	2	7 0	...	0	11 0	Import Duty.
Jamaica, white	...	...	"	2	0 0	...	3	10 0	...	0	11 0	"
Hemp, Riga Rh.	...	...	per ton..	35	0 0	...	36	0 0	...	3	13 4	"
Hides, Buenos Ayres	...	...	per lb....	0	0 4½	...	0	0 5	...	0	1 2	"
Jamaica	...	...	"	0	0 4	...	0	0 4½	...	free.		"
Indigo, New Orleans, Bl. and Pur.	...	...	"	0	6 0	...	0	7 0	...	0	0 1¼	Export Duty.

* General History of Liverpool, 1795, 253.

CURRENT PRICES OF			FROM			TO					
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Iron, in Pigs, British	...	per ton.	3	0	0	...	7	0	0	...	free.
American	...	"	5	0	0	...	6	5	0	...	free.
in Bars, British	...	"	15	15	0	...	16	10	0	...	free.
Swedish	...	"	18	0	0	...	18	10	0	...	2 16 2 Import Duty.
Russia, assorted	...	"	16	5	0	...	16	10	0	...	2 16 2 "
Lac, Shell	...	per cwt.	3	0	0	...	7	10	0	...	0 18 8 "
Lead, in Pigs	...	per ton.	22	10	0	...	0	0	0	...	on board.
Bars	...	"	24	0	0	...	0	0	0	...	on board.
Sheet	...	"	25	0	0	...	0	0	0	...	on board.
Leather, Butts, 50 to 60 lbs	...	per lb.	0	0	11½	...	0	1	0	...	0 1 2 per cwt. export.
Hides	...	"	0	1	0½	...	0	1	1½	...	0 1 2 "
Madder Roots, Smyrna	...	per cwt.	2	16	0	...	2	18	0	...	free.
Dutch Crop	...	"	3	10	0	...	5	10	0	...	free.
Molasses	...	"	0	18	0	...	0	0	0	...	0 3 0 Import Duty.
Oil, Portugal	...	per tun.	44	0	0	...	46	0	0	...	7 0 9 "
Gallipoli	...	"	46	0	0	...	48	0	0	...	7 0 9 "
Rape	...	"	24	0	0	...	25	0	0	...	24 4 0 "
Linseed	...	"	33	0	0	...	34	0	0	...	24 4 0 "
Whale, Greenland	...	"	16	0	0	...	17	0	0	...	...
Orchilla Weed, Canary	...	per ton.	90	0	0	...	130	0	0	...	0 11 8 Export Duty.
Cape de Verde	...	"	35	0	0	...	40	0	0	...	0 11 8 "
Madeira	...	"	25	0	0	...	45	0	0	...	0 11 8 "
Pimento	...	per lb.	0	1	2	...	0	0	0	...	0 0 3 Import Duty.
Pitch, American	...	per cwt.	0	6	0	...	0	7	0	...	0 11 0 "
Archangel	...	"	0	7	0	...	0	8	0	...	0 12 5 "
Provisions, Beef, Mess	...	per tce.	3	10	0	...	3	15	0	...	free.
Beef, Mess	...	per brl.	2	5	0	...	2	10	0	...	free.
Butter, Rose, Cork	...	per cwt.	2	6	0	...	0	0	0	...	free.
Waterford	...	"	2	10	0	...	0	0	0	...	free.
Dublin	...	"	2	12	0	...	0	0	0	...	free.
Pork, Mess	...	per tce.	3	10	0	...	4	0	0	...	free.
Rice, Carolina	...	per cwt.	1	1	0	...	1	2	0	...	0 7 4 Import Duty.
Rosin, American, black	...	"	0	8	0	...	0	9	0	...	0 1 6 "
yellow	...	"	0	9	0	...	0	10	0	...	0 1 6 "
Rum, Jamaica	...	per gal.	0	2	6	...	0	3	2	...	0 4 0 "
Sago	...	per cwt.	4	10	0	...	0	0	0	...	1 8 0 "
Saltpetre, East India, rough	...	"	2	2	6	...	0	0	0	...	0 7 9 "
British, refined	...	"	2	8	0	...	0	0	0	...	0 7 9 "
Seeds, Clover, red	...	"	1	18	0	...	3	3	0	...	0 2 9 "
Linseed, American	...	"	1	18	0	...	0	0	0	...	free.
Rape	...	"	16	0	0	...	18	0	0	...	0 13 3 per qr.
Silk, Raw, China, small	...	per lb.	0	18	8	...	1	2	2	...	0 3 0 Import Duty.
Bengal, great	...	"	0	17	10	...	1	12	0	...	0 3 0 "
Romagna	...	"	1	10	0	...	1	14	0	...	0 3 0 "
Piedmont, small	...	"	1	10	0	...	2	1	0	...	0 3 0 "
Shumack, Faro	...	per cwt.	0	15	6	...	0	16	6	...	0 0 5 Export Duty.
Sicily	...	"	0	13	0	...	0	0	0	...	0 0 5 "
Malaga	...	"	0	16	0	...	0	17	0	...	0 0 5 "
Oporto	...	"	0	12	0	...	0	0	0	...	0 0 5 "
Staves, American Pipe	...	"	10	0	0	...	14	0	0	...	free.
Hogshead	...	"	6	0	0	...	12	0	0	...	free.
Barrel	...	"	4	0	0	...	6	0	0	...	free.
Sugar, raw, St. Kitt's	...	per cwt.	2	5	0	...	2	16	0	...	0 12 4 Import Duty.
Montserrat	...	"	2	5	9	...	2	16	0	...	0 12 4 "
St. Vincent's	...	"	2	5	0	...	2	16	0	...	0 12 4 "
Nevis	...	"	2	4	0	...	2	16	0	...	0 12 4 "
Jamaica	...	"	2	4	0	...	2	18	0	...	0 12 4 "
Tortola	...	"	2	4	0	...	2	16	0	...	0 12 4 "
Granada, Muscovado.	...	"	2	4	0	...	2	13	0	...	0 12 4 "
clayed	...	"	2	6	0	...	3	4	0	...	0 12 4 "
Dominica	...	"	none	...	...	0	0	0	...	0 12 4 "	
Antigua	...	"	2	5	0	...	2	17	0	...	0 12 4 "
Barbadoes	...	"	2	4	0	...	2	13	0	...	0 12 4 "
white	...	"	2	8	0	...	3	8	0	...	0 12 4 "
Refined Lumps	...	"	3	6	0	...	3	16	0	...	Bounty on British 26s. p. cwt.
Tallow, Lon. melt.	...	"	2	5	0	...	0	0	0	...	free.
Russia Candle	...	"	1	19	0	...	2	1	0	...	free.
Tar, American	...	per brl.	0	13	0	...	0	14	0	...	0 0 11 Import Duty.
Tea, Single	...	per lb.	0	2	8	...	0	2	11	...	Duty, 12½ p. ct. on value.
Hyson, common	...	"	0	4	6	...	0	6	0	...	"
Souchong, common	...	"	0	3	3	...	0	4	0	...	"
Congou, common	...	"	0	2	10	...	0	3	8	...	"

CURRENT PRICES OF				FROM			TO			£ s. d.					
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
Tea, Bohea	...	...	per lb....	0	1	7	...	0	1	7½	...	Duty, 12½ p. ct. on value.		
Pekoe	...	...	"	0	3	4	...	0	9	0	...	"		
Timber, American Oak	...	...	per load	3	5	0	...	3	10	0	...	free.		
Pine Timber	...	...	"	1	15	0	...	2	5	0	...	free.		
Plank	...	...	"	2	10	0	...	4	0	0	...	free.		
Riga, Fir	"	1	18	0	...	2	0	0	...	0	6	8	Import Duty.
Memel Fir	"	1	16	0	...	1	17	0	...	0	6	8	"
E. Coun. Oak Plank	"	6	10	0	...	8	0	0	...	0	19	10	"
Tin, in blocks	per cwt.	3	16	0	...	0	0	0	...	0	3	4	Export Duty.
bars	"	3	17	6	...	0	0	0	...	0	3	4	"
Tobacco, Virginia, York River	...	per lb. ...	0	0	3	...	0	0	4½	...	0	1	3	Import Duty.	
James River	...	"	0	0	3	...	0	0	4½	...	0	1	3	"	
Rappahanock	..	"	0	0	2½	...	0	0	3½	...	0	1	3	"	
Carolina	...	"	0	0	2½	...	0	0	3	...	0	1	3	"	
Maryland, yellow, fine.	..	"	uncertain.												
Turmeric, East India	...	per cwt..	3	5	0	...	3	8	0	...	0	18	8	"	
West India	...	"	2	0	0	...	2	5	0	...	0	18	8	"	
Teeth, Elephant, 2, 3, 4, to C.	...	per cwt.	21	0	0	...	25	10	0	...	1	6	5	Import Duty.	
Turpentine, American	...	"	0	10	0	...	0	11	0	...	0	2	3	"	
Valonea	...	per ton.	11	0	0	...	13	0	0	...	0	3	11	Export Duty.	
Wine, Red Port	...	per pun.	40	0	0	...	43	0	0	...	31	10	0	per tun import.	
Lisbon	...	"	40	0	0	...	42	0	0	...	31	10	0	"	
Madeira	...	"	50	0	0	...	65	0	0	...	31	10	0	"	
Sherry	...	per butt..	40	0	0	...	45	0	0	...	31	10	0	"	
Mountain	...	"	28	0	0	...	32	0	0	...	31	10	0	"	
Claret	...	per hhd.	28	0	0	...	40	0	0	...	47	5	0	"	
Vidonia	...	per pun.	27	0	0	...	30	0	0	...				"	
Woods, for dying, Brazillito Prov.	...	per ton.	6	10	0	...	8	0	0	...	0	13	3	Export Duty.	
Camwood	...	"	22	0	0	...	0	0	0	...				"	
Fustic, Jamaica	...	"	4	4	0	...	5	0	0	...	0	3	4	"	
Logwood, Campeachy	...	"	7	10	0	...	8	10	0	...	1	3	4	"	
Nicaragua, large	...	"	25	0	0	...	0	0	0	...	0	4	5	"	
middling	...	"	12	0	0	...	15	0	0	...	0	4	5	"	
small	...	"	8	0	0	...	10	0	0	...	0	4	5	"	
Mahogany, Jamaica	...	per foot.	0	0	6	...	0	1	0	...	free.			"	
Honduras	...	"	0	0	3	...	0	0	4	...	free.				
Wool, Spanish, Leonesa, best	...	per lb...	0	3	10	...	0	0	0	...	free.			"	
inferior..	...	"	0	3	4	...	0	3	9	...	free.				
Segovia	...	"	0	3	0	...	0	3	6	...	free.			"	
Sorfia	...	"	0	2	3	...	0	3	6	...	free.				
Seville	...	"	uncertain.				0	0	0	...	free.			"	
Goats', Aleppo	...	"	ditto				0	0	0	...	free.				
Smyrna	...	"	0	3	6	...	0	5	6	...	free.			"	

The French Revolution, and the long wars to which it gave rise, produced many changes in the commerce of England and other nations. Some of them, indeed, were only temporary; but others are still felt, and are likely to be felt during many ages.

The first of these changes was that which placed the carrying trade of the world, for twenty years, in the hands of Great Britain and the United States. The American people obtained and preserved a large portion of that trade, by maintaining a wise neutrality in the quarrels of European nations, from the commencement of the war between England and France, in 1793, to the year 1812; the English people obtained a still larger portion of it by sweeping the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland from the ocean, early in the war. The new and decisive system of naval warfare, first practised by Lord Rodney in his battle with Count de Grasse, in the last year of the American war,—the breaking of the line,—was applied with even greater success by Howe, Jervis, Duncan, and the heroic

Nelson, in the beginning of the revolutionary war. Hence, the fleets of hostile nations, instead of going out of action like the fleets of England, with little damage, as, after the battle which cost Byng his life, in the Seven Years' War, and the battle which caused Keppel to be put on his trial in the American War, were captured, sunk, or ruined in the battles of the first of June, St. Vincent, Camperdown, the Nile, and Trafalgar. These, as Nelson said of the battle of the Nile, were not mere victories; they were conquests,—conquests of the ocean. The fleets of foreign nations being thus driven from the seas, their smaller vessels of war and merchantmen were soon hunted down and captured. Hence, in addition to 81 line-of-battle ships, 187 frigates, and 248 smaller vessels of war, 934 privateers, and 5,453 merchant vessels were taken in the first ten years of the war—the greater part of them in the first five years. Thus the commerce of Europe was lost to Havre, Bordeaux, Cadiz, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, and ultimately to Hamburgh and Bremen, and concentrated in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Clyde, and the other ports of the British empire.

But these results, though immensely important at the time, were not so permanent in their effects as the revolution in tropical industry, caused by the insurrection of the negroes in the magnificent colony of St. Domingo.

The decree of the French Constituent Assembly, in March, 1790, ordering the formation of a Colonial Legislature, gave rise to the most violent heart-burnings between the whites, who were 40,000 in number, and the mulattoes, who were 60,000. The latter claimed an equal right to vote in the elections, which the former scornfully refused them. In the midst of their bickerings the negroes, who far outnumbered both whites and mulattoes, amounting to not less than 500,000, of whom an unusually large proportion were males in the vigour of life, formed a desperate and wide-spreading conspiracy for the destruction of both. The revolt broke out in the night of the 30th September, 1791. On that fatal night hundreds of plantations were fired, and the whole of the planters, with their wives and children, were massacred or driven into the towns. A long and murderous servile war followed, in which the whites were destroyed or driven out of the island, the greater part of the mulattoes were killed, and the industry of the island was totally ruined.

At the time when these events took place, St Domingo was the richest and most productive colony possessed by any European nation. Even forty years earlier, at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, the

quantity of tropical produce yielded by it was very great. At that time (in the year 1756) St. Domingo was estimated to produce 106,200 hhds. of sugar, of 1,000 lbs. each; 22,000 lbs. of coffee; 184,000 lbs. of cotton; 900,000 lbs. of indigo; 230,000 lbs. of ginger; and 184,000 lbs. of pimento. At the same time the other French colonies, in the West Indies, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, were estimated to produce 56,470 hhds. of sugar, of 800 lbs. each; 573,000 lbs. of cotton; 3,600,000 lbs. of coffee; and 82,000 lbs. of ginger. The quantity of sugar produced in these colonies was thus already large; and the quantity of cotton and coffee afterwards became so. In the year 1786 the French colonies supplied the greater part of the cotton used on the continent, and (along with the colonies of Spain) they furnished 5,500,000 lbs. for English use, being more than the fourth part of the cotton then used in this country.*

When the industry of St. Domingo was in its most flourishing state, the exports of the island were of the value of seven millions sterling, its imports of ten millions, and its commerce gave employment to 27,000 sailors. It was, in fact, the chief support of the commerce and navigation of France.†

The ruin of St. Domingo and the prostration of industry in the colonies of France, Spain, and Holland, doubled the price of sugar and that of cotton, and long sustained those articles at prices which were unknown before the war, and which soon disappeared after its close. The effect of these prices was to give a prodigious stimulus to the production of sugar, coffee, cotton, and other articles of tropical produce in the British colonies, in the cotton-growing region of the United States, and in Brazil, then the great colony of Portugal, the ally of England. During the greater part of the war these three countries supplied all Europe and America with those articles, the United States rapidly taking the lead in the production of cotton, which was sent direct to Liverpool; the British West Indies directing their attention chiefly to the production of sugar, rum, coffee, and dye-woods, which were sent to London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and Clyde; and the Brazilians, growing all those articles, though in smaller quantities, and sending them to Lisbon, (no direct trade with Brazil being then allowed to foreign nations,) to be forwarded to England, or distributed over the continent.

*Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture, 304.

† Alison's History of England, Abridged, 202.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF LIVERPOOL UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE CLOSE OF THE
GENERAL WAR, IN 1815.

The first fourteen years of the nineteenth century were chiefly years of war. Except during the short breathing time afforded by the peace of Amiens,—the commencement of which was announced in Liverpool in October, 1801, and the close in May, 1803,—England was at war with France throughout the whole of that time; and, as the independence of the continental powers sank beneath the arms of the Emperor Napoleon, they were compelled, one by one, to declare political and commercial war against this country. During the whole period Holland was obliged to follow the fortunes and to adopt the policy of France, although by doing so she lost the whole of her commerce and her finest colonies in America and Asia. The overthrow of the armies of Austria and Russia, in the campaign of Austerlitz, in 1805, and the conquest of Naples, in spite of the brilliant victory of Maida, were followed by the passing of rigorous laws excluding the commerce of the United Kingdom from the Austrian dominions, and from Italy. The equally disastrous defeats of the armies of Prussia at Jena, and those of Russia at Eylau and Friedland, in 1806 and 7, were followed by the issuing of the Berlin and Milan decrees. The object of these decrees was to exclude British commerce from every port of the continent of Europe, over which the French Emperor had any influence: the effect of them was to exclude it from Hamburgh and all the commercial cities of Germany, from Prussia, and to some degree, though less completely, from Russia. The wish to ruin the commerce of England was one of the motives of the French ruler in sending his armies to seize upon Lisbon, Oporto, and the whole of Portugal, in 1807; and the expulsion of the hated leopard—the emblem of England—was the professed object of the attack on Spain. The result of all these exclusions was that, at the commencement of the year 1808, nearly the whole continent of Europe was

closed against British commerce, so far as Government decrees and French Custom-house officers and spies could close it, in opposition to the wishes, sympathies, wants, and interests of the people. Fortunately, that was not very effectually. The English ports became receptacles for colonial produce and manufactures, which were secretly introduced into the continent, much of them directly from England, and the rest through Malta, Gibraltar, and Heligoland, at the mouth of the Elbe, which was seized principally for the purpose of introducing British goods and colonial produce into Germany. This trade, though free from the disgrace of ordinary smuggling, was attended with all its risks. It was a lottery, with this difference, that the prizes on the whole were greater than the blanks.

From the commencement of the century to the close of the year 1807 the commercial relations of England and the United States were tolerably friendly, and highly advantageous, and the rapid growth of the commerce with that country in some degree compensated England for the loss of a direct trade with the continent of Europe. Unfortunately, both England and France, in their desperate efforts to ruin each other, began a war of restrictions in 1807 and 1808, directed against all nations which were suspected or known to be guilty of the newly discovered crime of trading with their enemies. Into this struggle the Americans were dragged. From 1808 to 1812 they met restrictions with restrictions; and in the latter year they met them with war.

Yet, in the midst of so much political confusion, a number of events arose out of the conflicts and convulsions of the age, which sustained, and, in the end, greatly extended, the commerce of Great Britain. In the first year of the century the act of union between Great Britain and Ireland came into operation, sweeping away a mass of restrictions which had previously fettered the industry of both countries, and creating a great exchange of linens, grain, and provisions of Ireland for the manufactures of England and the produce of the colonies. The naval events of the war, whilst they ruined the finest colonies of France, and revolutionized the most extensive of those of Spain and Portugal, enabled England to increase her possessions with many of the most valuable colonies of France, Spain, and Holland. Several of her acquisitions were restored at the general peace, but others were retained, and during the war the commerce of all ministered to the naval power and the commercial wealth of the British empire.

And whilst England was conquering new colonies both in the east and west; was over-running provinces in India as large and as populous

as European kingdoms; and was laying the foundations of what has become a great colony, and promises to become a great empire, in Australia; the New World, which Columbus gave to Spain, was passing from its rulers, and Brazil was rising to the rank of an independent state. These events commenced in the first ten years of the present century, and greatly affected the commercial history of the years 1808-9 and 10. I therefore mention them here, but still reserve a more lengthened notice of their influence on the commerce of Liverpool, and on commerce generally, to a later part of this work. I now proceed to notice the commercial events of the first fourteen years of the present century, using, as my principal authority, the commercial papers of the well-known house of Ewart, Rutson, and Co., afterwards Ewart, Myers, and Co., which then stood, as it had stood long before, and continued to stand long after, in the first rank of the great commercial houses of Liverpool. With these papers I have been kindly favoured by Mr. Jaques Myers, the present representative of that eminent commercial house.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century the prices of most of the principal articles of use and consumption were three or four times as high as they are at the present time. Short-stapled cotton was quoted at 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d. a-pound in the circular of the 5th January, 1801; good Jamaica sugar (Muscovado) at 88s. 6d. to 91s. a-cwt.; rum at 8s. 2d. to 8s. 5d. a-gallon; and good Jamaica coffee at 130s. to 140s.* a-cwt.; wheat was selling at 120s. a-quarter; and the price of bread was fixed by the Liverpool magistrates, under the Assize of Bread Act, at the rate of 2lbs. 13oz. 1 dwt. for a shilling, or rather more than 4d. a-pound.

In the circular in which the above prices are quoted it is stated that the high price of sugar was caused partly by the smallness of the quantities brought by the two fleets, the one from Jamaica, the other from the Leeward Islands, and partly by the fact of the government having forbidden the use of grain in distilleries. A further rise was, therefore, expected, and the more confidently, as the quantity of Havana sugar, received by way of the United States, for re-exportation, was also small. Coffee was also rising, from the shortness of the supply, and was expected to rise still higher in spring, "if not hindered by the talked-of Northern Confederacy"—of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The demand for cotton was very great, and stocks were diminishing. In February these hopes were suddenly checked by the formation of a Confederacy of the Northern Powers, and by the seizing of all Russian, Swedish, and Danish

* Ewart, Rutson, and Co.'s Circular, January 5, 1801.

vessels, as a measure of retaliation, by England. Fears were also entertained that Prussia would join the confederacy, and would compel Hamburg and the Hanse towns to do so. These events, it was stated, had suddenly checked the demand for cotton.* In March the imports of American and New Orleans cotton (New Orleans and all Louisiana then belonged to France) were very considerable. The foreign orders for goods were pretty large, but there was a want of confidence in executing them, owing to political causes. "The fate of this article," say Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, in their circular, "is intimately connected with political events." At the end of March they remark, that the high price of provisions had lessened the consumption of sugar. In the month of May an "improvident speculation" in rum, blew up; and the price of that article suddenly fell from 8s. 6d. to 5s. 3d. a-gallon. In June rumours of approaching peace suspended all business. Opinions were divided as to the effect which such an event would produce on prices; but Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, judging from the result of the peace of 1783, gave it as their opinion that it would lead to a great fall in prices, and the event showed the soundness of their judgment. In October news was received of the signing of the preliminaries of peace with France: a rapid decline in prices followed. As relates to cotton, the depression was increased by the largeness of the supply from America. "The quantity produced in Georgia, Carolina, and on the banks of the Mississippi, in favourable seasons, will, in point of weight, exceed the growth of all the West India Islands put together, and will have a very serious tendency to depress the value of our West India cotton. The consumption of New Orleans and inferior Georgia is become very general, and already precludes the sale of middling and inferior West India, at the proportional prices we have formerly been accustomed to."† In the month of November a cargo of 560 bales of Bahama cotton sold at 18d. to 21½d., average 19d.; "and so strongly are the minds of the dealers and manufacturers impressed with the idea that the article must fall yet lower, that they continue to buy only from hand to mouth." All vessels which sailed from Liverpool after the 23d October sailed without convoy, and at their own convenience, instead of waiting until a large fleet of merchantmen was assembled, and sailing under convoy of vessels of war.‡

The year 1802 commenced with much lower prices than those which

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, February 2, 1801.

+ Ibid, November 2, 1801.

‡ Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, October 26, 1801.

had prevailed at the commencement of 1801. Cotton had fallen to 1s. 6d. and 1s. 8½d. a-pound; sugar to 64s. and 69s. a-cwt.; rum to 3s. 10d. and 4s. a-gallon; coffee to 94s. and 98s. a-cwt.; and wheat to 60s. a-quarter. The weight of the shilling loaf, as fixed by the magistrates of this district, was upwards of 5 lbs., or a little more than 2d. a-pound.

It thus appears that a similar reduction of prices to that which followed the peace of 1783, and afterwards that of 1814, followed the peace of 1801. It was produced by similar causes, namely, the cessation of the ruinous cost of transporting produce from distant countries, caused by a state of war, and by the resumption of the usual pursuits of industry, by nations whose whole energies had been exclusively directed, during the war, to the purposes of conquest or defence. The French government at once turned its attention to the recovering of St. Domingo, with a view of re-establishing the cultivation of sugar, coffee, and cotton. It probably would have succeeded, if the peace of Amiens had lasted two or three years longer.

In January, 1802, the stocks of sugar were heavy in all the ports, and the foreign demand having ceased, prices continued to fall. Molasses and rum also fell, distillation from grain being once more allowed. On the other hand, cotton became firmer, owing to the increased demand for cotton goods, both at home and abroad. "The quantity sold in this (the Liverpool) market in December (1801) was not less than 10,000 bales; indeed, the manufactory in and about this county was chiefly supplied from Liverpool."*

In May there was a slight rally in the price of coffee, news having been received in Liverpool that Toussaint was at the head of a large army of negroes in St. Domingo, that many of the French troops had been killed, that Cape Francois had been burnt, and that the small remains of cultivation in the island were threatened with destruction.†

In the same month it was announced that the import of cotton since the beginning of the year was very great; that the price of Upland Georgia cotton, of which the growth was immense, was now reduced to 12d. per pound; that Brazil cotton was likewise plentiful; and that it was more than probable that considerable quantities would be received from Turkey.‡

In July the immense demand for cotton goods, caused by the restoration of peace, raised the price of American Upland cotton from 12d. to

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, Jan. 4, 1802. + Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 3, 1802.

‡ Ewart and Rutson's Circular, May 3, 1802.

14d. a-pound ; but the quantity on hand, and the largeness of the supply at Lisbon, (Brazilian cotton,) were expected to prevent a further rise. During this single year of peace there was an increase of six millions in the value of the British goods exported.*

In November there were rumours of a failure of the Sea Island cotton, from unfavourable weather ; but Messrs. Ewart and Rutson coolly observe, " they want confirmation."†

Prices again showed a decline, in some articles, at the commencement of 1803. West India cotton, which was least affected, was quoted at 1s. 4d. to 1s. 7d. a-pound ; sugar at 65s. to 70s. a-cwt. ; coffee at 99s. to 103s. a-cwt. Bread was a little higher ; 5 lbs. 1 oz. 6 dwts. for a shilling. The government had granted an increase of drawback, and also a bounty, on the exportation both of raw and refined sugar, which was raising prices.‡ There was a brisk demand for coffee, owing to the desperate war which the French and the negroes were waging against each other in St. Domingo. In spite of the rumours of a failing cotton crop in America, which were current in the previous autumn, it was found that there was a considerable increase of Georgia and Carolina cotton, of inferior kinds, and no change in the supply of superior. At the end of February, Bowed Georgia, of first-rate quality, had fallen to 12d. or 12½d. per pound, which almost suspended the use of West India cotton.§ In April rumours of the renewal of war began again to be current, and to produce an effect on prices. " In consequence of change in politics, speculators become sanguine ; but will fail, unless in case of hostilities."|| In the month of May the short peace of Amiens was suddenly ended, by a renewed declaration of war between England and France. Sugar experienced a pretty considerable advance immediately upon war being declared ; coffee rose rapidly, the failure of the French attempts to restore cultivation in St. Domingo being rendered certain, by the revival of hostilities. A slight advance also took place in cotton, but was soon checked, by fear of the closing of the foreign markets.¶ In July the demand for cotton became uncommonly dull. In noticing this, Messrs. Ewart, Rutson, and Co add, " Until channels for exportation of manufactured goods be opened, no favourable alteration in the prices of the raw material can be expected." Many continental markets were

* Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 16, 1802.

+ Ewart and Rutson's Circular, November 29, 1802.

† Ibid, January 3, 1803.

§ Ibid, February 28, 1803.

|| Ibid, April 4, 1803.

¶ Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, May 16, 1803.

closed on the renewal of the war. In July sugar fell 3s. or 4s., owing to the general stagnation of trade, and the closing of the vent for sugar, by the blockade of the Elbe. In August cotton was reported to be very dull, "the want of a vent for yarns and manufactured goods on the continent of Europe having become extremely harrassing to the manufacturers, and the uncertainty when channels may be opened rendering the dealers unwilling to hold stock."*

In October the price of coffee was depressed by the expectation that the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Java would be conquered, and that large supplies would be received from both;† but in the same month sugar began to rally, in consequence of a falling off of one-fourth in the imports.

At the commencement of the year 1804 sugar, coffee, and all other articles of colonial produce again showed the influence of war prices. In January, Jamaica sugar was worth 71s. to 72s. 6d., and by the month of April it had risen to 84s. and 87s. a-cwt.; coffee commenced at 131s. to 136s., and in April it had risen to 142s. and 145s. a-cwt.; cotton, being depressed by the state of the continental markets, did not partake of the rise. It began the year at 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6½d., and was selling at the same price in October.

The rise in sugar and coffee, in the beginning of the year, was caused by the continental demand. The cotton trade was very dull until July, but then became active. In the course of this year the rich and extensive colony of Demerara fell into the hands of England, and in September no less than 22,000 bales of Demerara and Berbice cotton arrived in the Liverpool markets, and drove down prices. This produced an increased consumption, and the price of cotton rose from 1½d. to 3d. a-lb. in December, in consequence of a rumour that the crops in Carolina and Georgia had suffered from a violent hurricane.‡

The year 1805 commenced with high prices. Sugar, 89s. to 91s. a-cwt.; coffee, 147s. to 150s.; Nicaragua wood, £60 to £70 a-ton; and cotton, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. a-lb., which by April had risen to 1s. 11d. and 2s. 1½d. In this case the report of injury to the crops appears to have been well founded.

In July of this year a great commotion was produced in prices, by the arrival of the news that the combined fleets of France and Spain had arrived in the West Indies. After closing their circular of July 1st, Messrs. Ewart and Rutson added to it the following postscript:—

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, August 1, 1803.

+ Ibid, October 31, 1803.

‡ Ibid, December 3, 1804.

“N.B. It remains to be observed, that the foregoing quotations and remarks have not any reference to the unpleasant news we have just received of the arrival of the combined fleets at Martinique, which has produced no little consternation. It will probably enhance the price of cotton,” &c. The consternation soon passed away, being followed by the news of the check given to the combined fleets, on their return to Europe, by Sir Robert Calder; and, soon after, of their total defeat, by Lord Nelson. Nevertheless, the year closed gloomily, owing to the depressed state of the manufacture, and the unfavourable turn of political events in Germany, where the armies of Prussia had been defeated and dispersed.

The year 1806 opened with dull trade, but high prices. Sugar, 82s. to 86s. a-cwt.; coffee, 128s. to 135s.; ashes, 56s. to 58s. a-barrel; American wheat, 77s. a-quarter; flour, 45s. to 47s. a-barrel; and cotton, 1s. 4½d. to 1s. 5½d., which was a low price, compared with other articles, and gradually rose to 21d. and 22½d. before autumn.

The year 1807 was one of gloom, owing to the state of the continent, where the power of Bonaparte was everywhere predominant. In January business was suspended, “on account of the state of the continent.” The occupation of Hamburgh put an end to the demand for coffee. Cotton also fell 1d. to 1½d. a-lb. from the same cause. In February a parliamentary committee was sitting to take evidence on the sugar trade, “which was in a deplorable state”, and which the government attempted to cure by granting new bounties.

The effect of the abolition of the slave trade began to be felt in the cessation of the demand for common rum, for which the coast of Africa was the principal vent, and also of the demand for all kinds of goods suited for the African market, such as gunpowder, coarse cloth, muskets, and trinkets of all kinds. To relieve the pressure on sugar, a temporary bounty was granted of 2s. a-cwt.* Until the disastrous results of the battles of Eylau and Friedland were known, hopes continued to be entertained that the French would be driven out of Germany by the combined armies of Prussia and Russia. These hopes were disappointed. In August the price of coffee was driven down by the precarious and unprecedented state of the continent, “the very unfavourable terms upon which Prussia had made peace indicating the exclusion of this country from the continent.” At the beginning of the month of August the price of cotton was forced up by apprehensions of a war with the United States, arising out of the orders in council, which were strongly resented in

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, 1807.

America. At the end of the same month the price of cotton, and all other articles, was again driven down by the almost total exclusion of British goods and produce from all parts of the continent.

The year 1808 was one of the most remarkable years in the commercial annals of Liverpool, owing to the strange and conflicting course of public events.

The position of prices at the beginning of the year was as follows :— Sugar, 71s. to 76s. per cwt.; coffee, 88s. to 105s.; rum, 3s. 2d. to 3s. 4d. per gallon; New Orleans cotton, 15½d. to 18d. per lb.; ashes, 55s. to 68s. per barrel; American wheat, 84s. to 85s. per quarter; and flour, 44s. to 46s. per barrel.

In January the English markets were glutted with unheard-of stocks of sugar and coffee, though the prices of those articles were enormously high on the continent, only small quantities being introduced, and those by stealth.

In the same month the supplies of cotton from America were rather large, but early in February the American embargo put an end to all supplies. In the year 1807 the imports of cotton into Liverpool had amounted to 197,346 bales; in 1808 they fell to 66,016; and, from the same cause, the imports of flour fell from 134,765 to 1,648 barrels; and those of tobacco from 5,758 to 440 hogsheads. In February, Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, writing of the state of the coffee market, say, "Seeing the daily more rigid and barbarous decrees of the enemy, we know not how an outlet is to be found for this article."* Of cotton they report in the same circular, "The news of the American embargo caused a very animated demand; this, however, was checked before the end of the month by the state of the manufactory, so much depressed by the gloomy state of our political relations, that both dealers and spinners have left the market as much as possible."† In April the only hope for the coffee dealers was, that the enemy might find it expedient to relax his prohibitory decrees, though there was then little hope of it, it being even feared that France would draw Sweden, the only remaining ally of England, into the continental system. At the end of the month of May the rise in the price of grain induced the government again to prohibit the use of anything except sugar and molasses in distilleries during the next twelve months. In the course of that month it was found that the embargo had put an end to the supplies of cotton from America; but the state of the manufacturing districts was so unfavourable that prices were not

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, February 1, 1808.

+ Ibid, February 20, 1808.

much affected. At the end of the same month a committee of the House of Commons promised to suggest measures of permanent benefit to the West Indies. In July the gloom which had spread over the public mind was suddenly swept away, by the rising of the Spaniards against the armies of the French Emperor, the defeat and surrender of Dupont at Baylen, and the appearance of the armies of England, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the Peninsula. Confident hopes were at once formed that immense results, as great as those which followed ultimately, would follow immediately; that Russia, Austria, and Prussia would declare against France; and that the continental system, with its author, would be overthrown. A spirit of speculation at once took possession of the minds of commercial men. In July there was a brisker market for cotton goods: in August there were hopes of a rise in coffee, from the belief that the example of the Spanish patriots would cause some change in northern politics. In September the speculators in cotton had got possession of the market. Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, in mentioning this, state that nearly all the cotton in the country was in the hands of speculators, but that there was no advance in the price of goods at all adequate to the advance in cotton.*

In October a Brazilian fleet (for the trade of Brazil was then thrown open by the Prince Regent) had brought 5,000 or 6,000 bales. This was scarcely felt in its effect on prices. In October, Messrs. Ewart and Rutson anticipated large supplies of sugar from Havannah and the other Spanish markets, which had been thrown open to England by the Spanish Alliance. At the beginning of December they state that the average yearly import of coffee into Liverpool, for the preceding five years, was 4,225 tons. This, however, was only imported to be re-exported to the continent, the home consumption being only 110 tons. The same observation applies, though not to the same extent, to sugar, and other articles of tropical produce. Of cotton they reported the deficiency at 119,790 bags. In 1807 the import at Liverpool, in eleven months, was 184,140 bales; in 1808, in eleven months, 64,350. In the former year America supplied 135,750 bales; in the latter, only 25,300.†

The year 1809 commenced with the following position of prices:—Sugar, 83s. to 85s. a-cwt.; rum, 6s. 3d. to 6s. 5d. a-gallon; coffee, 103s. to 106s. a-cwt.; cotton, 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d. a-lb.; ashes, 84s. to 86s. a-barrel; tobacco, 18d. to 2s. a-lb.; American wheat, 103s. a-quarter; Canadian, 98s. to 99s.; flour, none in the market.

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, September 5, 1808.

† Ibid, December 5, 1808.

The cotton speculation continued, with more or less violence, and amidst ruinous fluctuations, during the greater part of the year. To the end of January the belief in the continuance of the embargo produced an animated demand, at excessive prices. About the end of that month prices became unsettled, owing to the number of embargo breakers, of whom eighteen arrived in two months, bringing 7,300 bales of cotton. Ten additional embargo breakers arrived the next month; and, what was much more alarming to the speculators, news was brought that the embargo was to be abandoned. This immediately produced a fall of 3d. to 6d. per lb. A good trade at once sprang up at Manchester, and goods and twist became scarce. Up to June the speculators were kept in a high state of fever by negotiations, the result of which was understood to be, cotton or no cotton. "The result of prices," says the circular of July 3, "depends entirely on the result of negotiations with America." In October news was received that the Embargo Act was to be changed for a Non-intercourse Act, which was expected to produce much the same results. This news created a tremendous excitement. "News of the Non-intercourse Bill produced a speculation exceeding anything ever known before. From 40,000 to 50,000 bags changed hands, and prices rose 5d. to 6d. in a week. Manufacturers still have a flourishing trade, though less so than before."* In spite of this great rally, cotton never again, in 1809, reached the point at which it had started, and finally closed a shilling a-pound lower than at the beginning of the year.

The fluctuations in all articles were very great, owing to the political events of the year. Sugar fell 10s. a-cwt. between January and April, but then recovered itself, and closed only 2s. to 3s. lower than it had begun; coffee gradually declined from 103s. to 87s.; ashes fell from 84s. to 57s. a-barrel; turpentine from 70s. to 35s. a-barrel; tobacco from 2s. to 6d. a-lb.; whilst wheat rose from 103s. to 112s., and flour from 43s. 6d. to 57s. a-barrel. In addition to the feverish state of the negotiations with America, and the war in the Peninsula, the public mind was excited by the war between Austria and France, in which Austria was nearly successful, fighting alone, and would certainly have been successful if she had been supported by the other powers. Already the Spanish ulcer was eating into the power of Napoleon.

The last year of the first decennial period commenced with the following range of prices:—Sugar, 78s. to 80s. per cwt.; rum, 5s. 2d. to 5s. 7d. a gallon; coffee, 96s. to 98s. a-cwt.; cotton, 1s. 8½d. to 1s. 10½d.

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, October 2, 1809.

a-lb.; ashes, 58s. to 60s. a-barrel; tobacco, 6d. to 14½d. a-lb.; wheat, 110s. to 112s. a-quarter; flour, 57s. to 60s. a-barrel.

In January the Liverpool public unanimously petitioned against the use of grain for distilling purposes. Cotton was kept dull by the uncertain state of the relations of England and the United States, and by the arrival of large quantities from Brazil. Canadian produce of all kinds was in good demand, owing to the unsettled state of our relations with the United States. Considerable quantities of Pernambuco cotton arrived, the production of that article being there greatly stimulated by the high prices of the preceding two years. In the autumn Bonaparte somewhat relaxed his continental system, introducing a system of licenses in the place of absolute prohibition; but some heavy confiscations of British produce on the shores of the Baltic, which took place in the month of August, depressed all articles of export. The imports of 1809 and 10 were enormous, in comparison with those of former years, and much beyond the wants of the country. The consequence was a great and sudden decline of prices, and a commercial panic which caused the first decennial period of the century to close in gloom.

The year 1811 was one of great depression. The sanguine hopes created by the opening of the trade with South America had passed away: the Peninsula, torn by a desperate conflict, afforded no field for profitable commerce: the continent was in a great measure closed against the goods of England and the produce of its colonies: the relations of Great Britain and the United States became more threatening every month: and the markets of England were crowded with goods and produce imported during the speculative mania of 1809 and 10.

The year 1812 was the first year of the second American war. It began with the following position of prices:—Sugar, 78s. to 80s.; coffee, 56s. to 59s. a-cwt.; New Orleans cotton, 1s. 1½d. to 1s. 4½d. a-lb.; ashes, 40s. to 43s. a-barrel; wheat, 14s. to 15s. 6d. the bushel of 70 lbs.; and American flour, 64s. to 66s. a-barrel.

At the beginning of the year there was a good demand for cotton, and the price was rising, owing to the more hostile accounts recently received from America.* Tobacco, and all other kinds of American produce, were also rising, owing to the accounts brought by that appropriate messenger of war, the *Hornet*. The high price of grain once more induced the government to forbid the use of it in distilleries, which gave an upward tendency to sugar. At the beginning of February the accounts

* Ewart, Rutson, and Co.'s Circular, January 11, 1812.

from America became still more threatening. "The hostile news from America," say Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, "received here last Saturday, by the *Lydia*, from New York, produced a considerable effect on the cotton market,—the demand immediately revived, and was very brisk indeed on Monday and Tuesday, at improving prices, although it has since become more languid."* In April there was again more inquiry for cotton, stimulated by a continuance of hostile accounts from the United States. In the first week of May the president's warlike message to congress increased the disposition to speculate in cotton, "but that was checked in some degree," say Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, "by the disturbances which continued to prevail in the manufacturing districts." Wheat was that week quoted in Liverpool at 19s. to 20s. the 70 lbs., and American Flour at 77s. to 78s. the barrel.† In the following month rumour was received from New York of another suspension of commercial intercourse. This arrived on the Monday, and caused a very animated demand for cotton that evening and the following day, with the prospect of continuing, "but the melancholy occurrence in the House of Commons," (the murder of the Prime Minister, Spencer Percival, by Bellingham,) "of which accounts were received on Wednesday, entirely suspended all operations."‡ Near the end of June Messrs. Ewart and Rutson state the fact of the too long deferred repeal of the orders in council: "In the early part of the week business was very dull, but since the receipt of the order in council on Thursday, encouraging a full expectation that the restrictions on intercourse with the United States will be removed, rather more business has been done." In the first week in August these hopes were destroyed by the news that the American government had declared war against England. "A regular demand for cotton this week," say Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, "which was extended yesterday by the information from London, received by express, of the declaration of war by America." This was in the circular of the 1st August; that of the 14th contained the following warlike postscript:—"N.B. The brig *Briton*, arrived here this morning, in fifteen days from Oporto, brings an official notification of Gen. Trant to the inhabitants of that city, of the complete defeat of Marmont's army," (at Salamanca.) It is dated the 30th ult., and states the enemy's loss to be 15,000 to 20,000 men, including 10,000 prisoners, with four generals, and nineteen pieces of artillery; that Marmont had lost an arm, and several

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, February 1, 1812.

+ Ibid, May 2, 1812.

‡ Ibid, May 14, 1812.

other French generals were wounded. The loss on the part of the allies is stated to be 3,000 or 4,000 men.”* On the 22d August the return of Mr. Foster, the English ambassador, from America, gave rise to some excitement in the cotton market. In September it was announced that there was only one parcel of Canada wheat left in Liverpool, which was held at 18s. the 70lbs. In October the famous Brougham and Canning election put business out of men’s minds for a fortnight. Immediately afterwards the declaration of the government, announcing the issuing of letters of marque against the vessels of the United States, caused a brisk demand for cotton, and a sale of 7,000 bales. On the 17th November the news of the overthrow and destruction of the grand army of Napoleon in Russia began to ooze out, and produced “a speculative demand for dyewoods!”† Early in December the cotton manufacturers, moved by the certainty of war with America, and the prospect of peace in Europe, came into the market in great numbers. “There has been throughout the whole of this week,” says the circular of the 12th of December, “a very great demand for cotton, and in the whole we compute that fully 17,000 bales have changed hands. The attendance of dealers and consumers in the market has been numerous, and we calculate that, of the total purchases, they have taken rather more than one-half; the rest have gone into the hands of speculators, who show considerable disposition to continue purchasing at our highest quotations.” It adds, on the 18th, “The receipt of the president’s message to congress, and the favourable news from Russia,”—of the total destruction of the grand army,—“have caused a very brisk inquiry for cotton the whole of this week.” Thus ended the commercial history of this memorable year.

The year 1813 commenced with much higher prices of American produce. New Orleans cotton was quoted at 1s. 11d. to 2s. 1½d.; Sea Island, at 3s. 1d. to 3s. 4d.; Pernams, at 2s. 2d. to 2s. 3d.; and Surat, at 1s. 2½d. to 1s. 5d. per lb. The little American wheat left in the Liverpool market was worth 17s. 6d. the 70 lbs., and there was no flour: York and James River tobacco was selling wholesale at the rate of 6d. a-lb., and ashes at 63s. a-barrel. The prices of West India produce were also high. Good Jamaica sugar was worth 83s. to 84s. a-cwt.; rum, 6s. to 6s. 3d. a-gallon; coffee, 72s. to 77s. per cwt.

As the year advanced, and the prospect of return of peace with America appeared remote, the prices of all articles of American produce continued to advance; and before the close of the year, as the power of

* Ewart and Rutson’s Circular, August 15, 1812.

+ Ibid, November 17, 1812.

Napoleon gradually sank and ultimately fell, the upward tendency was still further increased by the opening of the continent. In the beginning of March the government, in its anxiety to save the cotton manufacturers from a total exhaustion of supply, so far relaxed the rules of commercial warfare as to allow American cotton to be imported from the United States in neutral vessels, on payment of an additional duty of 3d. per lb. This concession drove down prices 1d. to 1½d. per lb., and produced a dull trade, until the determination of the government to place the southern ports of the United States in a state of blockade again drove them up. Near the end of the month the rise was again checked by large arrivals from the Brazils, (where the production had increased, under the stimulus of high prices, from 46,183 bales in 1811, to 87,047 in 1813,) and also by considerable arrivals of prize cottons from Plymouth.* In the middle of July prices of cotton advanced a little, and the first qualities of Maranhão brought 2s., but, in consequence of the arrival of two neutral vessels from Charleston with 1,800 bags, and the expectation of the sailing of others before the blockade was likely to be notified and enforced, holders became more anxious to sell.† In August a cargo of turpentine arrived in a neutral ship from Boston, but it was not allowed to be admitted for home consumption.‡ On the 28th August New Orleans cotton was becoming scarce. In September considerable quantities of American cotton arrived from Amelia Island and Pensacola, both of which places then belonged to Spain. On the 25th September the news of Blücher's victories in Silesia produced the following results in the Liverpool markets:—"P.S. Since the above went to press," say Messrs. Ewart and Rutson, "the still more cheering news of the day from Germany has given fresh vigour to the speculative demand for coffee"! In the beginning of November the news of the battle of Leipzig, and of the retreat of the French towards the Rhine, gave additional animation to the demand for cotton.§ On the 27th November "the glorious news of the week had a general effect on markets, and produced a great spirit of speculation in most articles;" The glorious news was that of the rapid retreat of the armies of Napoleon, and the commencement of negotiations for a general peace. Commerce, like politics, continued in a state of extraordinary excitement during the remainder of the year.

The year 1814 (the last year of continuous warfare) opened with the following prices:—New Orleans cotton, 2s. 5½d. to 2s. 8d. per lb.; Sea

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, April 24, 1813.

+ Ibid, July 10, 1813.

† Ibid, August 14, 1813.

§ Ibid, November 6, 1813.

Island, 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; Brazilian, (Pernams,) 2s. 10d. to 2s. 11d.; Surat, 1s. 6½d. to 1s. 8½d.; ashes, 72s. to 75s. a-barrel; tobacco, 8d. to 24d. per lb.; Canada wheat, 11s. 9d. to 12s. per 70lbs. There was no American grain or flour in the Liverpool market. The prices of West India produce were also unusually high; good middling Jamaica sugar 112s. to 113s. a-cwt.; rum, 6s. 3d. to 6s. 4d. a-gallon; coffee, (good Jamaica,) 104s. to 106s.; and everything else in proportion. At the end of January a warlike message of the American president, and an expectation that the little trade carried on indirectly between England and the United States would be put an end to by an embargo, gave a further impulse to the cotton market, which was helped by the progress of the allied arms on the continent. The latter cause, also, gave a great impulse to the prices of West India produce. The highest quotations of 1814, which were the highest of the war, so far as American produce is concerned, were those of March the 19th. They were as follows:—New Orleans cotton, 3s. to 3s. 2½d. per lb.; Sea Island uncertain, from the scantiness of the supply, but when next quoted, on the 9th April, 3s. 11d. to 4s. 1d.; Pernambuco cotton, 2s. 11½d. to 3s. 1½d.; Surat, 1s. 9d. to 2s.; Carolina rice, 65s. to 68s.; tobacco, (good and fine James River,) 1s. 8d. to 1s. 11d.; ashes, 78s. to 80s.; flour, none in the market. The prices of West India produce were as follow:—Jamaica sugar, good middling, 122s. to 124s.; rum, 6s. 4d. to 6s. 9d.; coffee, Jamaica, good middling, 120s. to 130s.* On the 24th April the news of the arrival of the American Commissioners at Gottenburg, (on their way to Ghent, to treat of peace with England,) produced a decline of 3d. to 4d. per lb. in cotton.† In the middle of May the markets for produce had fallen into a most miserable state of depression. Prices gave way so rapidly and irregularly that the brokers were either unable or unwilling to quote them. No prices were quoted for seven weeks, of the principal articles of West India produce; but it was stated that cotton had fallen 4d. or 5d. in one day, in consequence of more pacific news from America. In June a quantity of Brazilian cotton was shipped to France, the re-opening of a trade which had been suspended for nearly twenty years, with the exception of one brief interval. When the prices of sugar began to be quoted again, it was found that they had run down more than 30s. a-cwt., from 122s. and 123s. to 90s. and 94s. During the remainder of the year the prices of American produce rose or fell as the reports of the negotiations at Ghent were unfavourable or favourable to peace. These violent fluctuations

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, March 19, 1814.

† Ibid, April 25, 1814.

of price continued until the 31st of December, 1814, when news at length arrived of the conclusion of peace with the United States. "The restoration of peace with the United States, which was known here by express on Tuesday, produced a sudden suspension of demand for cotton, and prices gave way on the instant 3d. or 4d. per lb."*

Thus ended this long and dreadful conflict, during which commerce was a mere lottery, prices depending on the course and result of events which no sagacity could anticipate. A successful or unsuccessful battle made one man, who was rich in the morning, poor at night, or suddenly raised another from poverty to riches. As no one under sixty years of age can have any very clear remembrance of these events, I have thought that it might be both useful and interesting to show the influence of a great war on commercial affairs.

* Ewart and Rutson's Circular, December 31, 1814.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THIRD.

THE COMMERCE OF LIVERPOOL FROM THE GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815,
TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The commerce of the British Empire at the present time greatly surpasses, in value and extent, the commerce of the same empire at any previous period of its history; and also surpasses that which any other country, however prosperous and extensive it may be, either now has, or ever possessed. The declared value of the British manufactures and produce exported in the twelve months ending the 5th January, 1852, was upwards of seventy-four millions sterling; and the official value of the imports was upwards of one hundred millions. The latter does not, it is true, give the value of the imports so correctly as the former does that of the exports, being founded on an estimate of prices made many years ago; but it shows the import trade of the country to be as great, if not much greater, than the export. Adding the value of the exports to that of the imports, the movement of property caused by the foreign and colonial trade of the empire is not less than a hundred and sixty millions sterling a-year. Nor is this great commerce either in a declining or a languishing condition; but, on the contrary, in a state of great and rapid extension. Looking back for a period of thirty years, we find that the declared value of the export trade of the empire, in 1822, was not quite thirty-seven, nor that of the import trade much more than thirty millions. The increase, therefore, which may be traced in the following table, has been very great during that time, and was never more rapid than at present :

Year.	Official Value of Imports.	Declared Value of Exports.	Year.	Official Value of Imports.	Declared Value of Exports.
1822	£30,531,141	£36,966,023	1837	£54,762,285	£42,069,245
1823	35,798,433	35,357,041	1838	61,258,013	50,061,737
1824	37,468,279	38,422,404	1839	62,048,121	53,233,580
1825	44,208,803	38,870,945	1840	67,492,710	51,406,430
1826	37,813,890	31,536,723	1841	64,444,268	51,634,023
1827	41,908,173	37,181,335	1842	65,253,286	47,381,023
1828	45,167,443	36,812,757	1843	70,214,912	52,279,709
1829	43,995,286	35,842,623	1844	75,449,374	58,584,292
1830	46,300,473	38,271,597	1845	85,297,508	60,111,082
1831	49,727,828	37,164,372	1846	75,934,022	57,786,876
1832	44,610,546	36,450,594	1847	90,921,866	58,842,377
1833	45,944,426	39,667,348	1848	93,547,134	52,849,445
1834	49,364,733	41,649,191	1849	105,874,607	63,596,025
1835	49,029,334	47,372,270	1850	100,460,433	71,367,885
1836	57,296,045	53,293,979	1851	Not complete.	74,250,000*

* Parliamentary Paper, Session 1852.

The commerce of the United Kingdom with foreign countries and the colonies, thus amounting at the present time to upwards of a hundred and sixty millions a-year, is carried on chiefly through twelve seaports, six of them in England, three in Scotland, and three in Ireland. The English ports, taken in the order of their foreign trade, are, Liverpool, London, Hull, Southampton, Newcastle, and Bristol; the Scotch, Glasgow, Leith, and Greenock; the Irish, Cork, Belfast, and Dublin. Each of these ports, also, carries on a large and valuable coasting and internal trade; and many other places which have little foreign commerce possess a flourishing coasting and domestic trade. The total amount of tonnage which entered and cleared out from all the ports of the three kingdoms in the foreign, colonial, and coasting trades, in the year ending December 31, 1850, was 44,125,624 tons.* Of this immense amount of tonnage, 11,441,254 tons was employed in the trade with foreign countries, 3,236,551 in that with the British colonies, and 29,447,819 in the coasting or domestic trade of the three kingdoms. The amount of tonnage of all kinds employed in carrying on the inward and outward trade of the principal ports of the United Kingdom was as follows:—London, 7,494,815 tons, including 12,633 vessels employed in supplying the capital with 3,637,878 tons of coal; Liverpool, 6,011,870 tons, not including any of the river and canal vessels which supply the port with about 1,200,000 tons of coal and 600,000 tons of salt; Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3,059,030 tons, chiefly engaged in the coal trade; Sunderland, 2,099,772 tons, in the same trade; Hartlepool, 1,192,376 tons, also in the coal trade; Hull, 1,174,274 tons; Plymouth, 720,608 tons; Bristol, 962,504 tons; Cardiff, 817,000 tons, chiefly in the coal trade; Gloucester, 250,166 tons; Newport, 676,933 tons, in the coal and iron trades; Glasgow, 1,241,234 tons; Leith, 327,993 tons; Dublin, 1,393,822 tons; Belfast, 1,089,096 tons; Cork, 681,152 tons; Waterford, 359,562 tons; Drogheda, 236,504 tons; Limerick, 294,240 tons; and Londonderry, 171,268 tons.

With regard to the export trade of the United Kingdom to foreign countries and the colonies, it is (as I have stated) carried on chiefly through the twelve ports first named in the preceding paragraph. Of those ports Liverpool, London, and Hull greatly surpass the others in the extent of their export trade, whilst Liverpool, in its turn, as much surpasses London and Hull. In the year 1850 the value of the exports to foreign countries and the colonies, from those twelve principal ports, was as follows:—Liverpool, £34,891,847; London, £14,137,527; Hull, £10,366,610; Glasgow, £3,768,646; Southampton, £1,889,647; New-

* Returns of Shipping. Parliamentary Papers, Session 1851.

castle, £920,068; Leith, £365,552; Bristol, £362,039; Greenock, £355,693; Cork, £116,268; Belfast, £56,506; Dublin, £50,354. The increase of these ports has been very great on the whole. The exports of Liverpool were supposed to be of the value of seventeen millions in 1817. In 1839 (the first year mentioned in the Parliamentary Returns, on which the above statement of the export trade of the different ports is founded) they had increased to £25,703,847, since which time they had increased to £34,891,847 in 1850, and, probably, to about £36,000,000 in 1851. The increase during the last twelve years in the value of the export trade of the principal ports of the empire has been as follows:—Liverpool, £9,188,000; London, £2,550,490; Hull, £1,074,449; Newcastle, £230,751; Southampton, £1,734,077; Glasgow, £1,918,390; Leith, £183,159. On the whole the foreign commerce of Bristol, Greenock, Cork, Belfast, and Dublin has fallen off during the last twelve years, having been transferred to other ports. The following is the return for the twelve years:

DECLARED VALUE OF THE EXPORTS FROM EACH OF THE TWELVE
PRINCIPAL PORTS OF THE KINGDOM, FROM 1839 TO 1850.

	Liverpool.	London.	Hull.	Bristol.	Newcastle.	S'hampton.
1839....	£25,703,847	£11,586,037	£9,292,161	£563,921	£589,317	£125,570
1840....	23,882,748	11,058,886	8,994,430	556,380	686,928	106,302
1841....	23,726,701	10,611,034	9,501,242	511,297	724,523	459,828
1842....	20,510,191	9,401,468	10,211,004	328,347	836,348	475,516
1843....	24,762,522	10,250,360	10,131,419	364,702	830,283	741,878
1844....	28,802,340	11,095,788	10,507,367	157,206	785,412	1,041,507
1845....	28,427,767	11,078,164	10,798,338	216,778	1,015,867	1,475,105
1846....	26,304,422	10,916,791	10,875,870	225,704	884,784	1,928,976
1847....	27,634,356	11,608,492	9,534,728	247,716	981,160	2,278,041
1848....	25,905,358	10,202,016	8,185,960	202,981	764,191	2,272,363
1849....	32,341,918	11,748,833	9,721,412	313,178	786,390	2,229,026
1850....	34,891,847	14,137,527	10,366,610	362,039	920,068	1,859,647
Increase.	£9,188,000	£2,551,490	£1,074,449	....	£330,751	£1,734,077
Decrease	....	....	....	£201,882	....	....

	Leith.	Glasgow.	Greenock.	Dublin.	Cork.	Belfast.
1839....	£183,393	£1,849,256	£1,136,334	£59,388	£132,231	£292,256
1840....	191,217	2,214,320	1,214,970	60,395	110,006	281,444
1841....	153,371	2,007,192	839,810	73,565	94,190	226,124
1842....	105,027	1,649,349	666,533	52,232	113,085	160,478
1843....	115,645	2,261,480	660,911	37,213	113,148	116,135
1844....	123,070	2,344,888	848,478	74,447	91,082	73,351
1845....	88,349	2,639,217	955,534	72,445	118,129	62,464
1846....	92,474	3,024,343	478,806	18,737	94,331	107,132
1847....	112,023	2,812,859	576,337	26,552	74,490	98,410
1848....	172,568	2,271,364	337,471	31,765	75,504	98,435
1849....	254,700	2,768,859	398,050	83,997	103,752	48,761
1850....	366,552	3,768,646	355,693	50,354	116,268	56,506
Increase.	£183,159	£1,919,390	....	....	....	....
Decrease.	....	....	£780,641	£9,034	£15,963	£235,750

There are no declared values of imports either into the United Kingdom or any of its ports, but the official value of the imports in 1850 was £100,460,433. The quantity of foreign and colonial produce imported into London, in 1850, was 1,374,947 tons; into Liverpool, 1,384,353; into Hull, 639,823.* The value of the foreign and colonial produce imported into London that year was about £43,183,821; of that imported into Liverpool, £37,404,400; of that into Hull, £5,326,862.† A few of the principal articles of import into London were, grain and flour, £8,032,080; sugar, £6,327,370; sheep's wool, £5,060,000; tea, £7,560,000; tobacco, £3,600,000; coffee, £1,846,000; silk, £1,580,000; hides, £1,316,000; indigo, £1,350,000; rum, £1,040,000; and timber, £537,500. Some of the leading articles imported into Liverpool were, cotton, £15,730,800; grain and flour, £5,198,796; sugar, £2,485,000; tobacco, £3,388,000; sheep's wool, £1,380,000; tea, £1,831,000; hemp, £770,640; and timber, £725,000. The largest articles of import into Hull were, grain, £1,243,368; and flax, £1,350,000. London and Liverpool are the great seats of the import trade from America, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the south of Europe. London not only supplies its own vast and wealthy population with the products of those countries, but also the whole eastern side of England, and the interior, as far as Birmingham. Liverpool supplies Lancashire, Cheshire, part of Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, as well as Ireland and North Wales, with raw materials and tropical produce. Both London and Liverpool are extensive depôts for bonded produce, from which the people of the continent draw a considerable portion of their supplies. The import trade of Glasgow greatly resembles that of Liverpool, though it is on a smaller scale. That of Bristol bears some resemblance to the trade of London, consisting chiefly of sugar, coffee, and other articles of consumption. The imports into Hull, Leith, and Dundee are principally grain, flax, timber, and other articles of European produce.

The discovery of the gold of California has recently given Liverpool a great trade in the precious metals, which it did not formerly possess. Last year (1851) the gold and silver imported into Liverpool from the United States were of the value of £6,091,433.

The Irish and coasting trade of Liverpool is also very large, and, in 1850, gave employment to 896,168 tons of steam tonnage, and 515,836 tons of sailing vessels. According to an estimate made in 1844, the value of the produce imported into Liverpool, from foreign countries and the colonies,

* Statistics of British Commerce, by Braithwaite Poole, Esq., 196.

† See Estimate, in Appendix. In this estimate the duties are included.

was £24,538,013 ; from Ireland, £5,318,957 ; and coastwise, £2,993,922 : total, £32,850,890.* The Irish trade has passed through the most extraordinary changes since 1844, but is still very great. The coasting trade has increased rapidly with all parts of the kingdom, but especially with the iron districts of Scotland and South Wales. Amongst the articles of Irish and domestic produce imported into Liverpool, in 1851, were 436,221 head of cattle, pigs, and sheep, forwarded into the interior by the London and Northwestern Railway, and 250,000 consumed in Liverpool. The animals forwarded into the interior were 200,672 head of cattle, 5,176 calves, 71,571 pigs, and 158,802 sheep. The quantity of salt brought into the port was 600,000 tons, of coal 1,500,000 tons, of iron ore 120,000 tons, of flints and clay, for the Staffordshire Potteries, 60,000 tons, of slates 70,000 tons, of lime and stone 50,000 tons. The weight of the goods, merchandise, and produce of all kinds which passes through the port of Liverpool yearly is at least 6,000,000 tons : the shipping employed in transporting it amounted, in 1850, to 6,011,870 tons.

Let us now trace the causes which have created so vast a commerce, and brought so large a portion of it to the port of Liverpool.

First amongst the causes of the general increase of commerce is the fact, that the population of Great Britain has doubled itself during the last fifty years. At the time of the census of 1801, the population of Great Britain was 10,567,873 : now, after a lapse of half-a-century, it has increased to 20,936,168. Thus it appears that, whilst it required eighteen centuries (or it may have been twice eighteen) to raise the population of the island to ten millions, fifty years have been sufficient to raise it to twenty millions. All the members of this vastly increased population, whether employed in agriculture, manufactures, mining, handicrafts, or commerce, are producers of wealth, and consumers of the products of foreign countries. The yearly income of the nation is from two to three hundred millions, and the expending and the employing of this vast product of industry, either for the purposes of present enjoyment or the creation of future wealth, is the main spring of the commerce of the country. It is chiefly owing to the increase of population and wealth in the whole kingdom that the consumption of the principal articles of import has so greatly increased during the long peace of thirty-seven years which this country has now enjoyed. During that period the yearly consumption of the principal articles of necessity and luxury has increased as follows :—Sugar, from 2,523,316 cwts., in 1815,

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, 1851.

to 6,255,574 cwt., in 1851; tea, from 25,917,853 lbs., in the former year, to 53,965,112 lbs., in the latter; coffee, from 7,103,409 lbs., in 1815, to 32,564,164 lbs., in 1851;* and foreign grain and flour from an average of one million quarters to an average of eight to ten millions. The increase of houses, warehouses, mills, and ships, during that time, is also the chief cause of the great increase of the timber trade. The extent of the increase is shown by the facts, that the yearly value of houses and messuages in Great Britain, which was £16,259,400 in 1815, had increased to £42,315,040 in 1848;† and the amount of British shipping out and in exclusive of coasters, which was 2,770,796 tons in 1815, had increased to 8,535,000 tons in 1852.

Whilst the general increase of population and wealth accounts for the general increase of commerce, the much more than usually rapid increase of both in London, and in the districts which surround Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow, and other great seats of commerce, is amongst the principal causes of the more than ordinary progress which those ports have made in commercial greatness. The average rate of the increase of population in Great Britain during the last fifty years has been ninety-eight per cent.,‡ but in some districts it has not been more than fifty or sixty, whilst in others it has not been less than a hundred and fifty to nearly two hundred per cent. The population of London, for instance, which was not more than 958,863 in 1801, was 2,361,640 in 1851; that of Lancashire, which was 672,731 at the former time, is 2,036,915 now; that of the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was 565,282 at the beginning of the century, is 1,339,962 in the middle of it. Cheshire and Staffordshire are also considerably above the average, the population of Cheshire having increased, in fifty years, from 191,751 to 423,438, and that of Staffordshire from 239,153 to 630,516. Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, the Birmingham district of Warwickshire, and the iron districts of England and Wales, (in which the increase has been equally rapid,) are the counties and the districts which have done most to create the commerce both of Liverpool and Hull. The former is their chief port of communication with America, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the South of Europe; the latter with Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia. Supposing the population of the whole of Great Britain to have increased as rapidly as that of the counties and districts above enumerated, (to which we may add Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire,) the population of the island would have

* McCulloch on Taxation and Funding, Appendix.

† Property and Income Tax Returns, 1815 and 1848.

‡ Census Returns, 1851.

been thirty millions, instead of twenty, at the present time ; whilst, if it had not increased more rapidly than in of some of the southern and eastern counties of England, it would not have been more than from fifteen to sixteen millions. The rapid increase of an agricultural population in numbers and wealth is only possible on a wide space of territory, as in the United States, where a population of twenty-three millions of persons possesses a country covering upwards of three millions five hundred thousand square miles of land.* Great Britain contains somewhat less than one hundred thousand square miles, for the accommodation of twenty-one millions of inhabitants, that is, not quite the thirtieth part of the area of the United States ; yet, the increase of the population of London, and of the manufacturing and mining districts of England, Scotland, and Wales, mentioned above, has been scarcely less rapid than that of the United States. Whilst the increase of the population of those districts has been so rapid, that of their wealth has not been less so, and now surpasses that of any other portion of the world of equal extent. According to the Poor-law valuation of 1847, the yearly value of the real property of Middlesex was £7,584,668 ; of Lancashire, £6,463,363 ; of the West Riding of Yorkshire, £3,576,281 ; of Staffordshire, £1,971,266 ; and of Cheshire, £1,574,273. Comparing these amounts with the value of property in some of the largest and most fertile counties in other parts of the kingdom, we find the value of the property in Essex to be £1,655,540 ; in Lincolnshire, £2,212,161 ; Norfolk, £1,914,282 ; Suffolk, £1,407,413 ; and Buckinghamshire, £706,265.

The most extensive source of foreign commerce which the United Kingdom possesses arises from the manufacture of the materials of clothing. The value of the raw materials of cotton and sheep's wool, of flax and silk, and of the various dyes, oils, &c., used in those great manufactures, is not less than thirty millions a-year,† independent of immense quantities of long wool grown in the United Kingdom, and of upwards of ninety thousand acres (91,040) of flax grown in Ireland.‡ The manufactured products created by the spindles and looms of the United Kingdom are of the yearly value of eighty to ninety millions, and the exports of the value of forty-eight millions. Adding to this forty-eight millions of exports thirty millions of raw materials, we have a foreign

* Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster on laying the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the capitol at Washington, July 4, 1851.

† See estimated value of cotton, wool, flax, silk, and dye wares, in Appendix.

‡ Parliamentary Returns of the Agriculture of Ireland, 1851.

and colonial trade of seventy-eight millions a-year, created by textile manufactures alone.

The principal cause of the pre-eminent prosperity of Liverpool is, that much the greater part of this immense trade passes through its port, first in the form of raw materials imported, and then of manufactured goods exported. The prosperity of Hull and of Glasgow (as a port) arises chiefly from the same cause. The following are the quantities of cotton wool imported into Great Britain in each year of the present century :

Import of Cotton Wool into Great Britain from January, 1801,
to January, 1852 :

1801	lbs. 56,004,305	1827	lbs. 271,448,909
1802	60,345,600	1828	219,760,642
1803	53,812,284	1829	221,767,411
1804	61,867,329	1830	261,961,452
1805	59,682,406	1831 ..	280,674,853
1806	58,176,283	1832	287,832,525
1807	74,925,306	1833	304,636,837
1808	43,605,982	1834	320,600,000
1809	92,812,282	1835	361,700,000
1810	132,488,935	1836	410,800,000
1811	91,576,535	1837	408,200,000
1812	63,025,936	1838	501,000,000
1813	50,966,000	1839	388,600,000
1814	60,060,239	1840	583,400,000
1815	99,306,343	1841	489,900,000
1816	93,920,055	1842	528,500,000
1817	124,912,968	1843	667,000,000
1818	177,282,158	1844	644,400,000
1819	149,739,820	1845	716,300,000
1820	143,672,655	1846	480,500,000
1821	129,536,620	1847	464,900,000
1822	142,837,628	1848	686,400,000
1823	188,402,503	1849	754,300,000
1824	143,381,122	1850	685,600,000
1825	222,005,291	1851	761,100,000
1826	171,607,401		

The quantity and value of the cotton consumed in the whole kingdom during each of the last seven years were as follows:—In 1845 it was 592,023,222 lbs., of the value of £10,175,400 ; in 1846, 592,742,528 lbs., of the value of £11,850,430 ; in 1847, 421,385,238 lbs., of the value of £10,754,100 ; in 1848, 595,591,083 lbs., of the value of £10,014,000 ; in 1849, 626,710,160 lbs., of the value of £12,838,850 ; in 1850, 584,000,000 lbs., of the value of £17,374,000 ; and in 1851, 648,408,151 lbs., of the value of £15,524,800.*

* Dufay and Co.'s Circular, 1852.

The effect of the industry, skill, and ingenuity expended on the above quantities of cotton was to give the following enormous value to the manufactures produced from them:—In 1845, £43,056,000; in 1846, £44,454,000; in 1847, £33,462,000; in 1848, £44,876,000; in 1849, £40,302,000; in 1850, £48,490,300; and in 1851, £50,831,200. Thus, the additional value communicated to the cotton imported into the three kingdoms (independent of freight on its conveyance from the United States, Brazil, and the East Indies) was, in 1845, £34,880,600; in 1846, £32,603,570; in 1847, £22,707,900; in 1848, £34,862,000; in 1849, £27,463,150; in 1850, £30,906,300; and in 1851, £35,296,400.* The labour and skill employed in this great manufacture every year create an amount of wealth greater than is required to pay the interest of the national debt.

The proportions in which the cotton goods manufactured in the United Kingdom were applied to the purposes of external and internal consumption were as follows:—The value of the goods and twist exported was, in 1845, goods exported, £18,816,000, twist, £6,988,000; total value of exports, £25,804,000: in 1846, goods, £17,717,000, twist, £7,882,000; total, £25,599,000: in 1847, goods, £17,382,000, twist, £5,957,000; total, £23,339,000: in 1848, goods, £19,761,000, twist, £7,129,000; total, £26,880,000: in 1849, goods, £19,156,000, twist, £6,963,000; total, £26,119,000: in 1850, goods, £21,432,000, twist, £6,820,000; total, £28,252,000: and in 1851, goods exported, £22,994,300, twist, £7,084,700; total exports, £30,079,000. The value of the quantities of cotton goods consumed at home was, in 1845, £19,252,000; in 1846, £18,335,000; in 1847, £17,862,000; in 1848, £17,986,000; in 1849, £13,412,000; in 1850, £20,227,600; in 1851, £20,752,000.† Thus it will be seen that the last year, 1851, presents the largest consumption of cotton ever known, the greatest increase of value in the manufacturing processes, the largest export of goods, and the largest home consumption.

The following account of the cotton manufacture of England, attached by the Manchester committee to the cotton goods shown in the Great Exhibition of 1851, deserves to be preserved, as an authorized record of the position of the trade at the time of that great epoch in the annals of industry:—“The Manchester Local Committee for the Great Exhibition have made the selection of goods from stock, with a view of exhibiting, in a condensed form, the every-day productions of the manufacturing industry of Manchester and the surrounding district. The most

* Dufay and Co.'s Annual Circular, 1852.

+ Ibid.

important feature of this branch of our manufacturing industry is its immense extent, an idea of which will be best conveyed by stating the quantity of cotton delivered at Liverpool for consumption, which is about one million and a half of bales annually, and, as they average almost 400 lbs. each, it gives the enormous weight of six hundred millions of pounds, and nearly the whole of this is manufactured into yarn and cloth in the district of which Manchester is the capital and the centre. Our exports of cotton manufactures and cotton yarn during the year 1850 were as follows:—Cotton manufactures entered by the yard, 1,358,238,837 yards; declared value, £20,528,150; other descriptions of lace, hosiery, &c., £1,343,780; cotton yarn, 131,433,168 lbs.; total declared value, £28,252,878. The feature of next importance is the perfection to which machinery has been brought, as applied to this manufacture, and the consequent rapidity of its production. The manufacture of mixed fabrics (cotton and woollen) is now an important branch of the industry of this district, and is rapidly increasing. The capital and labour employed in the production of silk goods are also very large. Comparison of the number of power-looms in the United Kingdom in the years 1835 and 1850:

	1835.	1850.	INCREASE.
Producing Cotton Fabrics	108,623	249,627	140,995
Producing Worsted and Mixed Fabrics.....)	3,082	32,617	29,535
Silk.....	1,714	6,092	4,378
Total.....	113,438	288,336	174,908"

Amongst the causes which have had the greatest influence in increasing the manufacture of cotton have been the great reduction in the price of the raw material, the improvement of spinning machinery, the invention of the power-loom, and the application of the inexhaustible power of steam, both to the spinning of yarn and the weaving of cotton cloth.

With regard, first, to the price of cotton wool; it has been seen that the price of the 648,408,151 lbs. of cotton consumed in 1851 was £15,524,800. To have bought that quantity of cotton at the prices of 1801 would have required about £60,000,000 of money;* at the prices of 1811, about £32,000,000;† at those of 1821, £22,000,000; at those of

* See *Ante*, page 727.

+ See *Ante*, page 739.

1831, about £20,000,000 ; at those of 1841, £18,000,000 ; or, to go back to the prices which prevailed before the war, in the year 1789, a time of peace and cash payments, it would have cost £45,000,000.* Putting the fluctuations of war and the variations of currency out of the question, the price of cotton is now about one-third what it was sixty years ago. The following account, made up from the books of the Manchester Bank Mill Spinning Company, between the years 1791 and 1796, will show what were then the prices of cotton and of some other articles :

1791.—St. Domingo, cotton, 6,181 lbs., at $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. ; Tobago, 5,918 lbs., at 16d. ; Maranham, 5,551 lbs., at $16\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; St. Domingo, 0,000 lbs., at $15\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; Tobago, 1,257 lbs., at 16d. ; 106 lbs. carded cotton, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; clean spinning waste, 40 lbs., at 12d.

1792.—St. Domingo, 14,355 lbs., at 2s. ; 5,424 lbs. Surinam, at 2s. 9d. ; 2,345 lbs. St. Domingo, at 2s. 3d. ; 1,479 lbs. Surinam, at 2s. 6d. ; St. Domingo, 3,613 lbs., at 22d. ; Surinam, 5,568 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. at 2s. 3d. ; 182 picked waste, at 2s. ; unpicked, 1s. ; 233 lbs. cotton prepared to rove, rovings, fine and coarse, 694 lbs., at 3s. 6d. ; clean dust, 2,430 lbs., at 3d. ; dirty dust and waste, 725 lbs., at 1d. Twist on hand averaged 14 hanks, 339 lbs., at 4s.—£67 16s.

1793.—St. Domingo, 7,556 lbs., at $22\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; Tobago, 963 lbs., at $23\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; St. Domingo, 5,247 lbs., at $22\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; picked, 1,000 lbs., at $22\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; Maranham, 1,535 lbs., at 2s. $0\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; St. Domingo damaged, 8d. ; fine rovings, 310 lbs., at 3s. 6d. ; coarse ditto, 255 lbs., at 3s. ; ready to rove, 40 lbs., at 3s. ; picked waste, 75 lbs., at 1d. ; clean dust, 150 lbs., at 5d. ; spinners' waste, 207 lbs., at 6d. ; picked, 48 lbs., at 12d. Twist averaged 15 hanks, 543 lbs., at 3s. 9d.—£101 16s. 3d. ; inferior twist, 34 lbs., at 3s. 6d.

1794.—Jamaica, 12,310 lbs., at 16d. ; Ditto, 1,436 lbs., at 16d. ; Jamaica, 320 lbs., at 16d. ; picked, 190 lbs., at 17d. ; Demerara, 231 lbs., at $19\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; spinning waste, picked, 155 lbs., at 12d. ; spinners' waste, 155 lbs., at 6d. ; damaged cotton, 130 lbs., at 10d. ; coarse rovings, 190 lbs., at 2s. ; fine, 128 lbs., at 2s. 3d. Cotton twist, 5 bales 18 hanks, at 28s. ; 40 bales 20 hanks, at 29s. ; 40 bales 22 hanks, at 30s. 6d. ; 10 bales 24 hanks, at 32s. 6d. ; 5 bales 26 hanks, and 2 bales 28 hanks, at 36s. 6d. ; 1,152 bales, as per account sales, (discount $7\frac{1}{2}$,) £1,373 6s.

1795.—6,537 lbs., (kind not stated,) at $16\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; picked, 154 lbs., at $17\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; Pernams, 810 lbs., at 22d. ; picked, 22 lbs., at 23d. ; damaged

* See Price Current, 725.

cotton, 30 lbs., at 1s. ; cotton bought in London as per bill parcels, and entered separate in stock book, £2,777 6s. 2d.

1796.—Raw cotton, £1,308 11s. 10d. (no particulars given as to prices per lb. or description.)

These accounts also supply the prices of the following articles :—In 1792, pipe staves the 100, £6 13s. 4d. ; chalk the ton, 30s. 1794 : cast-iron, 14s. per cwt. ; wrought-iron, 25s. per cwt. ; worked iron, for building, 364 lbs., at 5d., £7 11s. 8d. ; old iron, 14s. per cwt. ; steel, 30 lbs., at 6d. ; old files, 100 lbs., at 1½d. per lb. ; scrap iron, 19s. per cwt. ; old brass, 226 lbs., at 9d. ; wire, 32 lbs., at 8d. ; 100 pair ball spindle rollers, at 4s. 4½d. ; 5 pair of card rollers, at 12s. ; 3 large fly wheels, 8cwt. 2qrs. 25lbs., £6 2s. 11d. ; timber, 182½ yards frame stuff, at 12d. a-yard ; 592 ditto, at 7½d. ; 289 feet poplar plank, at 6d. ; 331 feet of 1½-inch plane tree, at 4d. ; 128¾ feet of inch ash board, and 12 feet of 4-inch beech plank, at 16d. ; 2,135 feet of alder, at 18d. ; 20 lbs. lignumvitæ, at 5s. ; 500 pipe staves, £36 10s. ; 50 ditto, at 16d., £3 6s. 8d. ; 57 lbs. thread, at 20d. ; 13 lbs. rosin, at 3d. per lb.

Various causes have contributed to produce the fall in the price of cotton, but the most powerful ones have been the occupation of the lower part of the valley of the Mississippi (which now supplies one-half of the cotton consumed in the United Kingdom) by the Anglo-American race ; the settlement of Alabama ; the conquest of the western provinces of India, followed by the opening of the trade with India ; and the establishment of a direct intercourse with Brazil.

Another most powerful cause in increasing the consumption of cotton has been the cheapening of twist and goods, by means of improved machinery. The cotton machinery shown at work in the Great Exhibition of last year was almost as much superior to the original machinery of Arkwright and Hargreaves as their machinery was to the ancient spindle and loom. In Crompton's time it was thought nearly impossible to spin cotton by machinery to the fineness of No. 80,—that is, 80 hanks of 840 yards to the pound ;* but at the Exhibition, last year, Messrs Horrocks and Miller showed a specimen of twist of the fineness of No. 2,150 hanks to the pound. According to Beckman a pound of cotton has been spun by hand to the length of 115 miles, and of sheep's wool to the length of 48 miles ; but this is much inferior to many of the specimens of yarns from machinery shown at the Great Exhibition. These, however, are the marvels of machinery. The effect of its ordinary, every day, use is, that

* E. Baines's History of the Cotton Trade, 200.

whilst cotton has declined from 1s. 3d. to 6d. a-pound, between the years 1816 and 1852, cotton twist No. 40 has declined, since 1814, from 2s. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a-pound, and plain cloths from 16s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4s. 4d. a-piece.* In the first of these facts we see the effect on prices, of the reduction of cost of cotton-growing, and of freights; in the second, that of improved spinning machinery, added to the previous saving; and, in the third, that of the saving in weaving, added to both the previous savings. Yet, with this reduction in the cost of the raw material and freights, we see an increase in the quantity of raw material imported of twelve-fold in thirty years, with a proportionate increase in the employment of shipping; with the reduction in the price of twist, we see the export trade swelled from a mere nothing, to £7,084,700, in 1851;† and, with all these reductions, and the reduction in the cost of weaving, we see the export of goods increased from £12,948,944, in 1816, to £22,994,300 in 1851.‡ Co-existing with all these reductions, we find as few paupers in the cotton district, in proportion to the population, and as small an amount of parish relief to each inhabitant, as are to be found in any district in England.

The above observations apply to the cotton trade generally, but they have an especial application to the commerce of Liverpool, as that port receives five-sixths of all the cotton imported into the United Kingdom; as five-sixths of the cotton manufactured in the kingdom is spun or woven in Lancashire, or the adjoining districts of Cheshire or Yorkshire; and as a very large proportion, probably two-thirds, of the cotton goods sent abroad are shipped at Liverpool.

When the cotton trade first became something considerable, the French and Spanish West Indies produced about a fourth part of the supply consumed in the United Kingdom; the British West Indies another fourth; Brazil and Demerara another; and Turkey the remainder. At that time the British and Turkish cotton only came direct to England, and that chiefly to London, much the larger part of the West Indian and Levant trade being then carried on with the English capital. The Brazilian cotton was then forwarded from Brazil to Lisbon in Portuguese ships; the Spanish to Cadiz; the French to Bordeaux, Nantes, and Havre. The ruin of St. Domingo, the independence of Brazil, the prodigious cultivation of cotton in the United States, and the opening of the trade with the East Indies, have entirely changed the course of this trade. All the

* Burn's Colonial Circular, January 17, 1852. + Board of Trade Returns, January 5, 1852.

‡ E. Baines's History of the Cotton Trade, 304.

supplies for British use, wherever grown, are now brought directly to this country, and chiefly to Liverpool and Glasgow, as the ports nearest to the points of consumption.

The following are the quantities of cotton imported into Liverpool, London, Glasgow, and the kingdom in the year ending in December 31st, 1851:—Liverpool, 1,748,946 bales; London, 65,800; Glasgow, 67,000; Bristol and Hull, 21,800: total, 1,903,546.*

The degree to which the cotton manufacture has fixed itself in Lancashire and the adjoining districts will be best seen from the following summary of the information on that subject laid before parliament:

In the closing year of the half-century, 1850, there were in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, 1,932 cotton factories, containing 20,977,017 spindles for spinning yarn, and 249,627 power-looms for weaving cotton cloth.†

In England and Wales the number of cotton factories was 1,753, of spindles 19,173,969, and of power-looms 223,636: in Scotland the number of factories was 168, of spindles 1,683,093, of power-looms 23,564; and in Ireland the number of factories was 11, of spindles 119,955, and of power-looms 2,437.

Thus it will be seen that nine-tenths of this great manufacture was then carried on in England and Wales, or rather in England, for there are few factories in Wales. The following figures will show that nearly the whole of it is established in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire:

In Lancashire the number of cotton factories, in 1850, was 1,235; the number of spindles was 13,955,497; and the number of power-looms was 176,947.

In Cheshire the number of factories was 145, of spindles 2,294,703, and of power-looms 29,198.

In the West Riding of Yorkshire the number of cotton factories was 227, of spindles 1,943,897, and of power-looms 8,102.

In Derbyshire the number of factories was 74, of spindles 616,199, and of power-looms 6,565.

In Cumberland the number of factories was 11, of spindles 124,695, and of power looms 296.

In Nottinghamshire (where Arkwright first established himself) the number of factories was 19, and of spindles 120,838.

* George Holt and Co.'s Annual Circular, December 31, 1851.

† Parliamentary Return, August 15th, 1850, No. 745.

In Staffordshire there were 10 factories, 65,102 spindles, and 528 power-loom.

Gloucestershire contained one large cotton factory, (the Bristol Cotton Spinning Company,) with 47,952 spindles, and 1,032 power-loom.

There were also 17 small factories in Middlesex, containing in all 5,086 spindles; 7 in Leicestershire, equally small; and 2 still smaller ones in Norfolk, but none in any other part of England.

The woollen manufacture, one of the oldest and steadiest sources of the commerce of England, is also of great extent, though not so extensive as the cotton manufacture. The import of foreign and colonial wool into the kingdom in the year ending the 5th of January, 1852, was 85,076,881 lbs.; and in 1850, 74,326,778 lbs.; to which must be added the wool grown in the kingdom. This was supposed to be about 92,000,000 lbs. in the year 1800, and 112,000,000 lbs. in 1828. These estimates are now thought to have been much too low. Recent calculations, of a gentleman of experience engaged in the wool trade,* raise the production of wool in Great Britain and Ireland, in 1850, to 260,000,000 lbs. This, at 11d. a-pound, would be worth £11,958,333, to which, adding £5,416,666 for the cost of 65,000,000 lbs. of foreign wool, the value of the whole would be £17,374,999. Supposing this value to be doubled in converting the wool into woollen cloth and worsted goods, the yearly value of the woollen manufacture would be £34,749,998.†

Until recently Liverpool possessed a very small portion of the import trade of wool, but that portion has considerably increased, owing to a change in the principal sources of supply, which are no longer the continent of Europe, but the distant regions of Australia, America, the Cape, and the Mediterranean.

For the last hundred years the United Kingdom has been chiefly dependent on foreign countries for the finer, softer kinds of wool. For many years the Spanish wool, supplied by the famous Merino sheep, was the sort chiefly imported. About eighty years ago the Merino breed was introduced into Saxony, and was cultivated with so much success that Germany, and not Spain, became the chief source of supply. Within the last thirty years Australian wool has come into active competition with all the other varieties, and now promises to supersede all. Last year the whole quantity of wool imported from the Spanish peninsula was only 17,512, and that imported from Germany was only 27,599 bales, whilst

* Mr. Thomas Southey, wool-broker, London.

† See articles on this subject in Leeds Mercury, April 3rd and 10th, 1852.

Australia supplied 144,190 bales, and the Cape 19,667. In addition to the ordinary kinds of sheep's wool, the silky wool of the alpaca is now imported to the extent of 2,013,202 lbs., and much more would be consumed if it could be obtained.* In 1851 the import of foreign and colonial wool into London was 207,778 bales; into Liverpool, 74,693; into Hull, 29,444; and into Southampton, 1,820: total into United Kingdom, 313,735.†

The growth of the woollen manufacture has been very rapid in the West Riding of Yorkshire and the adjoining district of Lancashire. In 1738 the whole quantity of woollen cloth produced in the West Riding was 56,877 pieces;‡ in 1777 the quantity of woollens and worsteds was 434,960 pieces. In the year 1850 the number of pieces of woollen cloth exported was 331,809; the number of pieces of worsted stuffs was 2,003,595. The quantity of mixed goods, composed partly of woollen, partly of cotton, was 42,115,401 yards; of blankets and blanketing, 5,708,025 yards; of flannel, 2,266,959 yards; of carpets and carpeting, 1,565,745 yards; and of worsted and woollen stockings, 165,645 dozen pairs.§

The following summary, from an official source,|| will show how large a portion of the woollen manufacture is now carried on in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Lancashire:

The number of woollen factories in the United Kingdom in the year 1850 was 1,497, containing 1,595,278 spindles, and 9,439 power-looms. Of these, 1,306 factories, 1,356,691 spindles, and 9,170 power-looms, were in England and Wales; 182 factories, 224,129 spindles, and 247 power-looms in Scotland; and 9 factories, 14,458 spindles, and 22 power-looms in Ireland.

The West Riding of Yorkshire takes the lead in all descriptions of woollens, worsted, or mixed goods of woollen and cotton, as decidedly as Lancashire takes it in cotton goods.

Yorkshire contained, in 1850, 880 woollen factories, 925,449 spindles employed in producing woollen yarns, and 3,604 power-looms employed in weaving woollen cloth.

Lancashire contained 26 woollen factories, 238,492 spindles, and 4,839 power-looms.

The West of England, once the great seat of the woollen manufacture, still retained a small portion of the trade.

* Abram Gartside and Co.'s Annual Circular, January 1, 1852.

† See more particular account in Appendix.

‡ Returns in Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, 1777.

§ Parliamentary Papers, Session, 1851.

|| Ibid, August 15, 1850, No. 715.

Gloucestershire contained, in 1850, 80 woollen manufactories, 61,896 spindles, and 224 power-loom.

Wiltshire contained 36 factories, 33,804 spindles, and 170 power-loom.

Somersetshire contained 31 factories, 22,604 spindles, and 27 power-loom.

Devonshire contained 14 factories, 13,250 spindles, and 16 power-loom.

The worsted and stuff manufacture shows the same ascendancy on the part of Yorkshire, as the manufacture of the finer woollens.

Yorkshire contained 418 worsted or stuff factories, 746,281 spindles, and 30,856 power-loom.

Lancashire contained 11 worsted factories, 27,190 spindles, and 1,112 power looms.

Leicester contained 22 factories, and 27,525 spindles.

Norfolk, the ancient seat of this manufacture, contained 11 factories, 19,216 spindles, and 428 power-loom.

The total number of worsted factories in the United Kingdom, in 1850, was 501; of spindles, 875,830; and of power-loom, 32,617.

Thus it will be seen that the greater part of the woollen manufacture is now carried on in the vallies which extend from the foot of the Lancashire hills to Leeds and Bradford, the chief seats of the woollen and worsted manufactures. Liverpool is the western, Hull the eastern port of this rich and populous district.

Ireland still retains its ancient superiority in the linen trade, the third in order of the great textile manufactures of the country. The cultivation of flax for this manufacture is extending rapidly in the north of Ireland, where the quantity of land planted with that most valuable crop last year amounted to 91,040 acres. The manufacture is extensive and flourishing, and both the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen are capable of great increase. The value of the linens manufactured in the three kingdoms is about £12,000,000 a-year. The declared value of the exports last year was, linens, £4,112,676; yarns, £935,939: total, £5,048,615.*

The export of linen is chiefly through the port of Liverpool, for a great part of the Irish and Scotch linens intended for foreign countries are brought over to Liverpool by the Belfast and Glasgow steamers, and shipped, along with cottons, woollens, and worsteds, to the countries in

* Board of Trade Returns, January 5, 1852.

which they are required. The quantity of linen, of lace, and linen yarn shipped to foreign countries, in 1850, was 122,397,457 yards; of lace thread, 463,166 yards; of thread for sewing, 3,361,922 lbs.; and of yarn, 18,559,318 lbs.*

The following abstract of a parliamentary return of last session will show the position of the linen factories of the three kingdoms:

In 1850 the number of flax or linen factories in the three kingdoms was 393; of spindles, 965,031; and of power-looms, 3,670. Of these 135 factories, 265,568 spindles, and 1,083 power-looms were in England; 189 factories, 303,125 spindles, and 2,529 power-looms in Scotland; and 69 factories, 396,338 spindles, and 58 power-looms in Ireland.

Lancashire contained 9 flax mills, with 117,356 spindles.

Yorkshire, 60 factories, with 82,768 spindles, and 991 power-looms.

Cumberland, 7 factories, with 19,986 spindles.†

The silk manufacture has also made great progress in the north of England, and especially in Cheshire and Lancashire. The declared value of the silks exported in 1851 was, manufactures, £1,134,931; thrown silk, £57,803; twist and yarn, £138,635: total, £1,331,369. The quantity of silk consumed in 1851 was about 30,000 bales. The silk manufactories are thus situated:

The number of silk factories in the United Kingdom is 277, containing 1,225,560 spindles, and 6,092 power-looms. Of these, 272 factories, 1,188,908 spindles, and 6,092 power-looms are in England; and 5 factories and 36,652 spindles are in Scotland: there are none in Ireland.

Cheshire contained 97 silk mills, 287,575 spindles, and 955 power-looms.

Lancashire contained 29 silk mills, 162,988 spindles, and 1,977 power-looms.

Yorkshire contained 16 mills, and 128,808 spindles.

The total number of factories of all kinds—cotton, woollen, worsted, flax, and silk—in the United Kingdom, in 1850, was 4,600; of spindles, 25,638,716; and of power-looms, 301,445. Of these 1,310 factories, 14,501,523 spindles, and 184,875 power-looms were in Lancashire; 254 factories, 2,587,708 spindles, and 30,153 power-looms in Cheshire; and 1,601 factories, 3,827,203 spindles, and 43,798 power-looms in Yorkshire; making, in the three counties, 3,165 factories, 20,916,435 spindles, and 268,826 power-looms.

* Parliamentary Return, 1851.

† Ibid, No. 37, Session 1851.

The extent of the manufacturing establishments of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, in comparison with those of the whole kingdom, will be seen at a glance in the following tables :

COTTON, WOOLLEN, WORSTED, FLAX, AND SILK MILLS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Factories.	Spindles.	Power-loom.
ENGLAND AND WALES :			
Cotton	1,753	19,173,969	223,626
Woollen	1,306	1,356,691	9,170
Worsted	493	864,874	32,617
Flax	135	265,568	1,083
Silk	272	1,188,908	6,092
SCOTLAND :			
Cotton	168	1,683,093	23,564
Woollen	182	224,129	247
Worsted	6	9,404	....
Flax	189	303,125	2,529
Silk	5	36,652	....
IRELAND :			
Cotton	11	119,955	2,437
Woollen	9	14,458	22
Worsted	2	1,552	....
Flax	69	396,338	58
Silk .....	....	....	....
Total in the United Kingdom.	4,600	25,638,716	301,445

COTTON, WOOLLEN, WORSTED, FLAX, AND SILK MILLS IN LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND YORKSHIRE.

	Factories.	Spindles.	Power-loom.
LANCASHIRE :			
Cotton	1,235	13,955,497	176,947
Woollen	26	238,492	4,839
Worsted	11	27,190	1,112
Flax	9	117,356	....
Silk	29	162,988	1,977
Total....	1,310	14,501,523	184,875
CHESHIRE :			
Cotton	145	2,294,703	29,198
Woollen	12	5,430	....
Worsted .....	....	....	....
Flax .....	....	....	....
Silk	97	287,575	955
Total....	254	2,587,708	30,153
YORKSHIRE :			
Cotton	227	1,943,897	8,102
Woollen	880	925,449	3,849
Worsted	418	746,281	30,856
Flax	60	82,768	991
Silk	16	128,808	....
Total....	1,601	3,827,203	43,798
Total in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire	3,165	20,916,435	268,826

Liverpool is the chief port of these three counties, except for the continent of Europe. Not less than £46,000,000 worth of textile manufactures were exported in 1851, with haberdashery of the value of

£1,700,000, and of these probably £28,000,000 worth passed through the port of Liverpool.

Such, then, was the value of the textile manufactures exported in the year 1851 :

Cottons.....	£30,079,000	
Woollens	9,856,259	
Linens	5,048,615	
Silk	1,331,369	¥
Haberdashery	1,728,466	
	<hr/>	£48,043,709*

Next in order to the textile manufactures of the country are the metals, hardware, and machinery, amounting to the declared value of £13,666,959 ; and, with the textile manufactures, swelling the aggregate value of the exports to sixty-one-and-a-half millions. A large portion of these, also, are sent from Liverpool to foreign countries.

With regard to cutlery, which is chiefly produced at Sheffield and Birmingham, Liverpool is the natural outlet, westward, from position. For the same reason, it is the outlet for the hardware of Wolverhampton, and the machinery of the Manchester district. It is also, from its position, the outlet for the iron of Staffordshire, Yorkshire, and North Wales ; and, from the lowness of Liverpool freights for conveying metals, it is a great place of export for iron, copper, lead, tin and tinned plates. Iron, especially, being very useful for ballast, is carried to the most distant parts of the world at very trifling expense, in vessels laden with cottons, woollens, linens, and silks, which, as has been shown, are found in greater abundance in Liverpool than in any other port of the empire.

First in importance amongst the metals, both as relates to commerce and the arts, is iron. At the beginning of the present century the whole quantity of iron produced in Great Britain was about 200,000 tons ; the whole quantity exported was 20,000 tons ; and so late as the year 1815 the export did not amount to more than 79,596 tons. The quantity of iron produced yearly, at the present time, is upwards of 2,700,000 tons ; the export last year was 910,000 tons. The United States alone, in 1851, imported 341,750 tons of iron, of which nearly the whole was from this country, and a very large portion of it shipped at Liverpool. The total value of all the iron imported into the United States, in 1851, was 8,962,615 dollars, or £1,792,000 sterling. In 1821 the value of the iron imported into the States was only 1,213,041 dollars, or £242,608 ; the quantity only 20,000 tons.†

* Board of Trade Returns, January 5, 1852.

† Tables accompanying the Report of the American Secretary of the Treasury, Jan., 1852.

The quantity of iron produced in Great Britain, in 1851, was 2,710,000 tons, and the production of each district was as follows :

Names of Places.	Furnaces in Blast.	Out of Blast.	Total.	Estimated Make per Annum.
Scotland	114	30	144	800,000
South Wales	132	29	161	750,000
Ditto Anthracite	11	26	37	35,000
* South Staffordshire	105	45	150	650,000
North Staffordshire	12	9	21	70,000
North Wales	4	10	14	20,000
Shropshire	23	14	37	90,000
Durham	18	8	26	110,000
Northumberland.....	7	6	13	35,000
Yorkshire and Derbyshire.....	35	7	42	150,000
Total.....	461	184	645	2,710,000*

The quantity of iron, hardware, and steel exported from all the ports of Great Britain, during the last eight years, was, in 1844, 472,023 tons ; 1845, 370,535 ; 1846, 450,182 ; 1847, 564,572 ; 1848, 637,005 ; 1849, 729,164 ; 1850, 808,262 ; and 1851, 917,000.

The shipments of manufactured iron and tin plates from Liverpool to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were as follow, during the last seven years :

Names of Places.	Rails.	Bars.	Hoops & Shts.	Tin Plates.
			Tons.	Boxes.
New York.....	74,726	39,897	13,663	298,363
Boston	2,435	14,127	3,707	25,442
Philadelphia	1,038	10,277	1,923	20,797
1851	78,199	64,301	19,293	344,602
1850	29,808	66,338	19,486	338,538
1849	33,849	57,135	13,203	236,297
1848	50,188	33,621	7,237	207,255
1847	12,635	37,543	7,195	137,546
1846	12,514	12,807	1,686	193,409

The total exports of Scotch pig iron to the United States for the last six years were as follow :

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1846	13,918	1848	90,235	1850	57,509
1847	44,993	1849	94,212	1851	80,019

The quantity of iron and other metals sent to the East Indies and China, from Liverpool and London, in the year 1851, was, British iron, bars, 30,254 tons ; rails, 12,476 ; and foreign iron, 888 tons ; copper, 3,884 ; spelter, 2,606 ; tin'd plates, 24,889 boxes ; lead, 4,037 ; and steel, 949 tons.

* Circular of Stitt Brothers, January 7, 1852.

Considerable quantities of copper ore are imported into Liverpool to be smelted on the coal-fields of Lancashire, and considerable quantities of copper are exported from Liverpool to foreign countries. In 1850, 46,237 tons of copper ore were imported into Great Britain, of which Cuba furnished 24,765; South Australia, 13,753; Chili, 3,450; New South Wales, 2,166; Peru, 1,140; Van Diemen's Land, 455; Spain, 112; and other countries, 376. Of this ore 34,688 tons were imported into Swansea, 8,016 into London, 3,272 into Liverpool, 114 into Leith, 92 into Hull, 24 into Southampton, and 6 into Bristol.* The ports from which copper was shipped the same year were:—London, 9,896 tons; Liverpool, 6,971; Swansea, 2,355; Llanelly, 745; Hull, 229; Bristol, 99; Southampton, 78; other ports, 127: total, 20,480 tons. The countries to which this copper was exported were:—The East Indies, 6,482 tons; France, 3,991; United States, 3,027; Italy, 1,512; Belgium, 1,133; Holland, 836; Hanseatic Towns, 678; other ports, 2,824.

Liverpool is also the chief port for the shipment of the earthenware of Staffordshire, of which 61,528,196 pieces were shipped in the year 1849, to the following countries:—United States, 22,384,230 pieces, of the value of £371,675; Brazil 4,478,766, value £35,278; Hanseatic Towns 4,959,371, value £29,642; Holland 3,454,516, value £28,236; Canada 2,392,103, value £22,201; West Indies 4,676,362, value £49,175; East Indies 3,665,276, value £43,632; the Cape, 760,581, value £8,142; Australia, 1,470,270, value £25,670; other ports, 13,970,774, value £191,345.

The number of packages of earthenware shipped from Liverpool to different countries, in 1849, 50, and 51, was as follows:

Names of Countries.	1849.	1850.	1851.
United States	83,948	95,502	99,557
British North America	3,979	7,537	11,337
Brazil	7,507	9,370	12,140
River Plate.....	4,013	2,073	3,082
West Coast South America	12,153	6,323	6,826
Spanish Main and Mexico ...	4,442	6,605	7,572
West Indies	7,885	10,782	11,055
East Indies.....	3,797	3,602	3,502
Australia.....	927	946	1,288
Africa	1,606	1,650	1,811
Europe	8,456	9,488	8,974
Packages	138,713	153,878	167,144
Largest previous export, 1839..... 135,346 packages.			
Next..... 1844 134,101 „ +			

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 457, Session 1851. + Papers of Mr. T. F. Bennett, of Liverpool.

Glass is another of the great manufactures which contribute to sustain and extend the commerce of Liverpool. The total quantity of the glass produced is 58,300 tons; its value £1,680,000.* St. Helens is one of the principal seats of the glass manufacture of England. Much of the finest plate and German plate glass is produced there, and there are other large manufactories of flint and crown glass about Warrington. The value of the glass exported, in 1851, was £326,562.†

Salt is a still greater stay of the commerce of Liverpool. In the year 1850 the quantity of salt sent down the river Weaver, from the salt works of Cheshire, was 610,336 tons, namely, 524,098 tons of white salt, and 86,238 tons of rock salt. The quantity exported from Liverpool that year was 445,633 tons, which was sent to the following countries:—To the Baltic, 90,033 tons; to Holland and Belgium, 43,622 tons; to the United States, 123,459 tons; to British North America, 36,941 tons; to Africa, &c., 16,665 tons; to England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man, 149,499 tons. The amount of this great trade, during the last ten years, will be seen by the following return of the exports of salt from Liverpool:—1841, 360,813 tons; 1842, 384,231 tons; 1843, 462,840 tons; 1844, 429,131 tons; 1845, 431,155 tons; 1846, 412,361 tons; 1847, 472,779 tons; 1848, 522,112 tons; 1849, 451,643 tons; 1850, 445,633 tons; and 1851, 446,245½ tons.

EXPORTS OF SALT TO THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1845 TO 1851,
INCLUSIVE.

Total.	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	Ports.
New York ..	15,417	15,467	25,870	32,679	23,807	20,999	31,776	166,015
Boston	5,160	3,835	8,173	9,508	12,217	7,086	11,403	57,382
Baltimore ..	2,896	2,074	9,695	10,948	8,953	7,905	7,276	49,747
Philadelphia	4,018	780	12,586	11,366	9,305	6,326	9,076	53,451
Virginia ..	910	550	1,708	4,775	3,787	2,323	2,501	16,554
New Orleans	29,999	22,750	41,516	46,542	53,568	46,172	45,626	286,173
Mobile	6,611	1,869	8,018	12,325	14,232	10,199	15,910	69,164
Charleston..	6,102	5,811	8,394	15,075	15,708	8,732	8,970	68,792
Savannah ..	6,774	6,860	7,716	14,081	16,709	13,723	8,657	74,520
Total..	77,887	59,996	123,676	157,299	158,286	123,459	141,195	841,798

EXPORT OF SALT FROM LIVERPOOL TO INDIA, FROM MAY 8TH, 1845,
(FIRST SENT,) TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1851.

1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
21,686	5,363	26,042	15,459	29,950	35,820	63,225

* Braithwaite Poole's Statistics of British Commerce, 175.

† Board of Trade Returns.

The coal trade is the largest trade in the empire, and, indirectly, it is the cause of all the prosperity of Liverpool, for the coal-fields of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Wales, give power and movement to the various branches of industry described in the above pages. There are, at the present time, about 3,000 coal-mines in Great Britain, giving employment to 250,000 men and thirty millions of capital.* The yearly "get" of coal is about 34,000,000 of tons, and the value of the coal at the pit's mouth £10,000,000. About a third part of the coal so raised is shipped either for London or other cities, towns, and districts of the British Islands, where fuel is not found, or to foreign countries; about another third is employed in the smelting or manufacture of iron, copper, tin, lead, and other metals; and the remaining third is employed in the manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen, silk, cutlery, hardware, earthenware, salt, and the propelling of steam vessels. The coal-fields of Northumberland and Durham furnish much the greater part of the coal shipped coastwise, or to foreign countries: those of Staffordshire, Wales, and Scotland, much the greater part of that employed in the production of metals; those of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, of that employed in manufactures. The quantity of coal shipped coastwise, in 1848, was 9,074,079 tons; and foreign, 2,715,300 tons: total, 11,789,379 tons. Of this immense quantity, Northumberland supplied 3,600,738 tons; Durham, 4,237,642; South Wales, 1,964,126; Cumberland, 510,835; and Lancashire, 252,418 tons.† The coal sent abroad was shipped either to foreign countries or to the various coaling stations in the colonies, by means of which the great ocean lines of steamers to British America, the United States, the West Indies, Brazils, the west coast of America, India, and South Africa are supplied with fuel.

The total shipments of coal, in 1850, were to the following countries or seas;—The Baltic, 701,129 tons; France, 563,639; Hanseatic towns, 447,905; Italy, 147,659; West Indies, 131,120; British North America, 69,232; United States, 83,659; Malta, 51,198; Turkey, 51,062; Channel Islands, 51,750; East Indies, 81,866; Brazils, 54,483; Portugal, 50,602; Egypt, 34,250; Chili, 40,387; Algeria, 10,106; Aden, 23,289; Cape, 7,261; Gibraltar, 28,926; west coast of Africa, 2,152; Peru, 10,156; Ionian Islands, 10,909; Oriental Republic of Uruguay, 2,280; China, 5,845; Greece, 6,898; Australia, 5,358; Philippine

* Braithwaite Poole's Statistics of British Commerce, 71.

† Letters on the Export Coal Trade of Liverpool, by William Laird.

Islands, 6,261 ; Wallachia, &c., 3,415 ; Buenos Ayres, 4,313 ; Mauritius, 3,264 ; Ascension, 1,710 ; Mexico, 2,167 ; Syria, 2,317 ; New Grenada, 9,153 ; Red Sea, 2,218 ; St. Helena, 681 ; Bintang, 979 ; Central America, 622 ; Java, 1,847 ; Tunis, 508 ; Morocco, 307 ; Sundries, 691.

The declared value of the coal exported to foreign countries and the colonies, in 1851, was £1,302,025. The quantity of coal brought into London, in 1850, was 3,637,878 tons, of which 3,553,304 tons were brought by sea and 84,574 tons by canal or rail. This supplies a population of two millions and a half with fuel, furnishes the means of working multitudes of machines of almost all descriptions, and supplies upwards of 700,000 tons of steam-power, which keeps up the communication of London with France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, the Baltic, and the coast of England, besides the river boats which swarm on the Thames. The quantity of coal consumed in Liverpool is about 1,500,000 tons. Of this 720,000 tons is brought down the Leeds and Liverpool Canal from the Wigan coal-fields, 490,000 tons down the St. Helens Canal, or along the St. Helens Railway, and about 220,000 tons by the London and North-western, the Liverpool and Bury, and the East Lancashire Railways. A considerable quantity of coal is brought from South Wales, for the use of the British and North American and United States steamers. Thus, the quantity of coal brought into Liverpool is about 1,500,000 tons. This supplies half a million of people with fuel, works a great quantity of machinery on land, and propels nearly a million (987,150) tons of steam tonnage. The export of coal from Liverpool and Birkenhead is small in comparison with some other places, amounting last year to only 245,905 tons ; but great exertions are now making to extend this valuable trade, by giving it ample room and the means of loading at the high level, at the northern docks, and by establishing steam-hoists nearer the centre. The St. Helens Railway Company, who have now brought their line from the St. Helens coal-fields to Garston, on the river Mersey, have formed a large and convenient dock, especially for the coal trade, which is to be supplied with every mechanical advantage for shipping coals with economy and speed. The following were the places to which coals were shipped from Liverpool in 1850 and 1851 :

Countries bordering on the North and Baltic Seas, 1850, 3,559 tons ; 1851, 2,337 ; France, 1850, 17,292 ; 1851, 16,666. Countries and islands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, 1850, 39,184 ; 1851, 44,823.

Countries bordering on the Black Sea, 1850, 1,098. West Indies, 1850, 12,642 ; 1851, 15,957. Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira, 1850, 6,822 ; 1851, 8,810. Spain and the Canaries, 1850, 6,152 ; 1851, 5,459. North America, 1850, 83,537 ; 1851, 73,198. South America, 1850, 60,407 ; 1851, 38,197. East Indies and China, 1850, 19,600 ; 1851, 28,617. Channel Islands, 1850, 654 ; 1851, 869. Africa, 1850, 1,493 ; 1851, 6,971. Australia, 1850, 2,161 ; 1851, 4,001. Total, 1850, 254,601 ; 1851, 245,905 tons.

The alkali, called soda ash, which has almost superseded barilla in the manufacture of soap, and pot and pearl ashes in the manufacture of glass and the bleaching and cleansing of cotton, is prepared extensively in Lancashire, and forms another adjunct of the commerce of Liverpool. Coal and salt, limestone and sulphur, or pyrites, are the articles used in forming soda ash, and these are either found in abundance in the mines of Lancashire and Cheshire, or are brought from North Wales, Wicklow, or Sicily, through the port of Liverpool. Of thirty-seven alkali manufactories which exist in Great Britain fourteen are in Lancashire, two in Cheshire, eight at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, four at Glasgow, two at Birmingham, two in North Wales, two at Swansea, two at Bristol, and one at Wakefield. Of the Lancashire and Cheshire works eight are at St. Helens or Newton, two at Blackburn, two at Wigan, two at Bolton, and two at Runcorn. The quantity of soda ash exported amounted, in 1846, to 16,486 tons ; in 1847, to 22,944 tons ; in 1848, to 26,342 tons ; in 1849, to 34,368 tons ; in 1850, to 44,407 tons.* The value of the alkali exported, in 1850, was £375,351 ; in 1851, £360,565. Liverpool is the principal place of export for this valuable preparation.

Stationery figures amongst the exports of the kingdom to the value of £401,304. Manchester is the chief place for the manufacture of paper, and Liverpool one of the principal places of export for that article. The following are the comparative amounts of excise duty on paper paid in the principal towns and districts of the United Kingdom in 1849 :—Manchester, £102,836 ; Haddington, £68,988 ; Rochester, £66,637 ; Newcastle-on-Tyne, £53,152 ; Bedford, £50,374 ; Reading, £45,982 ; Leeds, £31,371 ; Durham, £29,558 ; Lancaster, £28,715 ; Exeter, £27,067 ; Glasgow, £22,588 ; Edinburgh, £21,961 ; Aberdeen, £21,952 ; Lichfield, £21,760 ; Surrey, £19,799 ; Dublin, £16,404 ; Linlithgow, £15,662 ; Derby, £12,896 ; Sheffield, £11,748 ; Hants, £11,130 ; and

* Statistics of Commerce, by Braithwaite Poole, Esq., 6 and 286.

Norwich, £10,960. No other place paid £10,000, but Halifax paid £8,175; Chester, £3,865; North Wales, £3,489; and Stafford, £4,124.*

Soap was exported in 1851 of the value of £213,402, and candles of the value of £98,006.

The soap made in Liverpool and its vicinity during the year ending January 5th, 1851, was, hard soap, 25,354 tons; soft ditto, 3,241 tons: total, 28,595 tons. This is nearly one-third of the total quantity made in Great Britain.

The hard soap was made from palm oil, tallow, resin, and alkali; of the first, the consumption was about 8,500 tons; of tallow, say 5,000 tons; and of soda ash and alkali, say 7,000 tons.

The soft soap was made from olive oils and fish oils; the former imported from different ports in the Mediterranean, and the latter chiefly from Newfoundland. The alkali used in its manufacture is pot ashes, imported from Canada.

The export of hard soap from Liverpool to foreign markets, during the same year, was 4,360 tons, being four-fifths of the entire exports of Great Britain; the export to Ireland, 4,200 tons; the latter is confined to Liverpool exclusively.

Candles, of superior quality, the total production of which is of the value of a million, and the export of the value of ninety-eight thousand pounds sterling, are now manufactured very extensively from palm oil. The composite candles, manufactured from that article, are sold at about 1s. per lb., whilst spermaceti cost 1s. 6d., and wax 2s. London is the chief place at which candles are manufactured from palm oil; the quantity of palm oil used in the trade last year was 5,000 tons.

Beer and ale, the favourite beverage of Englishmen in all parts of the globe, are chiefly manufactured at Burton-on-Trent for export, and are shipped at London and Liverpool. The shipments from London are about 18,500 tons, from Liverpool 10,000 tons. The value of the ale and beer exported was £558,794 in 1850; £577,874 in 1851.

Such are the principal sources of the immense export trade of Liverpool, now amounting to from thirty-five to thirty-six millions sterling a-year. The re-exporting of foreign and colonial produce, for which Liverpool is a great depôt, and the largest passenger trade in Europe, add to the prosperity of the port, and will be spoken of in a later part of this chapter. The following account of the declared value of the exports of British manufactures and produce in 1850 and 1851 shows

* Braithwaite Poole's Statistics of British Commerce, 240.

how very large a portion of the export trade of the United Kingdom arises from the commerce in the articles described in the above pages :

DECLARED VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF BRITISH AND IRISH MANUFACTURES AND PRODUCE IN THE YEARS 1850 AND 1851.

	Year ending			Year ending	
	1850.	1851.		1850.	1851.
Alkali, viz., soda	£375,351	£360,565	Linen yarn	£881,312	£935,939
Beer and ale	558,794	577,874	Machinery.....	1,042,166	1,164,933
Butter	210,226	235,528	Metals	8,767,646	8,905,895
Candles	98,028	98,006	Oil and seeds'	414,621	440,195
Cheese	30,629	32,960	Painters' colours, &c.	248,493	256,846
Coals and culm	1,284,224	1,302,025	Salt	224,401	236,276
Cordage and cables ...	154,229	185,983	Silk manufactures ...	1,040,985	1,134,931
Cotton manufactures...	21,873,697	23,447,103	Silk, thrown	53,273	57,803
Cotton yarn	6,383,704	6,631,897	Silk, twist and yarn...	151,383	138,635
Earthenware.....	999,448	1,122,516	Soap	201,108	213,402
Fish	337,707	336,480	Stationery	408,380	401,304
Glass manufactures ...	307,755	326,562	Sugar, refined	344,499	368,041
Haberdashery and } millinery	1,470,302	1,728,466	Wool, sheep or lambs' ..	623,975	453,802
Hardware and cutlery	2,641,432	2,826,132	Woollen manufactures	8,588,690	8,371,824
Leather	608,865	598,562	Woollen yarn	1,451,642	1,484,435
Linen manufactures ...	3,947,682	4,112,676	Total.....	£ 65,735,447	68,492,659

Having spoken of the principal internal causes of the rapid growth of the commerce of Liverpool, let us examine those which are external.

First amongst these is the rapid increase in population, wealth, and commerce of the countries colonized or conquered by the people of the United Kingdom and their descendants, in all parts of the world. Already the English, Scotch, and Irish races, or their descendants, possess nine-tenths of the North American continent ; rule a hundred millions of men in India and the East ; have laid the foundations of a great state in South Africa ; and in Australia possess a territory almost as large as the whole continent of Europe. The regions subject to the British crown are said to cover the eighth part of the earth ; those subject to the Anglo-Americans extend to the magnitude of 3,500,000 square miles ; and, though much the greater part of both still lies waste, from want of inhabitants, yet the population subject to the British crown amounts to not less than 140,000,000, and that of the American republic to upwards of 23,000,000. Whilst Liverpool yields to London in the extent of its trade with the continent of Europe, it surpasses the capital in its trade with America, and already rivals it in the trade with the East, although it was not allowed to have any commerce with India previous to the renewal of the company's charter in 1813, nor with China previous to the subsequent arrangement of the Indian Government in 1833.

The most extensive commerce which this country possesses, and the one which has done most to promote the growth of Liverpool, is that with

the United States of America. The growth of the population, wealth, and commerce of that great country, during the last sixty years, almost surpasses belief. We learn, from a recent address of the greatest of American orators, that, in the interval which elapsed between the laying of the foundation-stone of the Capitol, at Washington, in the year 1793, by Washington himself, and the laying of the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the Capitol, in the year 1851, by the Hon. Daniel Webster, the wonderful changes indicated by the following figures, had taken place in the position of the republic:—In the year 1793, the number of States was fifteen, in 1851 it had increased to thirty-one: at the former period the population of the republic was 3,929,328, at the latter, 23,267,899: the territory of the United States, at the former period, extended over 805,461 square miles, at the latter, over 3,585,454, being only less than the continent of Europe by a space of 220,000 square miles: at the former period the revenue of the states was 5,720,624 dollars, or £1,144,124; at the latter, 43,774,848 dollars, or £8,574,969: in 1793 the value of the imports into the United States was 31,000,000 dollars, or £6,200,000 sterling; and that of the exports 26,109,000 dollars, or £5,221,800: in 1851 the value of the exports was 178,138,318 dollars, or £35,627,663; and that of the imports 151,808,721 dollars, or £30,561,744. At the former period the tonnage of the republic was 520,764, at the latter 3,314,365 tons. In 1793 there were 7 lighthouses on the American coast, in 1851, 372: at the former period the post routes of the States were of the length of 5,642 miles, at the latter, of 178,672. Railways were unknown in America in 1793: in 1851, 10,000 miles of railway were open, and 11,000 in course of formation: electric telegraphs were not even thought of at the former period, at the latter, 15,000 miles of telegraph connected Maine with New Orleans, and stretched from the Atlantic across the Mississippi. Knowledge, the great promoter of civilization and mental vigour, had increased in an equal proportion, the public libraries having increased from 35 to 694; the school libraries, which were unknown in 1793, now amounting to 10,000; and the number of volumes in the various kinds of public libraries having increased from 73,000 to 4,221,632. To these facts we may add, that in 1793 the cultivation of cotton was quite insignificant in the United States, and that of sugar almost unknown; whilst in 1851 the cotton crop of the States amounted to 2,474,214 bales, of the value of £25,000,000, and the sugar crop to not less than 150,000 tons: that in 1793 steam navigation was as little known as railways and electric telegraphs; whilst in 1851 the sea-going steamers of the republic

amounted to 240,000 tons, and a regular steam communication was kept up twice a-week across the Atlantic by sixteen steam-ships, eight British and eight American, twelve plying to Liverpool, and four to Southampton, Havre, and Bremen. When these facts are considered, it will excite no surprise that the declared value of the British and Irish products and manufactures shipped to the United States in 1850 amounted to £14,891,961, and from the colonies to two or three millions more: that the produce of the United States shipped to Great Britain and the British colonies was still greater, making a yearly exchange of the produce of the two countries of the amount or value of £60,000,000; or that 778,662 tons of American shipping entered the ports of Great Britain and Ireland in 1851, and 1,450,539 tons of British and colonial shipping entered the sea and lake ports of the United States in 1850.

The following tables show the value of the imports and exports of the Republic, and the amount of its tonnage, during the last thirty years; also, the exact population of the United States; and the value or amount of the principal products of the Republic, according to the census of 1850:

Years.	Total Imports.	Total Exports.	Tonnage.
1821.....	dlrs. 62,585,724	dlrs. 64,974,382	1,298,958
1822.....	83,241,541	72,160,281	1,324,699
1823.....	77,579,267	74,699,030	1,336,566
1824.....	80,549,007	75,986,657	1,389,163
1825.....	96,340,075	99,535,388	1,423,112
1826.....	84,974,477	77,595,322	1,534,191
1827.....	79,484,068	82,324,827	1,620,608
1828.....	88,509,824	72,264,686	1,741,392
1829.....	74,492,527	72,358,671	1,260,798
1830.....	70,876,920	73,849,508	1,191,776
1831.....	103,191,124	81,310,583	1,267,847
1832.....	101,029,266	87,176,943	1,439,450
1833.....	108,118,311	90,140,433	1,606,151
1834.....	126,521,332	104,336,973	1,758,907
1835.....	149,895,742	121,693,577	1,824,940
1836.....	189,980,035	128,663,040	1,882,103
1837.....	140,989,217	117,419,376	1,896,686
1838.....	113,717,404	108,486,616	1,995,640
1839.....	162,092,132	121,028,416	2,096,380
1840.....	107,141,519	132,085,946	2,180,764
1841.....	127,946,177	121,851,803	2,130,744
1842.....	100,162,087	104,691,534	2,092,391
1843*	64,753,799	84,346,480	2,158,603
1844.....	108,435,035	111,290,046	2,280,095
1845.....	117,254,564	114,646,606	2,417,002
1846.....	121,691,797	113,488,516	2,562,085
1847.....	146,545,638	158,648,622	2,839,046
1848.....	154,998,928	154,032,131	3,154,042
1849.....	147,857,439	145,755,820	3,334,015
1850.....	178,136,318	151,898,720	3,535,458
1851.....	223,405,272	217,523,201	3,772,439
	or £44,681,054	or £43,504,640	

* Nine months ending June 30.

Population of the United States, according to the census of 1850 :—
 White population, 19,630,738; free coloured, 428,461; Slaves, 3,198,324:
 Total, 23,257,523.

EXTENT OF THE IMPROVED LAND, AND VALUE OR AMOUNT OF PRODUCE
 OF THE UNITED STATES, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1850.

Acres of improved land	112,042,000	Ginned Cotton, bales..	2,474,214
Value of farming im- plements ...dollars)	151,820,273	Wool, lbs	52,422,797
or £30,364,054		Wine, gallons	141,295
Value of live stock, dls. 552,705,238		Butter, lbs.	103,184,580
or £110,541,047		Hay, tons.....	13,605,384
Bushels of wheat..... 104,799,230		Hemp, dew rotted, tons	62,182
or qrs. 13,099,903		Hemp, water rotted ...	13,950
Bushels of In. corn ,, 591,586,050		Flaxseed, bushels	567,749
or qrs. 73,948,406		Maple sugar, lbs.....	32,759,263
Tobacco, lbs..... 199,532,494		Cane sugar, lbs.	318,644,000
		Value of home-made manufactures, dols.)	27,525,545

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFAC-
 TURES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk mixed manufac- tures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	Lbs.	£	£	£
1848	16,968,627	39,447,319	81,523	186,010	584,586	1,672,321
1849	18,511,942	49,419,477	125,626	246,559	826,791	1,936,782
1850	21,093,529	47,951,544	88,318	341,958	904,132	2,293,859
1851	14,482,744	41,062,863	183,062	376,502	932,279	1,453,115

Whilst the commerce of the United States forms so considerable a portion of the whole commerce of the United Kingdom, it forms a much larger portion of the commerce of Liverpool. The extent and value of the export and import trade of that port with the various countries of the world is well shown by the amount of income which the trade of each yields to the revenue of the Liverpool docks. In the year ending June 24, 1851, the amount of dock dues received from the trade of all countries amounted to £235,527, exclusive of light dues, warehouse rents, and some other smaller charges, which are not classified according to the countries of the shipping from which they are derived. This total amount of £235,527 was furnished by the trade with various foreign countries in the following proportions:—United States, £93,489; British North America, £26,651; East Indies and China, £21,089; West Indies and Gulf of Mexico, £12,295; West Coast of America, £8,206; Australia, £656; Mediterranean, £21,386; Brazil, £8,851; Baltic, £7,480; Continent of Europe, £14,800; Coasting trade, including the trade with Ireland, £23,942. The following table will show the amount

of dock revenue yielded by the commerce of each country during the last eight years :

Year.	Dock Dues.			United States.	British America.	East Indies.	W. Indies and Mexico	Brazils.
	£	s.	d.	£	£	£	£	£
1844....	192,011	14	3	77,029	22,158	17,984	12,227	8,017
1845....	232,479	10	9	99,288	28,238	21,330	12,058	7,723
1846....	220,715	6	5	87,057	33,096	17,511	11,334	7,099
1847....	251,675	14	3	112,458	36,848	15,295	13,134	7,746
1848* ..	205,635	10	6	91,707	25,422	14,529	10,543	6,167
1849....	232,548	13	11	103,854	28,538	16,327	11,687	9,248
1850....	219,483	5	10	74,268	28,615	16,800	12,059	8,889
1851....	235,527	0	0	93,489	26,651	21,089	12,295	8,851

Year.	Australia.	W. Coast S. America	W. Coast of Africa.	Mediterranean.	Baltic.	Other European Ports.	Coasters.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1844	242	3,934	3,941	12,675	7,499	6,324	19,976
1845	745	4,014	9,281	14,040	7,890	6,691	21,174
1846	612	4,018	5,096	16,909	7,871	8,352	21,755
1847	414	4,195	3,717	17,405	6,859	10,208	23,390
1848	325	2,938	3,746	13,434	5,466	8,153	23,198
1849	387	3,812	3,273	15,009	7,227	8,774	24,407
1850	438	4,198	3,113	17,098	7,563	10,189	26,248
1851	656	8,206	4,035	21,386	7,480	14,800	23,942

Before saying a few words as to the nature of the commerce carried on with the different ports of the United States, it may be well to give the following tabular statement of the number of ships and the amount of tonnage which cleared out of Liverpool for each of them in year 1851 :

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851	Total Tons.
New York	435	449,483	City Point	6	3,148
New Orleans	163	129,736	Penobscot Bay	1	488
Boston	111	88,413	Newburyport	1	403
Philadelphia	78	69,480	Richmoud	1	603
Charleston	52	29,390	Portland	7	2,713
Mobile	49	39,109	Alexandria	3	1,174
Baltimore	28	19,474	Wilmington	1	233
Savannah	26	18,570	Bath	2	1,491
Apalachicola	13	7,496	Wiscasset	2	550
Castine	8	3,437	Eastport	2	126
Portsmouth	1	916	Bucksport	2	476

New York, as will be seen from the above table, is the American port with which Liverpool has much the largest amount of commerce. The

* This year a reduction of from £38,000 to £40,000 per annum was made in the Dock Rates.

growth of that great city, during the last sixty years, has been even more rapid and wonderful than that of Liverpool. In the year 1793 the city of New York contained 33,621 inhabitants; in 1851, 517,507. Its surprising growth is not attributable wholly, or even principally, to the development of the resources of the fine valley of the Hudson, great as those resources are. The Hudson, though a large river, according to European notions, running a course of 320 miles, through a valley not less fertile than beautiful, is small in comparison with the St. Lawrence, the great feeder of the commerce of New York, which runs with a course of 2,000 miles, through a valley containing upwards of 500,000 square miles, or nearly ten times the size of England. In the year 1825 this great valley was connected with the port of New York by the Western Canal, 655 miles in length, and stretching from the river Hudson, at Albany, to Lake Erie, at Buffalo, and Lake Ontario, at Oswego.* This canal gives to New York a large portion of the trade which would otherwise have gone down the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec. Although it will be seen, when I come to speak of those two cities, that they are rising rapidly into commercial greatness, yet New York competes strongly with them for the commerce of the lake district. At one point on the lakes, at Buffalo, produce of the value of six millions sterling (31,839,951 dollars) was landed in the year 1851, the greater part of which was forwarded to New York by the Western Canal, including, amongst other produce, grain or flour equal to 17,972,311 bushels, or 2,000,000 quarters; 12,364,700 lbs. of wool; and timber of the value of £1,200,000 or 8,406,858 dollars. The imports into Oswego from Lake Ontario are also very large, and to this is to be added all the trade of the most fertile districts of the great state of New York, itself equal in size to an European kingdom, and containing a population of three millions of inhabitants. The large capitals of the New York bankers and merchants—the convenience of its position between the manufacturing states of New England and the cotton-growing districts of the south—and the daily passing of ships from New York to Europe, have made New York the chief depôt for the produce of the south. Great natural facilities for communication with the interior by the Hudson, and by the canals and railroads of the state, also unite to render New York the best point of

* The New York Canals were commenced in 1817. They consist of the Erie Canal, 363 miles long, from Albany to Buffalo; the Oswego Canal to Lake Ontario, 38 miles long; the Cayuga and Seneca Canal, 21 miles long; the Chemung Canal, 39 miles long; the Crooked Lake Canal, 8 miles long; the Chenango Canal, 97 miles long; and the Clamplain Canal, 79 miles long: total, 655 miles. Original cost, 11,962,711 dollars, or £2,392,542.—*Gazetteer of the United States.*

landing for European emigrants, bound to the vast regions of the west. According to an official announcement of the mayor of New York, put forth in 1851, it appears that an emigrant can travel from New York to Montreal, a distance of 375 miles, for less than 20s., (4 dollars 62 cents,) and from New York to Hamilton, Upper Canada, a distance of 1,036 miles, for about 25s., (6 dollars 6½ cents,) and to a multitude of other places at rates equally reasonable. For some years the arrivals of emigrants at New York have been upwards of 150,000 yearly. This has been greatly increased of late years by the immense increase of the emigration from Ireland; but, independent of temporary causes, the emigration into New York will continue to be very great for ages to come. The commercial supremacy of New York is thus firmly established, and every year is likely to add to it. It is already the first city on the American continent, and in another century will be one of the first, if not the first city in the world. It possesses a magnificent harbour, 25 miles in circumference, which remains open in winter as well as summer, with depth of water sufficient for the largest vessels to load and unload at the wharves.

The following were the principal exports of New York, in 1851 :

FOREIGN TRADE OF NEW YORK.

VALUE OF IMPORTS.		VALUE OF EXPORTS.	
1849	dols. 97,658,251 or £19,531,650	1849	dols. 39,736,969 or £7,947,393
1850.....	dols. 138,334,641 or £27,666,928	1850	dols. 60,119,248 or £12,025,849
1851.....	dols. 131,302,651 or £26,260,530	1851	dols. 87,653,849 or £17,530,769
		Specie, in 1851 ...	dols. 43,743,209 or £8,748,641

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF PRODUCE EXPORTED FROM NEW YORK IN 1851.*

Ashes, pots, brls.	24,628	Oil, lard	210,492
pearls „	1,637	linseed	7,972
Beeswax, lbs.	280,820	Provisions:	
Breadstuffs:		pork, brls.....	47,482
wheat flour, brls.	1,264,322	beef „	40,147
rye flour „	8,244	cut meats, lbs.....	3,427,111
Indian corn meal, brls.	38,388	butter „	2,196,538
wheat, bushels	1,468,465	cheese „	7,487,139
rye „	13,162	lard „	5,686,857
oats „	5,282	rice „	29,100
Indian corn „	1,605,674	Tallow „	2,221,258
Cotton, bales	289,645	Tobacco, hhds....	19,195
Oil, whale, gals.....	1,122,818	Whalebone, lbs	1,802,126
sperm	543,565		

* Made up from the Custom-house Books. Journal of Commerce, Jan. 5, 1852.

The following is the number of the vessels which entered New York, in the first nine months of 1851 :

VESSELS AND TONNAGE WHICH ENTERED NEW YORK IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1851.

American	1,902 vessels	886,411 tons.
British	775 „	238,773 „
Foreign.....	455 „	142,747 „

ARRIVALS OF EMIGRANTS AT NEW YORK DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS.

1842.....	74,949	1848.....	191,909
1843.....	56,302	1849.....	221,799
1844.....	61,002	1850.....	226,287
1845.....	82,960	1851.....	289,601
1846.....	115,230		
1847.....	166,110	Total of ten years...	1,376,149

The emigrants who arrived at New York, in 1851, were of the following nations:—Irish, 163,949 ; Germans, 69,883 ; English, 28,553 ; Scotch, 7,302 ; French, 6,064 ; Swiss, 4,499 ; Welsh, 2,189 ; Norwegians, 2,112 ; Dutch, 1,798 ; Italians, 618 ; West Indians, 575 ; Belgians, 475 ; Poles, 422 ; Spaniards, 278 ; Danes, 229 ; Americans, 121 ; Sardinians, 98 ; Canadians, 150 ; Mexicans, 42 ; Portuguese, 25 ; Russians, 23 ; Sicilian, 11 ; East Indians, 11 ; Chinese, 9 ; Turks, 4 ; Greek, 1 : total, 289,601.

The following account of the traffic on the New York Canals, taken at Albany, where the canals join the river Hudson, will show the magnitude of the trade between New York and the boundless regions of the West :

The quantities of produce brought from the West to the Hudson amounted, in 1850, to 2,033,863 tons; in 1851, to 2,010,700 tons. The quantity of goods taken from the Hudson to the West was, in 1850, 347,813 tons ; in 1851, 466,311 tons.

The value of the produce brought along the canal from the West was, in 1850, 55,474,639 dollars, or £11,094,867 sterling ; and, in 1851, 54,088,395 dollars, or £10,817,678 sterling.

The value of the goods carried Westward was, in 1850, 80,626,635 dollars, or £16,125,327 ; in 1851, 87,522,635 dollars, or £17,504,527.

The tonnage from and to the West was, in 1850, 2,381,675 ; in 1851, 2,477,011 tons.

The value of the property carried to and from the West was, in 1850, 136,101,372 dollars, or £27,220,275 ; in 1851, 141,610,602 dollars, or £28,320,120.*

Of the produce forwarded to Albany from the West ten millions of

* Albany Register, January, 1852.

dollars' worth consisted of products of the forest, thirty-eight millions of dollars of the products of agriculture, four millions of manufactures, and the rest of articles not admitting of classification.

New Orleans, the port of the great valley of the Mississippi, stands next to New York in the amount of its commercial greatness, and in the extent of its commerce with the port of Liverpool. The sources of its prosperity are as numerous and as great as the products of the vast regions watered by the river which flows past its walls. Amongst these are cotton, sugar, wheat, Indian corn, and every other kind of grain, provisions, tobacco, and, in fact, nearly every valuable product of temperate or tropical climates. The increase of the single article of New Orleans cotton during the last thirty years shows the rate at which the prosperity of that city is increasing. In 1819 the quantity of cotton exported from New Orleans was 44,322 bales; in 1851 it was 828,947 bales. The production of sugar has grown from a mere nothing within the last few years to 120,000 tons. It is impossible to fix any limits to the trade of the great valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, an immense region of a million square miles of the most fertile soil, possessing every variety of climate, intersected by twenty thousand miles of navigable streams, and rapidly filling with a population equal in industry, energy, and enterprise to any population on the face of the earth. New York and New Orleans are as clearly the two great ports of the new world, as London and Liverpool are the great ports of the old.

Vast and valuable as is the produce brought along the Western Canal to Albany and New York, that brought down the Mississippi to New Orleans is still more valuable. The following is a comparative statement of the value of the principal articles brought down to New Orleans in the years 1846 and 1851 :

	1851.		1846.
Cotton bagging....	903,800 dollars	....	917,710 dollars
Bale rope	804,104	„	255,051 „
Cotton	48,756,764	„	33,716,256 „
Molasses	2,625,000	„	1,710,100 „
Sugar	12,678,180	„	10,265,750 „
Tobacco	7,860,050	„	4,146,562 „
Other articles ...	33,296,109	„	26,174,135 „
Total.....	106,826,083	„	77,193,464 „
	or £21,365,216		or £15,438,692 *

The following account of the quantities and value of cotton exported from each place of export in the United States, in the year 1851, and of the progress of the exports of cotton from all parts of the union for the

* New Orleans Price Current, January, 1852.

last thirty years, will be given more appropriately under the head of New Orleans, the chief place of export, than anywhere else:

QUANTITY OF COTTON EXPORTED FROM EACH PORT OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1851.

	Sea Island. Lbs.		Other sorts. Lbs.		Value. Dols
New York.....	748,380	...	160,010,783	...	21,141,298
Boston .....	...	...	1,131,736	...	146,588
New Bedford .....	...	...	37,168	...	3,350
Philadelphia.....	...	...	2,094,718	...	280,544
Baltimore .....	...	...	147,041	...	21,438
Charleston	4,580,310	...	104,538,658	...	14,061,981
Savannah	2,927,263	...	68,473,428	...	8,878,379
Apalachicola.....	...	...	35,651,608	...	3,358,786
St. Mark's.....	...	...	451,980	...	61,686
Mobile	4,705	...	150,629,389	...	18,406,864
New Orleans.....	...	...	385,814,458	...	45,330,084
Galveston.....	...	...	646,843	...	75,422
Vermont .....	...	...	72,353	...	1,808
Tennessee.....	...	...	1,270	...	156
	8,299,656		918,937,433		112,315,317
	918,937,433				or £22,463,061

lbs. 927,237,089, or 2,066,529 bales of 450 lbs. each.

COTTON EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE PAST THIRTY YEARS.

Years.	Total lbs.	Value.	Average Price per lb.
1821.....	124,893,405	20,157,480	16.2 c.
1822.....	144,675,095	24,035,058	16.8
1823.....	173,723,270	20,445,520	11.8
1824.....	142,369,663	21,947,401	15.4
1825.....	176,449,207	36,846,649	20.9
1826.....	204,535,415	25,025,214	12.2
1827.....	294,310,115	29,359,545	10
1828.....	210,590,463	22,487,229	10.7
1829.....	264,837,186	26,575,311	10
1830.....	298,450,102	29,674,882	9.2
1831.....	216,979,784	25,289,492	9.1
1832.....	322,215,122	31,724,682	9.8
1833.....	323,798,404	36,191,105	11.1
1834.....	384,171,907	49,448,402	12.8
1835.....	387,358,992	64,961,302	16.8
1836.....	423,631,307	71,284,925	16.8
1837.....	444,212,537	63,240,102	14.2
1838.....	595,952,297	61,556,811	10.8
1839.....	413,621,312	61,238,981	15.7
1840.....	743,941,061	63,870,307	8.5
1841.....	530,204,100	54,330,341	1.02
1842.....	584,711,017	57,592,464	8.1
1843.....	792,297,105	49,119,805	6.2
1844.....	663,633,455	54,063,501	8.1
1845.....	872,905,996	51,789,643	5.92
1846.....	547,558,055	42,767,341	7.81
1847.....	527,219,958	53,415,848	10.34
1848.....	814,274,431	61,998,293	7.61
1849.....	1,020,602,269	67,396,967	6.4
1850.....	635,381,604	81,984,616	11.3
1851.....	927,237,089	112,314,517	12.11

IMPORT OF AMERICAN PROVISIONS INTO LIVERPOOL.

Imports.	Beef.		Pork.	Bacon.	Cheese.		Lard.	
	Tees.	Brls.	Brls.	Cwts.	Casks.	Boxes.	Brls.	Kegs.
1843....	3,498	5,005	2,956	..	4,500	19,093	23,500	24,706
1844....	9,300	8,354	7,939	..	5,287	18,245	20,027	28,795
1845....	15,573	3,337	7,930	..	5,017	44,445	9,346	56,325
1846....	25,913	9,218	14,871	..	4,049	58,749	21,635	65,508
1847....	16,591	4,161	29,155	50,319	6,670	55,730	29,757	52,612
1848....	16,183	2,253	33,253	131,937	6,027	110,803	88,332	75,952
1849....	26,119	1,249	36,806	221,231	3,645	74,998	49,124	41,849
1850....	20,443	1,270	18,576	156,297	3,687	64,025	74,610	54,518
1851....	23,549	2,625	5,149	62,231	1,718	54,889	46,992	911*

Boston, though much inferior to Philadelphia in population, is the third in order of the American cities as relates to commercial intercourse with Liverpool. The population of Boston has increased from 18,000 in 1793, to 136,871 in 1851. Few of the exports of Boston are derived from the cultivation of the soil. Stormy seas, abounding in fish: vast forests, yielding timber, ashes, and turpentine: ponds of pure water, yielding ice, furnish the principal exports of New England to Old England. Manufactures, and the materials of manufacturing industry, also form a large portion of the trade of Boston, though not of its trade with Britain. In the absence of good or extensive water communication with the interior, a railroad from Boston to Albany renders the former port a good place of landing for emigrants. The British and North American steamers start alternately from New York and Boston.

Philadelphia, on the Delaware, a beautiful stream 275 miles in length, and the outlet of an extensive state, rich in grain and minerals and public works, is second to New York alone in population. In 1793 it had only 42,520 inhabitants; in 1851, 400,045. From the excellence of its internal communications, it possesses a good share of the passenger trade. The charge of travelling is wonderfully low for emigrants: from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, a distance of 482 miles, 5 dollars, or 20s.: from Philadelphia to St. Louis, near the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi, a distance of 1,606 miles, 10 dollars 38 cents, or about 42s. A line of screw steamers, consisting of the City of Glasgow and City of Manchester, keeps up a regular communication between Philadelphia and Liverpool.

Charleston, the port of the great cotton-growing state of South Carolina, comes next in the extent of its intercourse with Liverpool. The population of Charleston, in 1851, amounted to 42,985 inhabitants. It sent to Liverpool 168,567 bales of cotton, besides large quantities of rice.

Mobile, the port of the youthful but flourishing state of Alabama, rich

* Messrs. W. Gardner and Co.'s Circular, January, 1852.

in a most fertile soil, in navigable rivers, and in mineral resources, (to be developed at a future time,) comes next. After languishing for ages in the hands of the Spaniards, Mobile has been raised to the rank of a great commercial city, containing 20,513 inhabitants, by the energetic race of the Anglo-Americans, in about thirty years.

Savannah, the chief port of Georgia, one of the most flourishing of the southern states, also possesses an export cotton trade of 172,796 bales.

Baltimore, though the third city on the American seaboard, and containing a population which has increased from 13,503 in 1793, to 169,054 in 1851, does not carry on so large a commerce with Liverpool as some other cities which are inferior to it in general commerce. The tobacco trade, the commencement of the prosperity of Liverpool, is one of the principal branches of the trade of Baltimore; but immense duties check this trade, and throw a considerable part of it into the hands of smugglers. The flour of Baltimore has a high reputation, and forms a considerable article of the commerce of the port; 900,000 barrels of flour and 42,000 hogsheads of tobacco, of which 35,000 were exported, arrived at Baltimore, from the interior, in 1851.

The following is an account of the stocks, imports, and deliveries of tobacco in Liverpool during the last ten years:

STATEMENT OF THE IMPORTS, DELIVERIES, AND STOCK OF TOBACCO, FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS.

Names of Places.	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
IMPORTS.										
Virginia	5178	4852	4804	5815	6343	5698	3269	5785	2162	1680
New Orleans	7580	7530	6976	6959	8669	4512	6677	5833	6422	5932
Baltimore .....	...	...	47	...	8	...	5	...	1465	1224
Other Ports	371	1350	614	596	...	156	526	1587	2507	1205
Totals	13129	13732	12441	13370	15020	10366	10477	13205	12556	10041
DELIVERIES.										
Home Use	3907	4777	4986	4377	4516	4965	4911	4945	4633	5253
Ireland	2579	2761	3547	3406	3764	2788	3357	2970	2783	2329
Export	2399	2100	1760	2048	2077	2054	2355	2781	2012	2637
Coastwise	1036	1411	1319	2510	2004	2067	2188	2273	2031	2233
Totals	9921	11049	11612	12341	12361	11874	12811	12960	11459	12452
STOCKS.										
1st January ...	3553	12761	15444	16273	17302	19961	18453	16119	16355	17452
31st December	12761	15444	16273	17302	19961	18453	16119	16355	17452	15041

Of the 2,637 hhds. exported last year, 1,465 were for Africa, 383 Rotterdam, 146 Fernando Po, 52 Ostend, 67 Zante, 36 Smyrna, 36 Marseilles, 25 Rio Janeiro, 25 Bahia, 1 St. Vincent, 40 Malta, 24 New York, 25 Tronyem, 16 Jersey, 14 Christiana, 15 Draaman, 10 Cape Good Hope, 6

* Messrs. Parry and Crosbie's Circular, January, 1852.

Genoa, 5 Demerara, 3 Sierra Leone, 1 Newfoundland, 1. Antigua, 1 Nantes, 85 Alexandria, 91 Antwerp, 15 Gibraltar, and 49 Isle of Man.

Apalachicola, the cotton port of Florida, which has sprung up within the last twenty years from nothing to be a place of great commercial activity, is the last American port that it is necessary to mention in detail.

It will be seen from the table given in a previous page (773) that the number of vessels which cleared out from Liverpool for ports of the United States in 1851 was 992, the tonnage 886,909: add to this the tonnage inwards, which is about the same, and the result is a movement of 1,773,818 tons of shipping yearly between Liverpool and the United States of America. Immense as this trade is it admits of much greater development, for there is no limit to the production of British manufactures, except the limit of demand; and it is equally difficult to assign any limit to the agricultural wealth of the United States.

Another principal cause of the extension of the commerce of Liverpool has been the opening of the trade with India and China, the former of which was closed against the merchants of the outports, and the private merchants of London, until the year 1814; the latter until the year 1833. Some notion of the rapidity with which this trade has increased may be formed from the fact that the tonnage which cleared out from the port of Liverpool alone, in the year 1851, was nearly three times as great as the whole amount of the tonnage employed in the British commerce with India and China the year before the trade of India was thrown open to private merchants. It appears, from the papers laid before Parliament in 1814, that the number of ships employed in the trade with India and China in the previous year was 66, of 57,591 tons burden, whilst in 1850 the tonnage of the vessels which cleared out from Liverpool alone for those countries was 135,597, and from the whole kingdom 339,934 tons.

At the close of the general war, in 1815, India, and the great countries lying still further to the East, could scarcely be said to compete with the tropical regions of America in the European markets. Their trade was chiefly confined to articles of which they had almost an exclusive possession, as tea, spices, saltpetre, lac and other Eastern dyes. The quantities of sugar, cotton, and coffee which they supplied were quite insignificant. Now they not only supply the articles which they formerly furnished in much greater quantities, but compete with the United States, the West Indies, and Brazil in the production of all kinds of tropical produce. In the year 1812, when both Java and Mauritius, as well as India and Ceylon, were in the hands of the East India Company,

the imports of sugar from the East were 76,889 cwt., or less than 5,000 tons; last year the importation of East India and Mauritius sugar, into this county, was 2,565,072 cwt., or upwards of 120,000 tons. So recently as the year 1831 the quantity of coffee produced in Ceylon was only 1,407,227 lbs.; last year it was 35,000,000 lbs. In 1816 the quantity of East India cotton imported into this country was 31,000 bales; last year it was 232,100 bales. An immense increase has also taken place in the imports of indigo, saltpetre, pepper, cinnamon, and other products, which are considered to be especially East Indian. Of tea the consumption has increased from 25,917,853 lbs. in 1815 to 53,965,112 lbs. in 1851, and the import to 71,466,460 lbs. Liverpool, which had no share of the trade of India or China at the close of the war, last year imported 16,781,049 lbs. of tea, 482,000 bags of sugar of 1½ cwt. each, the produce of Bengal, Mauritius, Java, and Manilla, and 232,172 bales of cotton, besides large quantities of coffee, rice, saltpetre, and other East Indian articles. The exports of British goods to the East are now only second to those to the United States. In the year 1850 the value of the British exports to India was £8,022,655; to the Indian Islands, £700,760; to Mauritius, £313,386; to Ascension and St. Helena, £30,063; and to China, £1,574,145: a trade of nearly twelve millions a-year to the countries formerly under the government, or charter, of the East India Company. If to this is added the exports to South Africa, £796,600, and to Australia, £2,602,258, we have an export trade of nearly fifteen millions, and an import trade of at least an equal amount, with the countries lying between the Cape and the Pacific Ocean.

IMPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EAST INDIA PRODUCE AT
LIVERPOOL, IN THE YEARS 1850 AND 1851.

Articles.	1851	1850	Articles.	1851	1850
Cassia Lignea.....cases	.....	165	Pepper (black)...bags, &c.	3,500	8,760
Coffee, Ceylon .....bags	3,430	15,350	Rice	184,700	314,000
„ other East India „	400	775	Rum .....punchs.	420	315
Cotton .....bales	232,100	192,500	Sago, Pearl and Flour,bags	41,900	35,200
Ginger .....bags, &c.	1,800	9,650	Safflower .....bales	250	65
Hides .....number	218,700	386,400	Saltpetre.....bags	44,500	42,850
Indigo.....chest	760	400	Sugar, Bengal ...bags, &c.	350,950	334,250
Jute and Hemp .....bales	95,000	83,500	„ Mauritius „	72,000	76,500
Lac Dye.....chest	315	1,180	„ Manilla, &c. „	59,970	22,135
Shell Lac „	3,230	2,680	Terra Japonica, &c.,baskets	35,700	23,400
Linseed .....quarters	30,300	15,500	Tea .....lbs.	16,781,050	9,117,730*

The following tables will show the number of vessels cleared out from Liverpool for places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Pacific

* Report of the Liverpool East India and China Association, 1852, 37.

Ocean, in the years 1848, 49, 50, and 51; and, also, the total amount of the tonnage of the United Kingdom to India and China, exclusive of the Mauritius, and the proportion possessed by Liverpool and the Clyde, in 1850:

OUTWARDS.

Names of Places.	1851.	1850.	1849.	1848.
Calcutta .....Ships	127	130	120	84
"Tons	72,461	65,653	59,684	42,336
Madras .....Ships	3	6	5	6
"Tons	823	1,880	1,449	1,725
Bombay.....Ships	57	67	62	52
"Tons	37,604	46,015	38,852	29,261
China.....Ships	27	32	32	42
"Tons	11,371	12,660	12,689	16,335
Ceylon .....Ships	7	11	4	4
"Tons	2,294	3,336	1,287	1,642
Singapore, &c. ....Ships	19	18	18	9
"Tons	7,010	6,023	5,163	3,122
Java, &c.....Ships	2	4	8	2
"Tons	554	1,463	3,221	757
Mauritius .....Ships	9	10	9	7
"Tons	2,444	2,826	2,366	2,461
New South Wales.....Ships	32	36	25	18
"Tons	23,225	22,970	17,157	8,093
Cape of Good Hope, &c.....Ships	27	15	20	20
"Tons	8,056	3,740	6,356	5,314*

INWARDS.

Names of Places.	1851.	1850.	1849.	1848.
Calcutta.....Ships	106	121	103	112
"Tons	54,680	59,397	50,623	54,075
Madras .....Ships	14	7	4	6
"Tons	5,102	2,287	1,565	2,165
Bombay.....Ships	69	62	40	53
"Tons	48,278	41,475	24,845	29,610
China.....Ships	32	21	20	25
"Tons	12,843	8,199	7,594	8,704
Ceylon .....Ships	2	5	2	1
"Tons	758	1,745	581	286
Singapore, &c. ....Ships	15	11	10	10
"Tons	6,226	3,727	4,192	3,792
Java, &c.....Ships	...	3	1	2
"Tons	...	1,416	608	1,216
Mauritius .....Ships	16	12	15	3
"Tons	3,856	3,553	4,524	891
New South Wales .....Ships	6	3	3	6
"Tons	3,366	1,110	919	2,023
Cape of Good Hope, &c.....Ships	6	3	1	3
"Tons	1,385	934	155	891†

TOTAL TONNAGE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO INDIA AND CHINA,
(EXCLUSIVE OF MAURITIUS.)

Outwards in 1850 339,034
Inwards..... 325,801

Total..... 664,835

Of which Liverpool had—

Outwards in 1850 135,597, or 40 per cent.

Inwards..... 116,830, or 36 „

The Clyde—

Outwards 65,689, or 20 „

Inwards..... 13,018, or 4 „

Total..... 331,134 ‡

* Report of the Liverpool East India and China Association, 1852, 36. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, 35.

The following tables will show the exports of the principal manufactures of Great Britain to India and China, from the port of Liverpool, in the years 1850 and 1851:

COTTON GOODS AND TWIST, WOOLLEN AND SILK GOODS, LINEN, &c., AND BEER, EXPORTED AT LIVERPOOL TO ALL PARTS OF THE EAST INDIES AND CHINA, IN THE YEARS 1851 AND 1850.

CALICOES.									
	Plain.	Print & Dy'd.	Cambrics and Muslins.	Hosiery, Caps, &c.	Lace, Gauze, Netts & Crapes.	Shawls and Hkerchiefs.	Thread and Sewing.	Twist and Yarn.	Other kinds.
	<i>Yds.</i>	<i>Yds.</i>	<i>Yds.</i>	<i>Dozen.</i>	<i>Yds.</i>	<i>Dozen.</i>	<i>Lbs.</i>	<i>Lbs.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Calcutta in 1851	119,515,665	13,675,690	112,800	2,195	236,400	900	22,916	9,980,170	.....
1850	107,946,580	11,265,850	10,400	5,430	99,264	1,263	21,300	9,489,440	.....
Madras 1851	200,490	84,000	2,625	350	35,000	.....	3,800	128,330	.....
1850	1,604,755	292,170	.....	340	35,000	.....	1,790	221,900	.....
Bombay 1851	82,608,700	8,176,930	174,140	2,925	1,060	2,191	12,145	4,614,900	.....
1850	69,732,000	12,583,880	178,255	37,000	57,970	1,280	21,255	3,724,000	.....
Singapore 1851	15,582,500	2,763,880	19,960	200	.....	1,160	1,050	621,150	.....
1850	9,161,270	3,573,545	12,000	1,660	.....	2,485	6,995	156,100	.....
China 1851	58,938,703	3,253,240	12,000	.....	43,600	.....	200	1,913,220	.....
1850	47,508,525	2,662,610	1,640	140	26,000	35	3,600	1,762,880	.....
Ceylon 1851	4,321,980	346,865	3,000	620	1,200	.....	1,600	78,700	.....
1850	1,871,885	315,170	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,990	6,200	.....
Java 1851	12,730,690	7,205,980	.....	170	.....	.....	30,740	446,610	.....
1850	5,250,810	6,855,740	2,615	180	.....	.....	22,325	66,475	.....
Mauritius 1851	266,580	49,050	.....	.....	65,080	.....	600	.....	.....
1850	141,260	220,730	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Philippine Islands 1851	4,386,360	3,640,500	1,500	.....	143,300	2,626	80,000	.....	.....
1850	4,095,115	2,839,060	15,300	190	46,000	800	22,160	1,800	.....
CARPETS, CLOTHS, &c.									
	Carpets and Rugs.	Interior Cloths.	Superior Cloths.	Flannel and Blanketing.	Hosiery.	Stuffs.	Other Sorts.	Stuffs of Silk.	Salt-Cloth.
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Calcutta in 1851	£23,590	£4,045	£3,380	£3,565	£635	£73,320	£6,115	£2,445	21,112
1850	16,140	1,225	3,565	240	67,150	2,225	6,380	11,975	11,975
Madras 1851	1,200	.....	.....	.....	215	1,240	30	.....	.....
1850	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,135	2,700	305	8,370	8,370
Bombay 1851	3,850	2,415	145	.....	38,880	1,535	.....	2,593	68,040
1850	11,135	2,225	400	170	16,115	950	.....	7,800	106,340
Singapore 1851	1,485	.....	.....	.....	21,453	360	790	54,185	58,620
1850	2,015	.....	.....	.....	77,540	450	30	10,780	18,560
China 1851	11,085	1,020	580	.....	121,580	360	.....	17,160	10,900
1850	35,836	300	30	.....	620	220	.....	1,308	.....
Ceylon 1851	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85	.....	.....	.....
1850	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,810	600	.....	3,670	3,670
Java 1851	.....	.....	140	.....	7,350	.....	95	35,900	12,240
1850	315	260	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,240	.....
Mauritius 1851	130	.....	.....	.....	100	245	.....	.....	.....
1850	.....	none	.....	.....	7,200	.....	.....	29,800	.....
Philippine Islands 1851	490	.....	125	.....	5,340	940	215	83,450	.....
1850	570	305	120	110	.....	.....	33,145	.....	165
BEER.									
	Glass.	Bulk.							
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>							
Calcutta in 1851	£14,515	.....						
1850	21,320	180							
Madras 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Bombay 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Singapore 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
China 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Ceylon 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Java 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Mauritius 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					
Philippine Islands 1851	.....	.....					
1850	.....	.....					

* Report of the Liverpool East India and China Association, 1852, 39 and 40.

The following is a statement of the principal exports from Bombay to Great Britain during the last eight years :

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS FROM BOMBAY TO GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE LAST EIGHT YEARS.

Articles.	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Cotton..... bales	241,322	127,815	95,604	221,264	164,297	244,596	302,648	225,278
Wool	8,225	10,800	13,870	10,295	13,000	10,741	11,709	16,320
Coffee	41,192	19,699	13,391	23,733	15,229	20,323	29,183	15,090
Pepper	18,985	21,889	16,775	19,882	8,685	15,299	22,014	12,296
Ginger.....	1,015	409	2,129	...	2,022	4,706	6,526	6,862
Cardamoms ...	429	243	682	1,019	248	875	653	493
Hemp	9,082	8,102	6,160	2,432	4,249	10,512	11,605	4,205
Linseed	20,963	24,897	486	3,281	32,001	42,039	44,909	59,271
Myrabolams ...	30,022	12,053	17,524	12,925	300	6,227	17,516	36,359
Senna	1,522	2,917	4,994	4,145	3,029	3,475	4,228	2,129
Sapau Wood ...	9,631	14,970	6,604	5,153	5,262	3,754	4,475	4,167
Mother-o'-Pearl } Shells	3,407	2,991	2,546	1,417	1,738	1,980	1,067	1,193
Ivory	3,759	4,405	2,671	2,957	2,072	3,554	3,035	3,570
Buffalo Horns	6,220	6,373	7,161	2,587	1,902	2,864	4,845	6,059
Deer Horns ...	920	1,163	932	1,078	982	328	2,778	2,110
Gum Arabic ...	9,325	11,347	15,939	14,905	10,703	14,166	17,924	11,466
Gum Animi ...	...	1,538	1,376	1,482	830	1,460	1,929	2,002
Gum Olibanum	8,143	8,882	8,795	6,204	8,132	6,528	4,920	12,208
Gum Amonicum	39	...	102	137	122	1,293	344	193
Gum Benjamin	285	48	307	...	10	137	584	639
Gum Myrrh ...	742	443	196	166	93	281	332	753
Gum Gattahu ...	1,138	108	1,760	912	212	1,113	1,480	2,960
Gum Assafoetida	606	1,611	1,892	507	191	715	1,103	1,580
Cowries	4,902	3,668	1,356	43	958	1,483	3,157	6,311
Cassia	4,854	3,423	998	91	11	1,014	313	571
Coir Rope .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yarn	8,948	3,043	7,713	3,116	6,627	7,615	8,661	4,280
Aloes	389	328	332	295	270	616	171	43
Turmeric	1,368	827	...	...	...	857	5,300	5,143
Indigo.....	...	74	2	...	...	151	239	811
Bees' Wax	388	187	399	...	...	347	427	645
Cloves	923	494	635	692	...	1,882	3,717	1,423
Munjeet	4,017	7,500	6,400	...	...	...	3,518	15,269

Calcutta, the capital of the great presidency of Bengal, containing 56,283,851 inhabitants, intersected and watered by the Ganges and its various tributaries, stands first amongst the seaports of India, in the amount of its commercial communication with Liverpool. This splendid presidency contains upwards of 400 indigo factories ; a million acres of land applied to the cultivation of indigo ; nearly all the sugar plantations and works of India, in which sugar is prepared for exportation, the most valuable being about Benares ; produces opium of the value of two millions a-year ; and the whole soil is so impregnated with saltpetre that it may be had to any extent. Silk is also produced, and prepared after the Italian manner. The population of Calcutta and its suburbs is not less than 400,000 inhabitants. Its exports have been estimated at £7,274,683, of which £3,765,831 are sent to Great Britain ; its imports at £4,123,213, consisting chiefly of cotton cloth and twist, woollen goods, metals, hardwares, and British manufactures generally.

* Report of the Liverpool East India and China Association, 1852, 27.

Bombay stands next. This presidency contains 59,438 square miles of territory, peopled by 6,261,546 inhabitants. Cotton and rice are the most valuable articles which it produces. The city contained 235,000 inhabitants in 1845, and contains considerably more at present. In 1845 the value of its exports was supposed to be £8,992,212, and of its imports £8,742,237. It already possesses the advantage of being a great steam-boat station, and before long will possess a railway communication with the interior, which will give an immense impulse to its foreign commerce. These two ports divide the Indian trade between them, and serve as central points for the coasting trade and the trade with the interior, as well as the foreign commerce of India.

The trade of Madras is much inferior to that of Calcutta and Bombay, partly from the want of a harbour, and partly because the country is less prosperous than Bengal, owing to the want of fixedness in the amount of the land-tax, which varies in Madras, but has been permanently settled in Bengal.

The cultivation of Ceylon has been wonderfully developed within the last few years. In 1849 the exports of the Island were of the value of £784,554. 12s. 2d., in 1850 of the value of £855,329. 13s. 4d.; in the former year the imports were of the value of £928,869. 0s. 9d.; in the latter of £1,030,296. 9s. 3d. In the former year the quantity of cinnamon exported was 733,781 lbs., in the latter 644,857 lbs.: in the former the quantity of coffee exported was 35,000,000 lbs.; in the latter 36,000,000 lbs. At the time when the coffee-berry is ripe great numbers of Hindoos come over from the mainland of India and assist in picking it, as the Irish labourers come over to this country to the harvest and hop picking.

In Mauritius, or the Isle of France, the cultivation of sugar is said to have increased from seventy to eighty fold since the island came into the hands of the British Government. This most beautiful and fertile island contains a population of 161,920 inhabitants, on a territory of 700 square miles. In 1847 there were 33,651 persons employed in sugar cultivation. In 1850 the imports of all kinds were of the value of £961,200; the exports of the value of £993,199. This island has the immense advantage of an abundant supply of labour. The cost of importing each labourer from India is £5, and of this sum £3. 10s. is recovered by a stamp duty on the first engagement which the labourer enters into on arriving in the colony. The sugar crop of the Mauritius in 1850 was estimated at 115,000,000 of lbs. weight, or about 50,000 tons.

Moulmain, in the province of Tenasserim, in India beyond the Ganges, is also becoming a place of considerable trade. Six ships

cleared out from Liverpool for Moulmain in 1851. It possesses a good harbour, and communicates with the interior by the great river of Saluen or Martaban. The chief products of Tenasserim are the teak wood of its magnificent forests, rice, tobacco, and shell-lac; its chief imports are British cotton goods.

Proceeding eastward, the flourishing British settlement of Singapore, already containing a population of 50,000 inhabitants, rises at the entrance of the Indian Archipelago. Singapore became a British possession in 1819, and is now the central point for the trade of the East. From five to six millions worth of property pass through Singapore yearly. The late Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the Governor of Java, whilst that fine island remained in the hands of England, was the founder of the settlement of Singapore. Every year bears stronger evidence to the value of this admirably-selected position.

Still farther eastward, on the coast of Borneo, and the highway to the Philippine Islands and China, the small island of Labuan has been recently occupied by England. The value of this possession arises from its rich beds of coal, which promise to make it a possession of immense use in the extension of steam navigation in the East. In 1849 the population of Labuan was only 1,385, and that year 678 tons of coal were got for the vessels calling there, and 100 tons sent to Singapore. The coal lies close to the surface, in thick beds, and is therefore easily worked.

An extract from a despatch of Lieut.-Governor Scott to Lord Grey, dated Labuan, 25th March, 1851, states that "The examination which has been made during the past year of these coal measures has established their extent and value to be fully equal to the expectation that had been formed of them. The large seam alone cannot contain less than 700,000 tons of coal laying above tide level."*

DISTANCES FROM LABUAN TO

Singapore	Miles	707
Calcutta		2,300
Madras		2,270
Ceylon		2,150
Bombay		3,170
Aden		4,300
Mauritius		3,900
Cape of Good Hope		6,100
Siam		948

* Communication of Eastern Archipelago Company to Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1852.

Manilla	Miles 650
Adelaide	3,960
Hobart Town	4,380
Hongkong	1,009
Batavia	900
Sydney	3,750
New Zealand	4,150
Sandwich Islands	4,900
Otaheite	6,000
San Francisco	7,000
Panama	9,950
Valparaiso	10,300
Lima	10,000
Port Philip	4,320
Swan River	2,580

It would be difficult to find a more central point, whether as an entrepot, or for coaling, watering, &c., having regard to the whole of our commerce in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, than the English island of Labuan.

Hongkong, the only portion of Chinese territory ever ceded to England, contained 33,143 inhabitants in the year 1850. The number of vessels which entered Hongkong in 1850 was 884, tonnage 299,093, being a decrease of 12 vessels, and an increase of 5,382 tons, in comparison with 1849. The possession of this small island gives great security to the trade with the south of China, which it did not possess when the property and persons of Europeans were at the mercy of the Governor of Canton. For commercial purposes Hongkong, Whampoa, and Canton are all one. The exports of Canton in 1845 were of the value of £6,622,726, and the imports of the value of £3,046,942. The tea trade is the great trade of southern China. Hongkong has now a regular steam communication with England. The time occupied is fifty-six days.

Sixteen vessels cleared out of Liverpool for Shanghai, the great port of the north of China, in 1851. The position of this city is scarcely inferior to that of New York or New Orleans, the two great rivers of China, which enter the sea near Shanghai, being each from 2,500 to 2,700 miles in length. As many as 3,000 junks are sometimes seen at Shanghai, by which the silks, teas, and other produce of the interior, are brought there, and British manufactures are distributed to all parts of the coast and the interior of China.

Aden, at the entrance of the Red Sea, came into possession of

England in the year 1839. It is the only portion of Arabia possessed by any Christian power. The harbour is magnificent and the fortress impregnable ; and its value as a resting-place and coaling station between Suez and Bombay is incalculable.

The following table contains the latest account of the trade of the cotton districts of Lancashire and Lanarkshire with the East, and shows to what extent it is carried on through Liverpool, London, and Glasgow :

EXPORTS TO THE EAST FOR THE MONTH OF APRIL, 1852.

Bay of Bengal.	Plain Cottons.	Printed Cottons.	Cotton Twist.	
	Packages.	Packages.	Packages.	lb
London	637	78	947	458,502
Liverpool	5,008	365	1,456	715,910
Clyde.....	1,409	..	404	188,500
Amount per last statement	7,044 21,732	443 972	2,807 10,314	1,362,912 5,007,658
Jan. 1st to May 1st, 1852	28,776	1,415	13,121	6,370,568
Ditto, ditto, 1851	34,647	2,926	14,874	7,236,698
Bombay.				
London	1,042	49	379	133,700
Liverpool	5,552	11	1,362	361,300
Clyde.....	816	11	413	134,060
Amount per last statement	7,410 8,763	71 193	2,154 2,146	629,060 641,254
Jan. 1st to May 1st, 1852	16,173	264	4,300	1,270,314
Ditto, ditto, 1851	7,014	552	3,260	939,730
China, Singapore, Batavia, and Manilla.				
London.....	555	117	221	89,000
Liverpool	3,535	231	883	346,670
Clyde.....	1,004	120	220	73,500
Amount per last statement	5,094 30,169	468 1,737	1,324 8,526	509,170 3,235,638
Jan. 1st to May 1st, 1852	35,263	2,205	9,850	3,744,808
Ditto, ditto, 1851	38,015	2,109	6,910	2,675,991
Increase to Bombay	9,159	..	1,040	330,584
Ditto China, Singapore, &c.	..	96	2,940	1,068,817
Decrease to Bay of Bengal	5,871	1,511	1,753	866,130
Ditto Bombay .....	..	288	..	..
Ditto China, Singapore, &c.	2,752	..	..	..*

* Dufay's Circular, May, 1852.

The following table will show the progress of the tea trade from the year 1833, when the merchants of Liverpool were first permitted to trade with China, to the present time :

TEA TRADE OF LIVERPOOL.

Years.	Imported into Liverpool.	Exported from Liverpool.	Total Delivery.	Total Deliveries of the Kingdom.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1833	.....	.....	.....	32,084,080
1834 }	7,029,207	921,550	4,948,329	{ 36,150,656
1835 }				{ 38,732,033
1836	7,336,389	639,690	5,999,207	53,412,099
1837	7,120,531	505,233	4,565,935	35,341,454
1838	4,165,507	1,123,272	6,222,890	34,929,470
1839	4,629,337	984,675	6,402,088	38,446,199
1840	4,612,837	1,233,897	6,572,494	34,636,012
1841	3,992,255	588,242	5,919,864	41,166,030
1842	7,433,948	1,212,310	6,788,054	43,066,039
1843	5,060,906	492,597	6,840,358	44,981,607
1844	9,846,200	742,529	8,388,534	46,677,000
1845	13,514,087	769,930	11,956,148	48,427,000
1846	18,000,000	575,534	13,560,991	51,000,003
1847	13,025,701	1,000,906	12,730,559	50,793,649
1848	10,143,460	628,696	13,320,426	52,231,000
1849	9,197,340	1,144,184	13,416,046	55,300,000
1850	9,117,726	1,366,020	11,820,124	56,400,000
1851	16,781,049	1,011,203	14,112,247	59,000,000

The imports for 1851 into the United Kingdom were, 71,466,460 lbs., against 48,300,000 lbs. in 1850 ; deliveries, ditto, 59,000,000 lbs., against 56,400,000 lbs. ; stocks, ditto, 48,000,000 lbs., against 34,500,000 lbs.

Whilst the growth and export of the sugar of the British possessions in the East Indies and the Mauritius has increased from 677,790 cwts., in 1831, to 2,565,072 cwts. in 1851 ; and the production of coffee in Ceylon has increased from 1,407,227 lbs. to 35,702,184 lbs. ; the production of sugar in the West Indies has decreased from 4,103,696 cwts. to 3,086,127 cwts., and of that of coffee from 20,017,023 lbs. to 3,590,839 lbs. The principal cause of this extraordinary difference in countries subject to the same laws, is the difference as to the supply of labour. In the East Indies labour is most abundant, and in Ceylon and Mauritius any deficiency that might otherwise have existed has been easily supplied from the continent of India. Since the abolition of slavery in the West Indies labour has been deficient in the larger colonies, especially in Jamaica and Demerara. Some of the smaller colonies are better supplied, and in them there has been no falling off in the quantity of sugar produced, but an increase. Thus, in Barbadoes, the quantity of sugar exported in 1831, under slavery, was 379,058 cwts. ; in 1849, under freedom, 488, 625 cwts. ; in Trinidad the quantity exported in 1831 was

327,667 cwts., in 1849, 424,466 cwts. The change in the other small colonies has been as follows:—Antigua, 193,177 cwts. in 1831, 188,981 cwts. in 1849; Dominica, 56,339 cwts. in 1831, 48,566 cwts. in 1849; Grenada, 185,771 cwts. in 1831, 82,499 cwts. in 1849; Montserrat, 26,137 cwts. in 1831, 63,000 cwts. in 1849; St. Kitts, 101,968 cwts. in 1831, 93,183 in 1849; St. Lucia, 72,376 cwts. in 1831, 67,395 cwts. in 1849; St. Vincent, 221,662 cwts. in 1831, 162,250 cwts. in 1849; Tobago, 121,249 cwts. in 1831, 47,312 cwts. in 1849; Tortola, 15,559 cwts. in 1831, 928 cwts. in 1849. The great falling off has been in Jamaica and Demerara; in the former from 1,429,093 cwts to 633,478 cwts., in the latter from 924,222 cwts. to 577,569 cwts.*

The quantity of cottons, and value of the woollens, silks, and linens, sent to the West Indies (British and foreign) in 1848-49-50 and 51 was as follows :

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTONS, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN WEST INDIES, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk mixed manufac- tures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixture, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
JAMAICA.	Yards.	Yards.	Lbs.	£	£	£
1848.....	4,737,998	6,090,734	..	228	42,384	3,789
1849.....	5,560,645	6,593,199	630	287	50,256	6,500
1850.....	7,889,074	7,424,098	2,250	157	61,287	10,003
1851.....	6,055,249	5,288,451	1,150	..	37,458	4,427
HONDURAS.						
1848.....	3,263,323	626,784	46,200	14	1,464	1,546
1849.....	5,039,589	2,157,788	38,891	1,886	3,099	2,914
1850.....	4,574,476	2,240,936	10,590	239	7,348	2,201
1851.....	6,236,898	2,529,660	4,300	70	5,293	718
OTHER PORTS, B.W.I.						
1848.....	5,202,473	4,195,992	27,132	2,312	43,769	17,790
1849.....	7,956,947	8,955,847	31,617	4,268	50,873	24,034
1850.....	6,973,024	6,852,926	33,840	6,027	62,886	35,625
1851.....	8,210,375	9,502,344	12,584	6,385	60,709	36,659
CUBA.						
1848.....	3,664,084	5,499,919	..	14,725	135,701	40,464
1849.....	5,584,237	8,931,943	2,280	14,836	244,681	48,658
1850.....	4,700,899	5,755,615	3,607	11,088	145,907	30,315
1851.....	7,335,995	11,524,449	7,336	14,990	209,048	26,207
ST. THOMAS.						
1848.....	3,120,572	2,574,093	400	558	32,124	6,263
1849.....	6,956,654	5,450,645	250	1,103	73,406	8,596
1850.....	10,155,401	11,963,941	..	891	122,364	18,945
1851.....	8,561,298	10,258,065	..	1,347	71,860	14,046
OTHER PORTS, F.W.I.						
1848.....	760,857	471,062	..	..	26,628	7,931
1849.....	735,209	1,901,370	580	37	32,168	14,570
1850.....	3,740,097	5,745,022	6,850	589	82,224	8,454
1851.....	2,703,727	4,781,466	..	2,052	60,336	8,356

* Parliamentary Papers, 1850, No. 280.

The following is the number of vessels, and their tonnage, which cleared out from Liverpool for the British and foreign West Indies in the year 1851 :

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Jamaica	23	3,991	Jacmel	1	200
Kingston	18	4,409	St. Domingo	4	437
Falmouth, Jamaica	1	445	Hayti	26	2,690
Curacoa	10	1,921	Montego Bay	2	438
Barbadoes	31	7,151	Porto Rico	21	3,231
Bermuda	1	162	St. Jago	2	610
St. Thomas	40	8,629	Trinidad Cuba	1	—
Cuba	5	1,352	Cienfuegos	4	1,036
Havannah	58	15,488	St. Vincent	3	474
Matanzas	6	660	Manzanilla de Cuba ..	2	684
Demerara	41	11,632	Trinidad	11	2,410
Gibara	1	300	Cardenas	1	—
Port-au-Prince	3	446	Antigua	16	3,505
Gonaives	3	780	Montserrat	2	209

The beautiful little island of Barbadoes is one of the most populous spots in America. It contains 150 square miles of land, and in 1844 had a population of 122,198 inhabitants, which is supposed to have increased three per cent. per annum since then.* The value of the imports of the island, in 1849, was £591,478; in 1850, £736,624: of the exports £791,740 in 1849, and £831,624 in 1850. The shipping which cleared out of Barbadoes, in 1849, was 85,738 tons; in 1850, 93,303 tons. The quantity of sugar produced in Barbadoes, under slavery, in 1830, was 26,354 hhds.; in 1840 it had fallen off, under freedom, to 13,898 hhds.; in 1845 it had again risen to 23,841 hhds., and since the reduction of the duty on West India sugars, in 1847, it has risen to 35,000 lbs. in 1850.

Grenada shows a great increase of imports, and a great decrease of exports. In 1830 the imports of the island were of the value of £72,682, in 1849 of the value of £133,647; a proof of a great increase of consumption. In 1830 the exports were of the value of £263,263, in 1850 of £105,370.† The produce of Grenada in 1849 was, sugar, 9,470,858 lbs.; rum, 244,396 gallons; molasses, 92,432 gallons; cocoa, 374,734 lbs.; cotton, 1,030 bales: in 1850, sugar, 11,227,353 lbs.; rum, 284,541

* Sir W. Colebrook's Report: Report on the state of the Colonies, 51, Session 1851.

† Ibid.

gallons; molasses, 82,329 gallons; coffee, 14,926 lbs.; cocoa, 438,637 lbs.; cotton, 600; arrowroot, 4,725.

Of Tobago the population in 1844 was 13,208, with every reason to expect a considerable increase. Imports, in 1835, £72,946; in 1850, £52,775: exports in 1835, £104,228; in 1850, £45,664.*

St. Vincent: The imports into this island in 1849 were of the value of £152,838; in 1850 of £167,310: the exports of the produce of the colony were of the value of £190,233 in 1849, of only £164,645 in 1850. The sugar made in 1849 was 7,664 tons; in 1850, 6,603 tons. Under slavery, in 1830, the imports of the island were of the value of £148,306; the exports of the value of £338,042.

St. Lucia: The imports, under slavery, in 1830, were £116,930; exports, £102,638: under freedom, in 1850, imports, £60,538; exports, £49,127.

Antigua: In 1849 the value of imports was £169,324; exports, £189,605: in 1850, imports, £163,623; exports, £131,882.

Jamaica, the largest of the West India Islands, and the one which has suffered most by the change from slavery to freedom, contains 4,200 square miles of land, of which a large part is uncultivated. According to the census of 1844, it contained 377,433 inhabitants, of whom 15,776 were whites, 68,529 coloured, and 293,128 blacks. It has suffered greatly from cholera during the last four years, by which 40,000 negroes are said to have perished, thus rendering the supply of labour still more insufficient than it was.

British Guiana, more commonly known as Demerara, but containing the three provinces of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, each of them named from a magnificent river, contains a territory as large as that of England. From the coast a rich alluvial plain extends inwards from twelve to forty miles, and behind rise terraces of fertile land, chiefly covered with forest. This colony would sustain millions of people, but it only possesses a population of 120,000 inhabitants. It is everywhere abundantly watered, and is alike free from the droughts of summer and the frosts of winter. The mean temperature of British Guiana is 81 degrees: the ordinary range of the temperature is from 75 to 96 degrees. With such a climate and abundance of moisture, the vegetation is the most luxuriant in the world, and nothing but a sufficient supply of labour is required to render British Guiana one of the finest colonies in the empire.

* Sir W. Colebrook's Report: Report on the state of the Colonies, 51, Session 1851.

So small a population as 120,000 inhabitants in so rich and vast a country is quite lost.

It is painful to contrast the condition of Cuba and Porto Rico, under slavery and the slave trade, with that of Jamaica and Demerara under freedom. Those colonies, it is true, contain a very much larger white population, in proportion to the whole number of inhabitants, than the British colonies, and the planter in the Spanish colonies is always a resident on his own estate, whilst in the British colonies he is too often an absentee. Cuba and Porto Rico comprise all that remains to Spain of the great empire of the Indies, which Columbus showed to her, and Cortez and Pizarro conquered. In 1841 Cuba contained 1,007,624 inhabitants, of whom 418,291 were whites, 152,838 free coloured, and 436,495 negro slaves. Porto Rico contained 500,000 inhabitants, of whom not more than from 50,000 to 100,000 were slaves. The negro population has greatly increased since that time both in Cuba and Porto Rico, by importations of negroes from Africa.

Hayti is, what all countries which rely on slavery will ultimately become—a wilderness. Its white inhabitants are long since exterminated. The cultivation of sugar is a mere nothing, but coffee is still grown to some extent, and the beautiful woods, which nature supplies, form an article of commerce.

The direct trade of Hayti, or St. Domingo, with Liverpool has been principally from the eastern part, the city of St. Domingo, renowned for its unrivalled mahogany. Since the duties on this wood have been taken off, commenced by Huskisson, the trade has much increased, as the wood is floated down, from the very centre of the island, by the river Artibonite, near Gonaives; whence large quantities are now imported, as well as from the city. Logwood, also, is an article of some importance from Hayti. Cotton is limited, and, generally, too dirty for the Manchester spinners. Of coffee about forty to fifty millions of pounds' weight are annually exported. Not much of it, however, finds its way into Great Britain, as it is generally too dirty for the grocers: it is consumed principally in Belgium, Germany, and France, and some in the United States of America. At the great opening of the trade, after the peace of 1815, the trade was of some importance to Great Britain, coffee at that period being three to four times its present value. British manufactures to the value of £800,000 were exported during some of the good years, but the export gradually declined to £250,000 and £300,000.

St. Thomas, the free port in the Danish island of St. Thomas, is the

great rendezvous of the West Indian seas, and is frequented by 3,000 vessels yearly. It is a mere depôt, containing only 12,800 white inhabitants, and yielding no great quantity of produce.

Belize, a British possession in Central America, contains 10,000 inhabitants. Its chief products are mahogany, logwood, fustic, braziletto, and dyewoods. This is a great and increasing trade. The particulars of it will be found in the account of the wood and timber trades.

Sugar, tea, and coffee come next, after bread, meat, and malt liquor, in the food and drink of the British people. The commerce in these articles is immense, and is rapidly increasing. In the year ending April, 1851, the quantity of sugar of all kinds imported into the United Kingdom was 7,200,000 ; in 1852, 7,638,000 cwts.,* of which 5,003,000 cwts. in the former, and 5,207,000 in the latter, was the growth of the British possessions in the East and West Indies.† Since the reduction of the duties on sugar, in 1846, the increase of consumption in the United Kingdom has been 1,900,000 cwts., or nearly thirty-three per cent. in six years.‡ This single article yielded a revenue of £4,163,535 in the last year. Tea has already been spoken of under the head of China. Of coffee, the consumption in Great Britain last year, 1851-2, was 34,390,000 lbs. In the financial year of 1851, the consumption of British colonial coffee was 28,216,000 lbs. ; of foreign, 2,076,375 lbs. ; in 1852, 29,150,000 lbs. colonial, and 5,524,000 lbs. foreign.§

It will be seen, from the following table, that London has a much greater trade in sugar than any other port in the kingdom, and that Liverpool comes next :

QUANTITY OF SUGAR ON WHICH DUTY WAS PAID IN EACH PORT IN 1851.

Places.	London.	Liverpool.	Bristol.	Hull.	Clyde.	Total in 1851.	Total in 1850.
	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.
East India	636,199	427,058	13,248	7,757	61,731	1,135,933	1,248,793
West India	1,382,769	399,412	257,490	41	314,383	2,354,095	2,225,625
Mauritius	433,490	66,574	92,876	298	255,835	850,078	1,008,459
Singapore and Penang	27,925	...	...	...	...	27,923	41,315
Manilla, Bata- via, & China }	37,567	21,814	...	3	3,308	62,692	71,228
Brazil	135,484	41,256	30,212	43	34,413	240,408	146,950
Havannah	294,478	24,524	210,536	...	28,161	557,690	359,370
Porto Rico	144,163	31,265	3,126	104	3,804	182,462	184,122
All other Foreign	91,167	71,330	28,747	207	43,138	162,529	97,481
Molasses, B.P.	116,716	217,694	3,954	...	389,723	728,077	839,830
Total	3,228,958	1,300,927	641,189	8,453	1,134,496	6,201,188	6,226,173

* Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, May 1st, 1852.

+ Ibid.

† Ibid.

§ Ibid.

The quantity of sugar refined in the United Kingdom is supposed to be about 240,000 tons. Of this, 30,000 to 40,000 tons is refined in Liverpool. The quantity of molasses is 33,000 to 34,000 tons, of which 10,000 tons is refined in Liverpool. The export trade in refined sugars, of British manufacture, is about equally divided between London, Liverpool, and Southampton.

The following tables, prepared by A. Klockmann, Esq., of London, contain the whole history of the sugar trade for some years :

PRODUCTION OF SUGAR.

	1849		1850		1851	1852
						Estimated.
Cuba .....Tons	220,000		250,000		320,000	260,000
Porto Rico	43,600		48,200		49,500	45,000
Brazils.....	106,000		103,000		113,000	90,000
Louisiana	98,200		120,400		103,200	118,000
French Colonies	56,300		47,200		54,500	55,000
Dutch West Indies	13,000		14,200		13,000	19,000
Danish West Indies	7,900		5,000		6,000	
British West Indies	142,200		129,200		153,300	260,000
British East Indies	73,400		67,300		78,300	
Mauritius	44,700		52,200		50,000	
For Europe and U.S. only						
Java	90,000		82,000		85,000	85,000
Manilla, Siam, & China	20,000		20,000		20,000	20,000
BETTEROOT.	915,300	Beetroot.	936,700	Beetroot.	1,045,800	952,000
France 38,000		61,000		75,000		
Belgium 5,000		6,000		8,000		
Zollverein ... 33,000		38,000		49,000		
Russia and } Austria }	20,000	25,000		30,000		
	96,000		130,000		162,000	160,000
Total Tons...	1,011,300		1,066,700		1,207,800	1,112,000

TABLE SHOWING THE PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND STOCKS, FROM 1843 TO 1852.

Year.	Production.	Consumption.	Stocks in Europe on 1st January.	Prices in Bond in the 1st week of each year.	W India Gazette average : brown & yel. Havana.	Average.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	s. d.	s. s. d.	s. d.
1843 ...	762,200	745,243	125,550	32 7½	18 @ 22 6	20 3
1844 ...	818,200	823,543	140,507	34 3	17 @ 22 0	19 6
1845 ...	859,400	864,378	133,164	30 11½	18 @ 23 6	20 9
1846 ...	901,500	923,975	130,186	34 2½	22 @ 29 0	25 6
1847 ...	1,071,200	998,172	110,711	35 7	{ 20 @ 25 0 22 @ 31 0 }	22/6 & 26/6
1848 ...	1,067,200	1,043,427	183,739	24 7½	18 @ 24 0	21 0
1849 ...	1,011,300	1,025,171	207,512	23 3½	16 6 @ 23 0	18 9
1850 ...	1,066,700	1,083,604	193,641	25 5¼	18 @ 24 0	21 0
1851 ...	1,207,800	1,144,989	176,737	29 4½	20 @ 26 6	23 3
Estmd.						
1852 ...	1,112,000	.....	239,548	21 7	15 @ 23 0	19 0

Second, in the amount of its contributions to the Dock Estate of Liverpool, is the trade with the British North American Provinces of Canada,

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island.

Last year the following number and tonnage of vessels cleared out for British North America :

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO BRITISH NORTH AMERICA IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Montreal	48	16,780	Bathurst, N.B.	3	2,076
Paspebiac	1	..	Richibucto, N.B.	6	1,724
Canso	2	348	St. John's, N.B.	44	24,113
St. Mary's, N.S.	1	..	Pngwash	4	932
St. John's, Newfoundland	80	13,194	Yarmouth, N.S.	1	202
Labrador	9	972	Harbour Grace, Newf'd.	5	864
Quebec	178	81,186	St. Andrew's, N.B.	6	2,499
Gut of Canso	1	156	Magaguadavic	1	..
Wallace, N.S.	1	..	Shediac, N.B.	1	352
Windsor, N.S.	3	577	Pictou, N.S.	3	427
New Carlisle, Labrador..	3	186	Tatamagouche	1	..
Davis Straits	5	144	Staten Island	19	13,921
Gaspé	6	617	Restigouche ...	3	378
Miramichi	7	3,228	Dalhousie	3	911
St. Stephens	7	1,516	Arichat	2	190
Halifax, N.S.	69	16,455	Campo Bello	1	125
Prince Edward's Island.	11	2,010	Shippigan	2	989
Three Rivers	1	..	Liverpool	1	218
Baie Verte, N.B.	1	126	Cape Breton	3	402

The following were the imports of cottons, woollens, worsted, silk, and linens into British North America during the last four years :

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed manufactures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	9,911,445	7,159,280	832,224	54,972	7,251	262,385
1849	10,752,350	9,751,658	828,281	64,221	17,275	264,894
1850	11,463,316	12,760,957	508,432	88,390	12,094	439,308
1851	12,017,984	14,337,898	524,335	106,669	13,890	353,788

Canada, the great valley of the St. Lawrence, is the first in order of these provinces. It is alike rich in grain and in the products of the boundless forests, which still cover five-sixths of its surface ; and the stupendous river which intersects it, with its tributaries, forms a great natural highway, thousands of miles in length, along which the products

of the most distant regions of the interior of America find a cheap and easy carriage to the ocean, and the produce and emigrants of Europe find an equally easy access to the fertile regions which border the stream of the St. Lawrence, and the magnificent freshwater lakes into which it expands in its course to the ocean.

Although there are persons now alive who remember the time when the upper provinces did not contain 30,000 inhabitants, and when the French habitants formed nearly the whole population of the lower, Canada is rapidly rising to the position of a great state, full of resources, and inhabited by a people capable of developing them with vigour and success. In the year 1850 (the last for which we possess complete and official returns) the value of the exports of Canada was £3,235,948. These exports were furnished by the field, the forest, the seas, the lakes, and the mines. The cultivated land of the province supplied England, the United States, and other countries with 650,439 barrels of flour, 1,293,029 bushels of wheat, 60,313 bushels of Indian corn, 66,514 bushels of barley and rye, 4,707 barrels of meal, 258,600 bushels of beans and peas, and 667,652 bushels of oats. The vast forests supplied 31,389 barrels of pot ashes, and 11,178 of pearl, and the following quantities and varieties of timber:—Of ash timber, 1,713 tons; beech, 4,613 tons; birch, 38,212 tons; elm, 140 tons; maple, 30,446 tons; oak, 30,446 tons; white pine, 372,742 tons; red pine, 89,996 tons; and hemlock, 1,007 tons; of walnut, 703,000 feet; baywood, hackmatac, and hickory, 223,000 feet; of staves, 728,000; of battens, knees, scantling, and trenails, 472,184 pieces; plank and board, 122,240 thousand feet; and deals, 2,998,608 pieces. The ocean and the lakes yielded 48,852 cwt. of fish; and the copper mines of Lake Superior 243 tons of copper ore, and $55\frac{1}{4}$ tons of copper. Comparing the exports of 1849 and 1850, the former were of the value of £2,498,777, the latter of the value of £3,235,948, or omitting the value of the ships built and exported, which appear in the accounts of 1850, and not in those of 1849, £2,915,518.

Whilst the exports of the colony were thus large, the imports were still more so. The value of the imports of 1849 were £3,002,891, and those of 1850, £4,245,517; the revenue of the former year, £444,547; that of the latter, £615,694. The imports included the following articles of British manufacture: namely, cotton goods, £906,916; woollens, £548,344; linen, £68,052; silk, £138,920; iron and hardware, £320,264.

The number of vessels which cleared out from the seaports of Canada, in 1849, was 1,392, tonnage 521,604, men 18,643 ; in 1850, ships 1,587, tonnage 543,963, men 19,116.

The tonnage on the three great canals was as follows:—On the Welland Canal, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, in 1849, 458,410 tons, 1850, 587,100 tons ; on the St. Lawrence Canals, in 1849, 444,640 tons, in 1850, 460,180 ; on the Chambley Canal, 1849, 128,642 tons, 1850, 143,194 tons. The net revenue of the canals was £48,033 in 1849, and £55,110 in 1850.

The number of vessels built in Canada, in 1850, was 87, namely, 76 sailing vessels and 11 steamers.

The timber trade, which is the principal trade of Canada, is almost the only trade of that great region of forests—New Brunswick. It will be seen, from the tabular account of the timber trade of Liverpool, given below, how large are the importations from St. John's, the principal seaport of that extensive province. This great trade, after having been considerably depressed, has recovered from its depression during the last year. The following extract from the parliamentary papers of last session, will show the progress of the New Brunswick timber trade in 1849, 1850, and 1851 :

LICENSES FOR CUTTING TIMBER IN NEW BRUNSWICK, SOLD IN 1849, 1850, AND 1851.

	No. of Licenses.	Square Miles of Forest.	Highest rate per sqre. mile.	Average.	Amount.
1849.....	220	887	102/	11/8	£517
1850.....	356	1,477	90/	11/5½	844
1851.....	711	2,751	220/	16/3¼	2,244*

The resources of Nova Scotia are very considerable, in forest, field, and sea, and they are greatly increased by its admirable position for communicating with Europe, by its magnificent harbour of Halifax, and by the rich coal-fields of Pictou. Prince Edward's Island is one of the most fertile, healthy, and agreeable spots in America. One thing only is wanted to connect the British colonies with each other, to develop all their resources, and to keep them in constant communication with England, namely, a railway from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal. That, there is now reason to hope, will be formed before long.

The following are the imports of timber, deals, staves, mahogany, cedar, &c., into Liverpool, in each of the last four years ; with average of five years preceding and five years subsequent to the alteration in the

* Report on the Past and Present State of her Majesty's Colonial Possessions, 1851.

duties, together with the tonnage employed in each branch of the trade :

IMPORT OF TIMBER INTO LIVERPOOL TO THE 1st FEBRUARY IN EACH YEAR.

Produce of BRITISH AMERICA.	Average of the 5 years 1838 to 1842 old duties.	Average of the 5 years 1844 to 1848 reduced dts.	1849	1850	1851	1852
Pine, Quebec Yel., cubic ft.			2,643,009	3,721,000	3,300,000	3,878,000
St. John, do.			1,712,000	1,928,000	1,827,000	1,599,000
Other Ports, do.			380,000	286,000	222,000	163,000
Total Yellow Pine of all sorts .....do.	5,346,000	5,869,000	4,735,000	5,935,000	5,349,000	5,640,000
Do. Red, all sorts...do.	470,000	493,000	440,000	457,000	302,000	384,000
Quebec Oak .....do.	241,700	292,000	201,000	348,000	354,000	257,000
Do. Elm.....do.	120,000	150,500	145,000	175,000	160,000	173,000
Do. Ash .....do.	15,700	25,000	3,000	2,000	9,000	42,000
Hardwood .....do.	293,900	329,800	207,000	319,000	544,000	371,000
Quebec Deals .....std. hd.	3,040	3,652	2,771	4,914	4,517	7,031
N.B. &c. Planks, &c. ft. 2 in.	7,492,900	16,564,000	21,116,000	21,913,000	25,478,000	34,152,000
Railway Sleepers .....pieces	...	...	335,000	209,000	22,000	23,700
Lathwood.....fathoms	1,367	1,444	884	828	950	922
Quebec Staves .....std. M	256	244	119	377	225	386
Ditto, pun. M	875	724	552	1,009	1,129	1,055
Ditto, brl. M	...	...	24	39	30	29
Tonnage employed { Ships	292	381	316	395	361	373
Tons	154,861	200,402	190,186	225,783	229,731	242,398
NORTH OF EUROPE.						
Timber, Danzig, &c. ....ft.	334,000	903,000	915,000	304,000	399,000	1,008,000
Deals and Battens, std. hd.	3,193	2,024	2,924	2,526	1,512	1,754
Deck Planks .....pieces	6,281	2,357	1,558	367	94	260
Wainscot Logs .....whole	658	399	802	151	739	1,962
Ditto, .....half	96	113	20	...	363	100
Lathwood.....fathoms	497	757	402	286	702	1,556
Staves.....M	39	50	42	39	50	23
Tonnage employed { Ships	56	89	81	57	44	93
Tons	17,110	25,103	26,606	14,141	12,068	26,556
OTHER PLACES.						
Mahogany, St. Domingo, lgs	6,112	11,576	8,628	20,412	21,152	14,768
Do. Cuba .....do.	1,640	3,978	3,071	1,820	2,296	1,795
Do. Honduras ...do.	2,442	3,880	1,400	3,125	4,030	2,677
Cedar, Havana.....do.	1,393	2,068	792	360	492	1,133
Do. Pencil .....cubic ft.	16,500	25,800	1,800	16,700	13,800	18,000
Rosewood .....planks	...	...	5,026	5,251	7,807	3,464
Pitch Pine..... cubic feet	94,500	144,800	232,000	351,000	304,000	150,000
Teakwood.....do.	78,900	48,700	18,500	88,000	124,000	140,000
Greenheart and Mora...do.	...	...	9,400	21,600	75,000	83,000
Lancewood Spars.....	...	...	5,267	5,538	10,600	8,285
Staves, U.S., hhd., &c....M	...	...	212	673	1,463	845
Tonnage employed { Ships	34	63	40	60	100	77
Tons	8,294	16,854	10,739	19,661	26,267	19,955

The ocean is, as it ever has been, the chief source of the wealth of Newfoundland. In the year 1850 the labours and perils of the daring fishermen of the island supplied the merchants with exports of the value of £975,770, and enabled them to import British and foreign produce, of the value of £867,316. Beside the cod-fishery, which has long been the main stay of Newfoundland, the seal-fishery is carried on with great success in the seas between Greenland and Labrador. In the months of

* Circular of Mr. James Houghton, February, 1852.

March and April, the bold fishermen of the island are on the look out for the ice-fields, which are floated by the currents of the ocean from the polar regions, into the Atlantic. Millions of seals float on or around these masses of ice, and of these they kill about half-a-million yearly. The exports of Newfoundland in 1850, consisted of 6,232 tons of seal oil, 736 tons of cod oil, 3,107 tons of unrefined oil, 444,392 seal-skins, 1,089,182 cwt. of dried cod-fish, 529 boxes of caplin, (the small fish on which the cod-fish feed,) 19,550 boxes of herrings, and 1,933 tierces of salmon. The Newfoundland trade gave employment, in 1850, to 1,220 vessels, of 138,628 tons, manned by 8,270 seamen. The revenue of the island was £69,405 in 1849, and £82,652 in 1850.

Having already spoken of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, let us speak of the countries around it. This brings us to the republics which have been formed by the breaking up of the colonial empire of Spain. These comprise the greater part of South America, nearly all Central America, and one large state in North America. Around the Mexican Gulf there are Mexico itself, Central America, Costa Rica, New Grenada, and Venezuela; on the east coast the republics of La Plata and the Banda Oriental; on the west coast Chili, Bolivia, Peru, Equador, and the Pacific provinces of New Grenada and Mexico.

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO MEXICO, &c.,
IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
CENTRAL AMERICA.			Carthagena	14	139
Belize	10	2,861	Savanilla	13	..
Campeachy	1	295	Rio Hache	2	..
Honduras	5	1,359	Istapa	2	..
Guatemala	11	469	Chagres	1	235
VENEZUELA.			Santa Martha	14	2,857
La Guayra	27	5,086	MEXICO.		
Maracaibo	9	639	Vera Cruz	22	4,379
Puerto Cabello	27	330	Mazatlan ...	1	350
NEW GRANADA.			Tampico	6	686
Heguerote	1	..			

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO MEXICO, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk mixed Manufac- tures.	Linen, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixture, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	5,252,247	10,680,937	520,376	17,243	145,158	94,267
1849	2,758,011	12,542,187	6,724	22,182	109,194	109,223
1850	5,040,975	8,104,899	87,260	63 8	87,776	58,104
1851	9,198,176	12,726,212	310,224	9,993	107,082	83,850

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTONS, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO NEW GRENADA AND VENEZUELA, IN 1848, 1849, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed manufactures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	7,338,088	8,124,584	88,923	985	51,812	27,374
1849	11,816,688	15,129,275	277,489	1,360	70,434	41,150
1850	11,578,230	15,153,194	101,345	2,779	92,209	49,522
1851	11,558,539	17,371,401	10,603	4,773	159,478	84,987

Winding round the Gulf of Mexico, the first port in the possession of the Spanish race which calls for any notice is Vera Cruz, a poor place, although part of the twenty million dollars of silver and the two millions of gold still yielded by the mines of Mexico passes through it. Although the Spanish government was as bad as it could be, the Mexicans have gained little from the establishment of liberty and independence. Considering the resources of Mexico, its foreign trade is very small, and the government and people are too unsettled for any great hope to be entertained of a rapid increase. The Anglo-Americans have made more out of the neglected province of California, in six years, than the Mexicans, with their six millions of people, made of all the rest of Mexico in treble that time. Annexation and absorption in the great North American Republic will, at some future time, render both Vera Cruz and Tampico great ports, and will also render the mouth of the Rio del Norte the seat of a flourishing trade. The exports of the Mexican ports are silver, gold, cochineal, vanilla, and other articles, most of them produced with very little labour.

Guatemala, or Central America, comes next, a country hitherto little thought of, but which will become one of the most important in the world, as the highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

In the Republic of New Grenada, Carthagena, connected with the river Magdalena by a canal, and Savanilla, at the mouth of that great stream, are the outlets of the valley of New Grenada, a country capable of being rendered rich and flourishing in good hands. Santa Martha, in the same republic, ranks next in importance, though not connected with any great line of internal navigation.

The republic of Venezuela contains a population of about one million, (945,247 in 1839,) scattered thinly over an area of 416,600 square miles.

La Guayra, the port of Caracacas, is the principal port of Venezuela. It has an active trade, its exports consisting of coffee, cocoa, indigo, hides, sarsaparilla, and dyewoods; its imports are manufactured goods.

Porto Cabello, also in Venezuela, has a good harbour. Maracaybo has an extensive water communication with the interior.

The great valley of the Orinoco, one of the largest and most fertile in South America, ought to be the seat of a flourishing commerce; and should Venezuela, to which it belongs, enjoy moderate tranquillity for the next twenty years, it will be so. As yet nature has done everything for it, but man has done nothing.

Passing from the mouth of the Orinoco to the mouth of the River Plate, we come to Buenos Ayres, the outlet of the great pampas, which stretch, for a distance of nine hundred miles, from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes. These immense plains are covered with rich clover and grass, and afford pasture to millions of cattle and horses. The commerce of Buenos Ayres consists of hides, tallow, bones, and other products of those great pastures, with some wool, grown in districts in which the herbage is not too luxuriant for sheep.

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTONS, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE RIVER PLATE, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed Manufac- tures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixture, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848.....	13,999,396	7,845,469	11,474	6,031	30,265	157,456
1849.....	23,730,485	17,761,223	19,323	40,405	28,429	329,694
1850.....	11,995,173	9,043,949	...	12,996	15,369	242,570
1851.....	6,592,057	6,523,386	13,610	5,014	25,078	193,842

The republic of Uruguay, or the Banda Oriental, on the eastern bank of the River Plate, also possesses great resources of the same kind as those of Buenos Ayres, with a better harbour than any other place in the River Plate. Should the long siege of Monte Video be followed by a restoration of political tranquillity, and by the opening of the navigation of the great rivers Parana and Uruguay, flowing down from Paraguay, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and the back provinces of Brazil, the commerce both of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video will extend greatly. As far as natural advantages are concerned, the position of those cities is very little inferior to that of New Orleans or Quebec. They possess some thousand miles of internal navigation, through plains watered in summer by the melting of the snows of the Andes, and where the cold of winter is never

severe enough to kill the herbage in the fields. Probably no part of the world is so well suited for the grazing of cattle and horses as the plains of the River Plate.

IMPORTS OF RIVER PLATE SALTED HIDES.

Imported into	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Liverpool ..	233,500	45,205	120,500	150,300	225,700	167,100	179,200
London	218,200	18,675	151,300	209,000	260,900	139,800	238,300
Outports	83,300	11,410	36,300	44,100	86,400	117,900	85,900
	535,000	75,290	308,100	403,400	573,000	424,800	503,400

IMPORTS OF RIO GRANDE SALTED HIDES.

Imported into	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Liverpool ..	89,500	116,695	133,900	111,500	93,900	41,000	62,200
London	134,100	160,375	168,300	109,700	119,800	95,900	69,300
Outports	25,500	76,171	50,200	20,000	114,700	68,000	125,000
	249,100	353,241	352,400	241,200	328,400	204,900	256,500

IMPORTS OF EAST INDIA KIPS.

Imported into	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
London	1,485,400	1,400,000	1,051,600	874,000	839,600	1,382,000	2,084,194
Liverpool....	291,300	210,300	440,000	196,000	205,000	286,400	218,700
	1,776,700	1,610,300	1,491,600	1,070,000	1,044,600	1,668,400	2,302,894

Patagonia, though unsettled by Europeans, still yields some guano and other animal remains suitable for commerce.

The Falkland Islands, the only British possession in this part of the globe, will become of great value as a coaling-station, when the steam-boat lines which terminate, the one at Buenos Ayres, the other at Valparaiso, are connected by a line from the River Plate to Chili.

New life has been given to the western coast of America by the lines of steamers which now keep up a regular communication amongst the principal ports, from Valparaiso to San Francisco, and join with those from Panama and Chagres to Great Britain and North America. Within the last few months a number of magnificent steamers, built in the Clyde, and intended to keep up the communication between Valparaiso and Panama, and named after the great cities of St. Iago, Lima, Quito, Bogota, and the river Magdalena, have visited the river Mersey, whence they have sailed to the Pacific, to take the place of the smaller steamers which have hitherto plied on the coast of South America.

Chili, the most peaceful and best administered of all the republics of South America, contains a population of 1,300,000 inhabitants, a soil which is fertile in many parts, and which supplies large quantities of copper ore, and of the precious metals. Chili has been the granary of Australia and California, and still furnishes the latter country with considerable quantities of grain and flour.

**VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE WEST
COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA, CALIFORNIA, &c., IN 1851.**

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Valparaiso	66	21,448	Lima	27	7,765
Arica	10	2,913	Iquique	1	267
Islay	9	..	Panama	14	3,533
Bolivar	2	491	San Francisco	30	9,062
Cuidad Bolivar	6	1,000	Sandwich Islands	1	..
Buena Ventura	4	837	Oahu	2	526
Cobija	1	..	Guayaquil	6	632
Callao	7	920	Huanchaco	1	..

**QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTONS, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFAC-
TURES IMPORTED INTO CHILI AND PERU IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.**

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed manufac- tures.	Linen, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	28,553,564	23,640,315	4,520	22,028	128,994	256,213
1849	16,222,560	28,828,650	29,953	45,665	89,332	376,273
1850	18,208,171	22,357,235	28,384	44,210	78,964	387,975
1851	27,555,716	29,823,431	23,963	42,848	130,075	461,829*

Valparaiso, the chief port of Chili, is a steam-boat station, and the rendezvous of most of the vessels which sail round Cape Horn. It furnishes considerable quantities of grain, flour, copper ore, silver, indigo, and wool, and receives British manufactures in return for them.

Bolivia, the next of the republics, contains a population of about 1,630,000 inhabitants. The silver mines of Potosi, once so famous, still yield a considerable quantity of silver.

Cobija is the port of Bolivia.

Peru contains a population of 1,515,000 inhabitants, and an area of 580,000 square miles. Its exports in 1840 were £1,948,346; of which bullion and specie amounted to £1,562,149.

Callao, the port of Lima, contains 50,000 inhabitants. Its exports are silver, copper, lake, vicuna wool, and nitre.

Arica, and other sea ports of Peru, situated in the rainless regions from which guano is derived, have now a great trade. This richest of manures is only found in its greatest strength in regions in which rain

	Calicoes, plain.	Calicoes, prtd.		Calicoes, plain.	Calicoes prtd.
* Chili, 1851.....	15,819,491	12,163,472	Peru, 1851.....	10,736,225	17,659,969
— 1850.....	9,994,091	11,068,418	— 1850.....	8,211,080	11,288,817
— 1849.....	10,089,769	16,057,436	— 1849.....	6,132,791	12,771,214

never falls. The Ichaboe guano, though formerly abundant, was not near so valuable, owing to the occasional fall of rain. The maritime districts, which are nearly rainless, are the Coast of Peru, South Africa, the shores of the Red Sea, and the West Coast of Australia. The inland districts without rain are Upper Egypt and the great desert of Gobi, or Shamo, in Tartary. The import of guano into Great Britain and Ireland was 83,438 tons in 1849, 116,925 in 1850, and 243,000 in 1851. Many years ago Sir Humphrey Davy, in his *Agricultural Chemistry*, pointed out the value of the dung of sea birds as a manure, but neither he nor any one else then thought of the possibility of introducing it, by the hundred thousand tons, from the coasts of Peru, Africa, Arabia, and Western Australia, into Great Britain.

IMPORTS OF GUANO INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND LIVERPOOL,
FROM 1841 TO 1851.

	Liverpool.	United Kingdom.		Liverpool.	United Kingdom.
1841.....	2,078	2,881	1847.....	28,988	82,392
1842.....	10,568	20,398	1848.....	15,075	71,414
1843.....	1,817	3,002	1849.....	23,554	83,138
1844.....	38,916	104,251	1850.....	28,472	116,925
1845.....	115,120	283,300	1851.....	92,593	243,000
1846.....	27,549	89,203			

Nitrate of soda, another valuable article of commerce, is found in the beds of the dried-up lakes of Peru.

IMPORT OF NITRATE OF SODA, IN TONS.

Places.	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Liverpool	6,917	9,600	7,760	6,830	7,860	8,070
London	327	3,117	1,265	5,588	3,894	3,050
Hull .....	...	889	180	518	...	...
Newcastle	562	650	272	...	280	289
Glasgow .....	...	490	...	...	700	...
Total.....	8,306	14,746	9,477	12,936	12,734	11,409

Ecuador, another of the Spanish South American Republics, contains 212,000 square miles, and a population of from 550,000, to 600,000 inhabitants. From the Gulph of Guayaquil to Cape San Lorenzo rain never falls in this territory. East of the Andes, in the valley of the Amazons, it rains almost daily. Chincona, or Peruvian bark, is found in abundance in the forests of Ecuador.

Guayaquil, the port of Ecuador, is one of the best harbours in the Pacific Ocean.

Panama, in New Granada, on the isthmus which divides the Pacific from the Atlantic, with a narrow neck of land not more than 50 miles across, is the seat of a great steam-boat communication from England and the United States, southward to Valparaiso, and northward to San Francisco.

Should it finally be found to be the best place for crossing the isthmus, it will become the most important port in the Pacific Ocean; but it is still uncertain whether the Panama, the Nicaragua, or even the Tehuantepec route will become the principal one between the two oceans. Probably they will all three be used more or less. A railway is forming at Panama, from ocean to ocean.

The gold of California renders it certain that by whatever route the nations on the Atlantic communicate with those on the Pacific, the communication will be great and incessant. The cession of Upper California to the United States by Mexico in the year 1848, and the discovery of gold in the mill-stream of Captain Sutter's farm, on the banks of the Sacramento, are amongst the most interesting events in the history of nations. Already from 200,000 to 300,000 of the Anglo-American race are settled on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. This is only the first rush of the tide of population. The peopling of the whole western coast of North America by the Anglo-Americans is now a matter of certainty; and even the remote possessions of Britain, in Queen Charlotte's Island, and Vancouver's Island, will soon be peopled, now that the rumours of the discovery of large quantities of gold in Queen Charlotte's Island are confirmed. These islands possess great quantities of coal and a rich soil. At least eighteen hundred miles of the west coast of North America belongs to the United States and to England, and will soon be filled by the Anglo-American or British race. Plans are already discussed in California for establishing a line of steamers from San Francisco to China; and a line of steamers from Panama to Sydney would complete the British girdle of steam communication round the world.

Owing to the import of gold from California, the bullion of the Bank of England amounted to £17,413,000 at the beginning of 1852, which was £133,000 in excess of the highest sum ever known before.* On the 3d April it had risen to £19,596,501, or £2,250,000 more than was ever known previously.

Brazil, formerly the great colony of Portugal, now an independent empire, and the best governed country in South America, carries on a flourishing trade with England, the United States, and the continent of Europe. Its exports are coffee, sugar, and cotton. The quantity of Brazilian sugar imported into London, in 1851, was 19,700 chests and 90,600 bags; into Liverpool, 3,915 chests and 78,200 bags; into the Clyde, 380 chests and 63,750 bags; and into Bristol, 400 chests and

* City Article of Times, Jan. 1, 1852.

21,200 bags. The quantity of Brazilian coffee was also considerable, though the great demand for it is for the continent. The quantity of Brazilian cotton imported into Liverpool was 109,224 bales.

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE BRAZILS AND RIVER PLATE IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Bahia	34	10,112	Parahyba	2	336
Maranham	16	5,865	Monte Video	24	5,513
Pernambuco	48	12,425	Para	16	2,310
Rio de Janeiro	97	23,366	Rio Grande	32	4,236
Villa Nova	2	266	St. Lucia	4	860
Brazils	15	643	Ceara	7	1,940
Buenos Ayres	42	8,333			

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE BRAZILS, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed Manufactures.	Linen, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	36,550,459	27,843,545	4,544	9,343	169,993	214,401
1849	60,115,965	37,475,895	11,180	16,599	115,462	172,342
1850	60,243,884	39,236,927	21,972	15,326	99,531	229,667
1851	64,112,080	52,735,939	888	14,209	224,657	345,543

Para, at the mouth of several great rivers, and connected with the mighty Amazons, ought to be a place of more consequence than it is. It sends forth small quantities of cotton and sugar, and receives, or did receive, a considerable number of slaves. It is the finest position in South America, fully equal to that of New York or New Orleans, but does not contain the tenth part of the trade or population of either of them.

Maranham, at the mouth of a fine river of the same name, last year shipped 26,311 bales of cotton to Liverpool, and much sugar.

Pernambuco: Olinda, or Recife, is the capital of a province rich in sugar and cotton. Last year Pernambuco and Parahyba shipped 42,000 bales of cotton to Liverpool.

Bahia is a large and flourishing city, of more than 100,000 inhabitants, with a great and increasing trade. Last year it supplied Liverpool with 28,407 bales of cotton.

Rio de Janeiro, the capital, contains 170,000 inhabitants; the scenery is lovely; the harbour amongst the noblest in the world; the exports are coffee, rice, and sugar.

Rio Grande do Sul has a great trade in hides; the internal navigation is extensive.

This completes the review of the trade with America, including the continent, north and south, and all the islands. In 1850 the exports from the United Kingdom to all parts of America amounted to £28,964,695, and the imports to upwards of £30,000,000. This great trade with the new world, causing an exchange of property of the value of fully £60,000,000 a-year, is the chief support of the commerce of Liverpool. The value of the British exports to the various countries of America, in 1850, was as follows:—United States, £14,891,961; British North America, £3,235,051; British West Indies, £2,030,229; Honduras, £183,325; Falkland Islands, £1,145; Brazil, £2,544,837; foreign West Indies, £1,517,744; Chili, £1,156,266; Buenos Ayres, £848,600; Peru, £845,639; Mexico, £451,820; New Granada, £330,810; Venezuela, £301,094; Hayti, £274,918; Central America, £251,073; Uruguay, £60,480; Ecuador, £33,288; Dutch Guiana, £5,152; Greenland, £565.

The trade of Liverpool with the fertile countries around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is large and rapidly increasing. It is now carried on chiefly by means of steamers, or by steam screw-propellers, which sail from Liverpool. They have in a great measure superseded all other modes of conveyance.

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BLACK SEAS IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Constantinople	111	25,403	Zante	31	..
Gibraltar	84	11,107*	Galatz	44	2,713
Odessa	30	1,076	Genoa	64	12,740
Trieste	50	14,759	Taganrog	1	260
Alexandria, Egypt.....	64	14,097	Malta	78	11,331
Tunis	2	279	Beirout	38	5,357
Alicante	3	268	Leghorn.....	65	7,117
Barcelona	27	3,987	Messina.....	60	4,416
Adra	1	90	Sicily	2	..
Candia	1	136	Cephalonia	2	..
Tarragona	5	72	Athens	4	966
Alexandretta.....	33	342	Nice	1	110
Catania	3	402	Palermo.....	44	3,547
Valencia.....	10	693	Naples	97	10,318
Malaga	23	1,697	Algiers	8	1,353
Brindici	1	99	Smyrna	57	2,944
Cagliari	2	224	Syra	56	3,718
Tripoli	2	..	Salonica.....	21	125
Denia	1	147	Orphano.....	3	..
Civita Vecchia	17	1,489	Ancona	18	2,520
Ibrail	37	179	Venice	10	2,261
Trebizonde	5	..	Kertsch	1	260
Corfu	22	3,721	Amapalo.....	1	89
Patras.....	28	..			

* The vessels which cleared at Gibraltar and Malta proceeded to other ports. The tonnage is correct, as a whole, but it is impossible to divide it accurately among the various ports.

Gibraltar, at the mouth of the Mediterranean, received £388,141 British manufactures in 1850. It is merely a centre of distribution for Spain and Barbary. The smuggler has a large part of the trade of Spain, owing to the exclusive policy of the Spanish government. Gibraltar is also a place of call for steamers. It is the first stage on the overland route to the East.

Malaga supplies olive oil, figs, almonds, raisins, grain, oranges, lemons, and all the produce of Granada and Andalusia.

Valencia, situated in a garden of fertility, comes next. Its products are wine, figs, almonds, olives, and excellent oranges. Population, 65,865.

Barcelona, a manufacturing city and sea port. So far as Spain possesses any cotton manufacture it is at Barcelona; but the Catalans are as great smugglers as the rest of the Spaniards.

Genoa, the great emporium of the kingdom of Sardinia, is the most flourishing sea port in Italy, and carries on a large trade with Liverpool, and other English ports. This beautiful and celebrated city has a free port, in which British goods and colonial produce are bonded, so as to be ready either for home use or export. It is the entreport for an extensive region, and the port of supply for the north-west of Italy, now far the most flourishing portion of that rich peninsula.

Leghorn, or Livorno, also the free port of the fertile and well-cultivated duchy of Tuscany, has likewise a considerable trade with Liverpool. Tuscany, the garden of Italy, rich in corn, oil, silk, and fruits, supplies abundance of products for commerce, and takes a large quantity of manufactures, with which, in former ages, Florence supplied the greater part of Europe.

Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome, imports goods and dried fish, and exports alum, grain, and antiquities.

Naples, profusely rich in natural resources, is much frequented by the Liverpool steamers. Its products are corn, wine, and oil: its imports colonial produce and manufactured goods of all kinds.

Messina supplies sulphur; Palermo wine. There is scarcely anything which the fertile soil and happy climate of Sicily will not produce under moderately good cultivation.

Ascending the Adriatic, Ancona still flourishes, and carries on a good trade with England, supplying grain and oil, and receiving manufactured goods in exchange.

Venice, though the mere shadow of what she was in former times, is

still a place of considerable trade, being the outlet for the rich plain of Lombardy, a region of corn, wine, silk, and rice.

Trieste, the great port of the Austrian empire, and rising rapidly to the rank of the Queen of the Adriatic, is a free port. Its exports are corn, oil, rice, wine, wool, shumac; and it is a *dépôt* for sugar, coffee, cotton, and British manufactures. It possesses the most flourishing steam marine in the Mediterranean, and rivals Marseilles as a point of communication with Egypt and the East.

Leaving the Adriatic, Malta presents itself on the way to Egypt, India, Syria, Smyrna, Constantinople, and the Black Sea, a great central point of communication with all the countries of the Levant.

There are few circumstances in modern history more remarkable than those which gave rise to, and those which followed, the occupation of the island of Malta. After defying and repulsing the forces of the Turks, that almost impregnable island remained in the hands of the Knights of St. John of Malta for three centuries, until the time of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, when that most unscrupulous leader seized upon it, without any declaration of war, or pretence of injury to France, as he immediately afterwards seized upon Egypt. After a long siege of two years' duration, Malta was retaken by that gallant seaman, Sir Alexander Ball, about the same time that Egypt was recovered by General Abercrombie. A principal object of Bonaparte in seizing on Malta and Egypt had been to re-open the ancient route to India and the East, for the benefit of France, and the destruction of the British power in India: the result of it was to render it possible for England to re-open that route for her own especial benefit, as well as that of the whole world. England, Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, Aden, and India, are the stages of the overland route, by which the communication with India has been reduced from ninety to thirty days. Without Bonaparte's attack on Malta, that island would never have been a British possession; if Bonaparte had not destroyed the power of the Mamelukes, Mehemet Ali, the most enlightened of Turks, who shares with Lieutenant Waghorn the honour of opening the route through Egypt, would never have been in a position to render that great service to the world.

Alexandria, the port of the Nile, restored by the genius of Mehemet Ali, is again a great place of trade. It is once more becoming what its founder, Alexander the Great, intended it to be, the chief point of communication between Europe and India. A railway across Egypt, now in course of

construction under the superintendence of Robert Stephenson, the worthy son of the engineer who first showed the world what railways might be made, will render the overland route to India easier and more expeditious than it is at present. The cotton cultivation of Egypt restored, as every thing else was, by Mehemet Ali, furnished Liverpool last year with a supply of 66,515 bales.

Beirout, the port of Damascus, and Alexandretta, the port of Aleppo, are again becoming places of considerable trade. Their exports are silk, galls, and wool ; their imports British cottons and other goods.

Smyrna, the outlet of Anatolia, and Salonica, the Thessalonica of ancient times, and the port of Roumelia, also carry on a considerable trade with Liverpool and other places. The exports of Smyrna are silk, cotton, Turkish carpets, opium, wool, hides, camel's hair, skins, drugs, olive oil, gall nuts, and valonia. The exports of Salonica are wheat, barley, silk, wool, sponges, sesamum, timber, staves, and Turkish tobacco. Their imports are British manufactures, which are conveyed by caravans to all parts of the Turkish empire.

Constantinople is again becoming the centre of the commerce of the east. The commercial policy of Turkey is very favourable to trade, the duties on foreign goods being moderate ; and the Turkish government has greatly improved in all respects since the destruction of the janissaries, and the easier and more frequent communication which steam navigation has created with the nations of Europe.

Within the Black Sea the trade of Liverpool is directed chiefly to three points, Trebizonde, in Turkey, Odessa, in Russia, and Galatz and Ibrail, at the mouth of the Danube.

Trebizonde is the great rendezvous for caravans from Armenia, Persia, and Central Asia.

Odessa is the receptacle for the produce of the Ukraine, consisting of grain, tallow, and hides.

Galatz and Ibrail form the outlets and inlets of the great valley of the Danube, one of the most fertile corn-growing districts of Europe. Steam navigation is restoring life and animation to the fine countries around the Euxine, as well as to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The African trade from Liverpool is still very considerable, but happily it is now a trade in palm oil, ivory, gums, and timber, not in men and women. The value of the British goods exported to the west coast and the Cape in 1850 was £796,600. The imports from Sierra Leone were of

the value of £115,141; from Gambia of £142,366. Palm oil is now the great article of commerce supplied by the Coast of Africa, though there is no article of tropical produce which that fertile region does not furnish in greater or less quantity. The following are the quantities of palm oil imported during the last twenty years :

Year.	Tons. Imports.	Stocks, 31st Dec.	Prices, 31st Dec.		Exports, Foreign.
			£	£	
1830....	9,900	1,700	29	@ 30	593
1831....	7,050	1,500	33	" 34	36
1832....	10,500	2,500	33	" 33½	89
1833....	11,900	3,590	28½	" 28½	263
1834....	11,600	4,500	24½	" 25	713
1835....	9,500	1,700	31	"	1,028
1836....	11,000	1,200	30	" 31	1,235
1837....	10,000	1,300	34	" 34½	492
1838....	9,600	1,500	46	"	167
1839....	14,300	6,500	32	" 32½	666
1840....	12,270	4,200	35¾	" 36	487
1841....	18,350	6,200	31½	" 32¾	2,121
1842....	16,480	6,550	32½	" 32¾	4,009
1843....	16,235	3,800	29	" 29½	3,728
1844....	16,925	2,500	25	" 25½	3,728
1845....	21,000	5,000	29½	" 30	2,500
1846....	15,800	5,500	38½	" 39	2,978
1847....	19,350	3,900	27½	" 28	5,000
1848....	18,359	1,400	30	"	3,846
1849....	17,900	1,250	30½	" 31	7,000
1850....	16,250	2,900	28½	"	4,000
1851....	24,000	5,300	26	"	7,000

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO AFRICA, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, &c., IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Morocco	1	..	Grand Bassam	1	..
West Coast of Africa....	75	26,933	Senegal	2	325
Cape Town	2	699	Madeira	11	3,079
Mogadore	1	114	Sierra Leone.....	11	3,047
Cape of Good Hope....	27	6,574	Metacong	2	278
Algoa Bay	6	158	Rio Pongos	1	..
Fernando Po.....	5	1,840	Rio Nunez.....	3	400
Port Natal.....	3	859	Cape Verde	2	496

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE COAST OF AFRICA, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed Manufac- tures.	Linen, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848.....	4,660,295	8,799,815	67,687	1,849	6,173	13,390
1849.....	6,881,418	13,283,500	10,456	7,004	8,245	17,719
1850.....	4,883,403	11,660,344	13,712	1,590	12,010	16,545
1851.....	5,107,032	14,784,381	7,904	1,842	7,943	27,632

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTONS, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed Manufactures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	3,621,009	2,979,737	37,008	8,245	15,421	59,766
1849	3,040,481	2,515,395	24,276	7,226	12,094	56,503
1850	3,836,178	4,286,626	24,963	10,447	20,350	72,499
1851	3,577,423	3,239,998	6,292	4,407	14,846	124,997

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO AUSTRALIA, IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Port Philip	15	9,260	Melbourne	3	140
Port Adelaide	20	7,834	Swan River	1	198
Sydney, N. S. W.	13	5,935			

QUANTITY OF BRITISH COTTON, SILK, LINEN, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO AUSTRALIA, IN 1848, 49, 50, AND 51.

Total in	COTTON MANUFACTURES.			Silk and Silk Mixed Manufactures.	Linens, exclusive of Yarn.	Woollen and Woollen Mixtures, exclusive of Yarns.
	Calicoes, Plain.	Calicoes, Printed and Dyed.	Twist.			
	Yards.	Yards.	lbs.	£	£	£
1848	2,334,281	2,152,422	13,118	25,814	62,327	132,071
1849	6,541,318	3,264,558	16,442	35,490	90,606	204,550
1850	6,418,793	6,719,862	28,629	48,647	119,565	247,953
1851	3,881,084	6,906,130	131,086	57,468	119,079	243,439

The rise of Australia is almost unequalled in the history of colonization, and there is every reason to believe that its future progress will be more wonderful than its past. Boundless pastures covered with sheep, yielding the finest wool, and copper mines, of unexampled richness, have hitherto been supposed to constitute the principal wealth of Australia; but, within the last year, gold has been discovered there in as great abundance as it was found in South America by the Spaniards, or in California by the Americans. Though it is not possible to judge of the precise value of these discoveries, it is certain that they will add some millions a year to the exports of Australia. One of the first results of these

brilliant and attractive discoveries has been to give a prodigious impulse to emigration to Australia. Scarcely a week now passes in which one or more vessels does not sail from Liverpool to that golden region, and the emigration from other ports is equally great in proportion. Before giving some particulars as to the present state of each of the Australian colonies, it may be well to mention that the first settlement in Australia was made at Port Jackson, near Sydney, the capital of the colony of New South Wales, on the 26th June, in 1788; that the colony of Victoria, or Port Philip, of which Melbourne is the capital, was settled in 1836, and formed into a separate colony three or four years since; that Western Australia, including the Swan River and King George's Sound settlements, was established at Perth, on the Swan River, in 1829; that the province of South Australia was occupied as a British colony on the 28th December, 1836, and its capital, Adelaide, was proclaimed a legal port on the 25th of May, 1837; and that the colony of North Australia was established at Port Essington, Coburg peninsula, and Victoria fixed on for the capital, on the 3d November, 1838.

The position of the colony of New South Wales was as follows, at the beginning of the year 1851:—New South Wales, including the Port Philip district, contained a population of 263,503 inhabitants, showing an increase of 19,204 in the course of the preceding twelve months. The exports of the colony were of the value of £2,399,580; being, probably, the largest value of exports ever sent abroad by so small a population. The exports consisted chiefly of the produce of the boundless pastures of the colony; namely, of 32,361,829 lbs. of wool, and 217,978 cwt. of tallow. The imports of the colony in 1850 were of the value of £2,078,338. The number of vessels employed by the trade of New South Wales in 1850 was 1,014, of the burden of 263,819 tons. The produce grown in the colony in 1850 consisted of 1,477,749 bushels of wheat, 457,106 of maize, 167,768 bushels of barley, 152,848 of oats, 5,529 bushels of millet, 14,012 tons of potatoes, 4,922 cwt. of tobacco, and 65,731 tons of hay. There were in the colony 1,232 acres of vineyards, yielding 115,705 gallons of wine, and 2,244 gallons of brandy. The colony contained 132,427 horses, 1,738,965 head of cattle, 64,631 pigs, and 13,059,321 sheep.

The colony of South Australia contained a population of 63,700 inhabitants on the 1st January, 1851, having increased from 25,891 since 1846, or 146 per cent. in five years. Adelaide, the capital, which contained 7,413 inhabitants in 1846, contained 11,577 in 1850. The value

of the imports was £887,423, of the exports £571,348. The exports consisted of 3,289,232 lbs. of wool, 44,594 cwts. of copper, and 614 of lead, 8,788½ tons of copper ore, 4,140 cwts. of lead ore, and 335½ tons of ore of emery. The copper ore was the richest in the world, being worth about £27 a-ton. Amongst recent discoveries was a bolt, or protruberance of native copper, measuring 8 feet in height, 7 feet in breadth, and 20 feet in length.

Western Australia, or Swan River, contained, in 1850, 5,293 inhabitants, imported £52,351 of produce, and exported £22,134 worth. The tonnage employed was increasing rather rapidly, owing to the discovery of guano on the islands in Sharks' Bay. The tonnage in 1850 was 15,988 tons.

The colony of New Zealand, at the very ends of the earth, contained, in 1849, a British population of 22,751 inhabitants; imported £147,767 worth of manufactures and produce, and exported £75,984.

For some time it has been thought probable that gold and other valuable metals would be discovered in Australia. A large part of that country or continent belongs to what geologists call the chrystaline schistous formation, the same formation from which the gold of Mexico and California is obtained.* The wonderful richness of the copper mines of South Australia confirmed these expectations of mineral treasures. On the 29th September, 1851, it was positively ascertained that gold existed in large quantities in the colony of Victoria, formerly known as Port Philip.† A sudden rush at once took place to the gold district. On the 19th November, less than two months after the discovery had been made, 42,000 ounces of gold, of the value of £126,000, had been deposited in the banks at Melbourne and Geelong; in addition to about 8,000 ounces, of the value of £24,000, in private hands. On the 19th November the escort from the mines brought down 10,138 ounces, worth £30,414; on the 26th November, 12,106 ounces, worth £36,318; on the 3d December, 16,669 ounces, worth £50,007; on the 10th December, 26,656 ounces, worth £79,968; and, on the 17th December, 19,492 ounces, worth £58,476. At the last of these dates the amount in private hands, in Melbourne and Geelong, was supposed to be 28,353 ounces, worth £85,059: and, in the hands of diggers on the gold fields, 80,000 ounces, worth £240,000. This gives a total value of £730,242, in less than three months. "These astonishing results," says the Melbourne

* Johnstone's Physical Atlas. Geology, No. 2.

+ Melbourne Argus, December 30, 1851.

Argus, "have all been arrived at in less than three short months. On the 29th September the announcement of the first large yield in Victoria was made known, and since then wonders have daily thickened around us, and where it is to end no human being can guess. The field is reported to be illimitable, the indications of gold extending over scores of miles, and each last-found diggings apparently eclipsing all before it. All accounts agree that the auriferous grounds, which can be profitably worked, will never be dug over for years to come by any number of people that can by possibility reach them. To the good people of Great Britain we commit the consideration of these statements. We beg to remind them that, even before this discovery burst upon us, this was one of the finest and most prosperous of British colonies. Let the gold fields cease their yield to morrow, and we still retain all the elements of national wealth and national greatness. Those who venture to share our wealth may venture boldly, for boundless plenty smiles side by side with countless wealth. Our splendid harvests are now whitening for the sickle, but with no men to reap them. The same land which is thus pouring forth its mineral treasures is still feeding the finest sheep and cattle that ever were fattened upon natural grasses. Their fate has hitherto been that shameful waste, the melting pot. Let the overcrowded of the mother country come freely and fearlessly. We can make room for them by thousands or tens of thousands."

From the immense increase of emigration to Australia from the port of Liverpool, it is evident that thousands and tens of thousands will accept this invitation. However they may succeed as gold hunters, they will find a certain living in agriculture and pasturage.

The copper ores yielded by the mines of Australia are as rich as those of South America, and three times as rich as those of Cornwall and Wales. At the sales of copper ores in England, from June, 1850, to June, 1851, the Australian ores, from the Burra Burra mine, brought £27 10s. a-ton, and those from the Kapunda mine £24 8s. a-ton; the Chilian ores, £27 16s. 6d.; the Cuban ores, £11 14s. 6d.; the Irish ores, from the Knockmahon mine, £5 17s. 6d.; the Welsh, from the Llanberis mine, £8 19s. 6d.; and the Cornish ores, of the Fowey Consols mine, £5 14s. 6d.*

The reduction of the duties on timber, and the repeal of the corn-laws, have caused a great increase in the trade of Liverpool with the pine-growing regions of Scandinavia and Russia, and the grain-growing

* Annual Mining Returns, in Mining Journal.

districts of Poland, Prussia, Germany, and France. The quantity of Danzig timber imported into Liverpool last year was upwards of a million cubic feet; and the quantities of grain and flour from all parts of Europe were also very large. Although Liverpool is less favourably situated for the trade of the northern parts of the continent than either London or Hull, yet its supplies of salt and coal, and its great demand for timber, grain, and other articles of northern produce, give it a fair share of the trade of those extensive countries. The finer goods of all kinds sent to the north of Europe are chiefly shipped from Hull.

The following is an account of the vessels which cleared out from Liverpool, in 1851, for the ports of northern Europe, including Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Germany, Holland, and Belgium :
VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO THE NORTH
AND BALTIC SEAS IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Hamburg	34	4,401	Narva	59	8,566
Cronstadt	73	7,622	Pillau .....	..	2,234
Ostend	47	7,381	Memel	2	343
Bergen	25	3,005	Wismar	1	244
St. Petersburg	66	13,090	Uleaborg	2	450
Zwolle	2	205	Aarhuis	1	95
Kiel	4	573	Harlingen	3	255
Lubeck	7	818	Louvain	2	140
Rostock	7	1,104	Christiansand	1	..
Arensberg	1	80	Christianstadt	2	148
Corsoer	1	105	Molde	1	..
Carlsham	1	117	Christiana	10	1,292
Altona	4	854	Drammer	2	..
Bjorneborg	1	522	Stralsund	2	247
Tromsøe	1	97	Amsterdam	7	500
Carlsrona	1	143	Rotterdam	119	19,758
Tongsberg	2	118	Dordt	40	1,578
Tronyem	7	760	Wordinberg	1	..
Aalsund	1	..	Archangel	36	3,583
Bremen	7	739	Hammerfest	14	1,934
Fanoe	1	84	Stockholm	3	688
Wolgast	1	164	Stettin	43	8,058
Revel	4	744	Elsineur	14	1,707
Flensburg	2	248	Danzig	43	9,761
Callunburg	1	106	Ghent	40	2,295
Wasa	3	280	Riga	34	4,664
Sleswick	1	111	Antwerp	27	3,587
Groningen	6	360	Tonsberg	1	109
Gamla Carleby	1	539	Brussels	1	..
Gothenburg	5	926	Arendaal	1	300
Norrköping	1	..	Königsberg	28	2,718
Iceland	45	4,623	Liebau	5	697
Schiedam	1	84	Kunda	1	151
Pernau	8	1,209	Borga	1	121
Abo Bjorneburg	1	175	Wyburg	13	4,052
Allborg	1	119	Neistved	1	73
Randers	1	..	Windaw	1	162
Wardoe	3	412	Brake	1	93
Nye Carleby	2	278	Frederickstadt	2	231
Cuxhaven	2	171	Wadsoe	1	149
Copenhagen	5	543			

Starting at the mouth of the Dwina, on the shores of the White Sea, the port of Archangel furnishes the commerce of Liverpool with considerable quantities of grain and flax. The forests of Scandinavia furnish cargoes of timber at Tronyem, Bergen, and Christiana, in Norway; at Gothenburg, Carlscrona, Stockholm, Uleaburg, Abo, Helsingfors, and numerous other ports in the Baltic and the ocean. Liverpool has an extensive trade with Russia, at Cronstadt and St. Peterburgh, in grain, flax, and tallow, and also at Narva, Revel, and Riga. Winding along the coasts of the Baltic, Memel, at the mouth of the Niemen, furnishes further supplies of timber; and Danzig, the outlet of the great valley of the Vistula, and port of northern Poland, furnishes large supplies of grain. Following the Prussian coast, Liverpool has a considerable trade at Colburg, Stettin, and Stralsund; and also at the Mecklenburg ports of Wismar and Rostock, as well as at the free port of Lubeck. It has also some trade at Kiel, Copenhagen, and Elsinour, and other places in Denmark.

Leaving the countries inhabited by the Scandinavian race, Liverpool has a considerable trade with Hamburg and Bremen. It trades with Holland at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and with Belgium at Antwerp, to which port a line of screw-steamers is about to run from Liverpool. Already Liverpool has become a chief place of embarkation for German emigrants, who find it cheaper and quicker to come over by steam to Hull, cross to Liverpool, and sail from that port, than to sail directly from Hamburg and Bremen. Liverpool supplies the whole of the north of Europe with salt, and also with considerable quantities of cotton, palm oil, and other articles of tropical produce, receiving in return timber and grain.

Until lately Liverpool had scarcely any trade with France; but, since the recent change in the navigation-laws of England and America, the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Company have run a fine steamer from Liverpool to Havre weekly, for the purpose of collecting French goods for the American markets. The repeal of the corn-laws has also given rise to an extensive trade in French corn and flour; so that the tricolour, which was formerly scarcely known in the Mersey, is now seen there very frequently. It will be seen, from the following list, that Liverpool had a commercial connexion with twenty-one French ports in 1851:

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO FRANCE AND
THE CHANNEL ISLANDS IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Marans	1	105	Ponte l'Abbe	1	45
Morlaix	2	119	Marseilles	13	1,690
Bayonne	10	1,014	Sables D'Olonne	2	167
Bordeaux	32	4,111	Nantes	51	4,655
Charente	17	2,132	Rouen	5	98
Granville	1	80	Brest	2	130
Eu	3	257	L'Orient	3	356
Rocheport	2	159	Lucon	1	127
Aiguillon	1	100	Bouen	1	120
Jersey and Guernsey ...	65	6,192	Carn	1	60
Hâvre.....	36	13,305	Cette	1	...

The trade with the Spanish ports, outside the Straits, and with Portugal, is also very considerable, as will be seen from the following list of the vessels which cleared out from Liverpool for the Peninsula, in 1851 :

VESSELS CLEARED OUT FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL TO SPAIN AND
PORTUGAL IN 1851.

Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.	Ports.	No. of Ships in 1851.	Total Tons.
Lisbon	109	11,488	Ferrol.....	1	232
Bilboa and San Sebastian	12	1,321	St. Ubes.....	1	293
Azores	19	1,200	Corunna.....	1	72
Figueira.....	3	285	Vianna	1	131
Cadiz	34	4,182	Fayal	1	78
Seville	20	1,281	Carrel.....	2	188
Villa Viciosa	1	80	Oporto	40	4,144
Santander	3	802			

The coasting trade of Liverpool, including the trade with Ireland, is very extensive, and gives employment to upwards of two million tons of shipping. Corn, flour, meal, live cattle, iron, and potter's clay are the chief imports; manufactured goods, groceries, coals, and timber the principal exports.

The following tables will show the extent and nature of the corn trade of Liverpool, from the year 1830 to the year 1851, and the course of the change by which Ireland, which supplied Liverpool and Lancashire with large quantities of grain and flour, previous to the scarcity of 1847, has become rather an importing than an exporting country :

ANNUAL IMPORTS OF GRAIN, &c., AT LIVERPOOL.

Aver. import of Grain for 12 yrs, end- ing August 31, 1841 .. Year ending Sep. 30, 1842	WHEAT.			FLOUR.				OATS.	
	C. & Ire. Qrs.	Colonial. Qrs.	Foreign. Qrs.	British. Sacks.	Foreign. Sacks.	Brls.	Colonial. Brls.	British. Qrs.	For. Qrs.
1841 ..	292054	23400	170442	192807	...	175019	36022	328831	23147
Year ending Sep. 30, 1842	172365	24384	653637	65947	...	180505	221939	197468	13403
Do. 1843	125847	8934	76852	155507	...	10931	79680	219956	6022
Do. 1844	223502	22083	240227	259556	...	155200	226833	234940	8866
Do. 1845	295179	3413	65972	416903	...	41886	136086	232220	10591
Do. 1846	194501	49088	287451	264983	...	877659	246276	194059	4430
Do. 1847	130761	55006	519159	79948	...	1979491	410806	100552	66307
Do. 1848	137438	2826	218681	156964	...	227285	105127	190493	14425
Do. 1849	54811	20482	557327	88334	...	896855	215142	175269	9372
Do. 1850	76690	4752	646638	195537	204683	402631	59480	174761	29321
Do. 1851	28674	10783	569189	48737	324916	1192199	115651	146076	6630

Aver. import of Grain for 12 yrs, end- ing August 31, 1841 .. Year ending Sep. 30, 1842	BARLEY.		BEANS.		PEAS.			OATMEAL	I. CORN.	I. C. MEAL.
	British Qrs.	For. Qrs.	British Qrs.	For. Qrs.	British Qrs.	For. Qrs.	Colnl. Qrs.	British. Loads.	Foreign. Qrs.	Foreign. Brls.
1841 ..	56187	4542	19216	31957	3754	17173	4576	191331	...	...
Year ending Sep. 30, 1842	39360	20967	12450	49751	2850	26406	17368	214966	...	...
Do. 1843	32043	...	10231	12978	475	981	2412	360040	...	...
Do. 1844	33530	17007	12178	21726	3509	17532	8392	350747	...	...
Do. 1845	35664	14785	11649	42633	3613	9728	4586	229424	37918	...
Do. 1846	33658	8620	10118	70033	12686	5031	1765	138095	192026	...
Do. 1847	30596	57992	13556	115418	9646	24400	10715	57256	1171608	430534
Do. 1848	33784	27786	11077	125504	3941	8060	696	166168	504193	105937
Do. 1849	37191	28024	6528	127756	759	28437	13962	150287	1002439	62729
Do. 1850	21605	43615	11307	93539	766	21141	9742	235493	542785	4804
Do. 1851	31910	20036	7900	114664	5507	10406	6027	210059	286043	4598*

IMPORTS OF IRISH GRAIN AND FLOUR INTO LIVERPOOL, FOR SIX YEARS,
ENDING SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1846, 47, 48, 49, 50, AND 51.

Ending 30th September of Years	Wheat.	FLOUR.	Oats.	Oatmeal.	Barley.	Beans.
	Qrs.	Sacks.	Qrs.	Loads.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1846	179,803	259,354	161,144	137,363	11,254	2,153
1847	54,351	54,533	86,532	49,787	6,058	11,854
1848	85,538	146,759	180,397	104,153	6,009	5,211
1849	31,799	73,985	158,535	145,042	6,572	3,601
1850	61,724	185,228	158,711	232,483	3,036	6,435
1851	24,206	42,431	132,533	207,414	2,922	1,723

* Mr. Robert Procter's Liverpool Corn Tables.

EXPORTS OF GRAIN, &c., FROM LIVERPOOL, FOR SEVEN YEARS, ENDING
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1845, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, AND 51.

Ending Sept. 30,		WHEAT.		OATS.		PEAS.		BEANS.	
		C. & Ire.	For.	C'wise.	For.	C'wise.	For.	C'wise.	For.
		Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
Sept. 30,	1845..	15627	8567	1984	12409	1297	2986	3043	161
Do.	1846..	30510	...	2620	2386	3420	102	4994	2
Do.	1847..	33115	4901	9105	8900	18192	120	2943	1462
Do.	1848..	52046	...	3806	438	1648	28	6219	895
Do.	1849..	69370	23	3167	180	3573	253	10173	42
Do.	1850..	52535	920	3450	56	1876	265	7638	...
Do.	1851..	134919	1447	1051	...	1286	25	9701	...

Ending Sept. 30,		FLOUR.			BARLEY.		INDIAN CORN.	I. CORN MEAL.
		C'wise & Ireland.		For.	C'wise.	For.	C'wise & Irel.	C'wise & Irel.
		Sacks.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Barrels.
Sept. 30,	1845..	17508	30510	45636	1199	108	16102	...
Do.	1846..	16603	159712	11671	1966	22	144106	...
Do.	1847..	43887	641278	47611	19800	609	639667	161999
Do.	1848..	20979	221244	2163	3253	2	491907	189567
Do.	1849..	18912	203310	6177	7188	...	628400	42113
Do.	1850..	35137	101611	9080	6989	20	418854	14802
Do.	1851..	56323	214790	12092	9531	130	313161	20817

There are no accounts of grain, &c. passing by inland navigation. The quantities of grain and flour imported for twelve months ending 30th September, 1850 and 1851, will represent the quantities duty-paid for home consumption.*

EXPORTS OF GRAIN, &c., TO IRELAND, FOR SIX YEARS, ENDING 30TH
SEPTEMBER, 1846, 47, 48, 49, 50, AND 51.

Ending 30th Sept. of Years	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.	In. Corn.	In. Meal.	Flour.		Oatmeal.
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Brls.	Sacks.	Brls.	Loads.
1846..	21,636	1,386	..	32	10	97,030	..	1,134	58,816	2,192
1847..	120,257	11,033	786	7,053	4,972	487,311	153,823	27,109	296,669	5,689
1848..	34,833	53	54	582	509	478,124	180,353	8,845	122,749	800
1849..	44,264	431	274	2,379	1,147	629,591	40,136	4,677	99,443	6,324
1850..	41,564	3,629	422	2,290	774	414,735	13,223	16,742	58,642	1,269
1851..	106,076	6,435	16	2,324	461	309,515	19,432	33,087	123,145	828

But Liverpool not only possesses an immense trade in British manufactures and foreign and colonial produce; the passenger trade carried on

* Mr. Robert Procter's Liverpool Corn Tables.

from the port is also on an enormous scale. The large ships which come to Liverpool laden with cotton and timber take out passengers to the United States and British America much cheaper than any other kind of vessels. Hence Liverpool has been for some years the great point of departure for emigrants, not only from England, Scotland, and Wales, but also from Ireland. It has now become the place of emigration for Germans, who are brought direct by steamers, or across from Hull, and who find it cheaper to sail from Liverpool than from their own country.

The countries chiefly sought by emigrants from the British Islands and the continent are three, the United States, British America, and Australia. These, however, have hitherto been sought in very different proportions, the United States being first, British America second, and Australia third. The discovery of the gold of Australia will probably change this in some degree, but America still retains many advantages. The Australian emigration will consist of emigrants sent out at the expense of the colonies, and of emigrants of a higher class.

The following table of the comparative emigration to each country, since 1840, will show what is the proportion in which each country is sought by emigrants :

EMIGRANTS TO THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD DURING THE
LAST TEN YEARS.

Year.	B. N. America.	United States.	Australia, New Zealand.	Other parts.	Total.
1840	32,293	40,642	15,850	1,058	90,743
1841	38,164	45,017	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	54,123	63,852	8,534	1,835	128,344
1843	23,518	28,335	3,478	1,881	57,212
1844	22,924	43,660	2,229	1,873	70,686
1845	31,803	58,538	830	2,330	93,501
1846	43,439	83,239	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847	109,680	142,154	4,949	1,487	258,270
1848	31,065	188,233	23,904	4,887	248,089
1849	41,367	219,460	32,191	6,480	289,498
1850	32,961	223,078	16,037	8,773	280,849

The following will show how large a portion of the whole have sailed from Liverpool :

EMIGRATION FROM LIVERPOOL.

Year.	Number of Persons.	Year.	Number of Persons.	Year.	Number of Persons.
1833.....	10,888	1840.....	40,359	1846.....	71,517
1834.....	20,846	1841.....	48,529	1847.....	134,524
1835.....	16,385	1842.....	54,377	1848.....	131,121
1836.....	32,845	1843.....	27,885	1849.....	153,902
1837.....	32,045	1844.....	42,171	1850.....	174,187
1838.....	13,441	1845.....	55,577	1851.....	206,015
1839.....	31,578				

The circumstances which fix the choice of a country and future home with emigrants are cheapness of passage, abundance of employment, and rate of wages, in the country sought.

As far as cheapness of voyage is concerned, the United States and British America are much the same, British America being a little cheaper at the season when the great timber ships sail. In the spring of the present year, 1852, the passage for steerage passengers to Quebec is £3, better class £4; to New York £3 10s., cabin £15. The voyage to Australia is five times as long as that to America; the passage in steerage is £14, cabin £45. There is a great emigration to Australia with colonial funds, which will probably increase very much now that the colonial revenue is so greatly augmented by monthly licenses for digging gold. This will take out vast numbers of labourers. Already there is a large increase of emigrants of a higher class.

Fortunately for Liverpool some eminent capitalists have taken up this trade. There is nothing more worthy of the attention of the home and colonial governments than the facilitating of emigration to Australia, and the sending out a good class of emigrants. Already the foundations of a great empire are laid. Australia already takes upwards of two millions' worth of goods, with a population of 300,000 inhabitants, and, previous to the discovery of gold, it exported upwards of two millions' worth of produce. With a population of two or three millions it will probably consume ten times as much, and the gold, copper, and wool of the colonies will pay for anything which they can take. If it is worth while for the population of the United States to leave that country for California, emigrants from this country will certainly find it worth their while to go to Australia.

In 1850, the number of emigrants who sailed from London was 25,250; Clyde, 14,431; Limerick, 10,658; Cork, (about) 8,000; Plymouth, (about) 8,000; Londonderry, 4,142. The total number of emigrants in 1850 was 280,849, of whom 257,663 sailed to America.*

It has already been mentioned that the total amount of tonnage employed by the commerce of Liverpool, in 1851, was upwards of six million tons, and that of this vast amount of shipping 3,262,000 tons was employed in the foreign and colonial, and the rest in the coasting trade.

The following tables will show the progress of the shipping of Liverpool, London, and Hull, and of the other principal ports of the United Kingdom, (exclusive of coasters,) since the close of the general war:

* Report on Passengers' Act.

**NUMBER OF VESSELS AND AMOUNT OF TONNAGE OF TWELVE OF THE
PRINCIPAL PORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN 1850, AS COMPARED WITH 1816.***

	1816.				1850.						
	Inwards.		Outwards.		Inwards.		Outwards.			Total	Total
	Ships	Tons.	Ships	Tons.	Ships	Tons.	Ships	Tons.		Ships.	Tonnage
LONDON.											
British ..	2,327	513,587	2,297	189,101	6,499	1,376,714	3,470	907,429	1816	6,196	1,247,873
Foreign ..	792	115,463	780	129,722	3,415	528,234	3,053	477,254	1850	16,437	3,289,631
Total ..	3,119	629,050	3,077	618,823	9,914	1,904,948	6,523	1,384,683	Inc.	10,241	2,041,758
LIVERPOOL.											
British ..	989	201,835	1,176	221,895	2,944	954,101	3,218	986,858	1816	2,946	642,063
Foreign ..	351	98,778	440	199,495	1,587	651,214	1,589	670,080	1850	9,338	3,262,253
Total ..	1,340	300,673	1,616	421,390	4,531	1,605,315	4,807	1,656,938	Inc.	6,392	2,620,190
HULL.											
British ..	454	81,305	414	68,920	1,172	297,710	836	237,900	1816	1,185	185,331
Foreign ..	130	17,076	119	16,030	1,313	168,720	928	131,843	1850	4,249	836,173
Total ..	584	98,381	533	84,950	2,485	466,430	1,764	369,743	Inc.	3,132	650,842
BRISTOL.											
British ..	204	37,703	161	30,843	465	99,575	230	66,023	1816	458	85,782
Foreign ..	44	8,090	49	9,146	265	38,237	46	13,425	1850	1,006	217,260
Total ..	248	45,793	210	39,989	730	137,812	276	79,448	Inc.	548	131,478
NEWCASTLE.											
British ..	534	72,072	459	78,672	933	170,395	2,884	544,162	1816	1,127	162,773
Foreign ..	83	7,509	51	4,520	1,099	145,902	2,290	395,410	1850	7,206	1,165,869
Total ..	617	79,581	510	83,192	2,032	316,297	5,174	939,572	Inc.	6,079	1,003,096
SOUTHAMPTON.											
British ..	219	17,962	192	15,883	483	132,485	464	128,152	1816	439	36,468
Foreign ..	12	818	16	1,805	143	19,632	139	19,366	1850	1,229	299,635
Total ..	231	18,780	208	17,688	626	152,117	603	147,518	Inc.	790	263,167
GLASGOW.											
British ..	32	2,657	55	4,571	381	79,797	613	143,660	1816	89	7,441
Foreign ..	1	102	1	111	232	36,658	244	36,743	1850	1,470	296,858
Total ..	33	2,759	56	4,682	613	116,455	857	180,403	Inc.	1,381	289,417
GREENOCK.											
British ..	163	40,668	238	45,225	250	85,546	144	55,182	1816	433	94,530
Foreign ..	15	4,162	17	4,475	15	4,828	10	3,293	1850	419	148,849
Total ..	178	44,830	255	49,700	265	90,374	154	58,475	Inc.	414	54,319
LEITH.											
British ..	188	27,450	153	22,113	425	64,771	173	32,433	1816	424	£1,718
Foreign ..	47	7,212	36	4,943	690	61,594	178	16,857	1850	1,466	175,655
Total ..	235	34,662	189	27,056	1,115	126,365	351	49,290	Inc.	1,042	113,937
BELFAST.											
British ..	92	12,710	80	15,105	202	44,226	144	34,945	1816	265	45,701
Foreign ..	53	9,742	40	8,144	110	21,210	113	23,831	1850	569	124,212
Total ..	145	22,452	120	23,249	312	65,436	257	58,776	Inc.	304	78,511
CORK. †											
British ..	105	12,206	81	12,696	253	47,214	120	26,017	1816	320	45,698
Foreign ..	64	10,009	70	10,787	228	44,900	205	38,683	1850	806	156,814
Total ..	169	22,215	151	23,483	481	92,114	325	64,700	Inc.	486	111,116
DUBLIN.											
British ..	182	23,777	88	14,575	281	44,721	85	21,020	1816	403	66,376
Foreign ..	77	15,674	56	12,350	182	37,401	172	36,566	1850	720	139,708
Total ..	259	39,451	144	26,925	463	82,122	257	57,586	Inc.	317	73,332

Custom-house, London, August 5, 1851.

M. H. NOSS, Registrar-General of Shipping.

* Return of Vessels and Tonnage, ordered by the House of Commons, August 6, 1851.

+ There is a decrease of 14 ships at Greenock, but an increase of 54,319 tons.

† Cork and Dublin are only given from 1823 to 1850.

The above table shows a wonderfully rapid increase during the last thirty-six years in the amount of shipping employed in the foreign and colonial commerce of all the principal ports in the kingdom. In 1816, the first complete year of peace, the capacity of the vessels employed in the foreign and colonial trade in the twelve principal ports of the kingdom was 2,840,786 tons ; in 1851 it had increased to 10,201,917, that is, it had more than trebled itself in thirty-six years.

The greatest increase of tonnage is at Liverpool, where it amounts to not less than 2,500,190 tons, which is 460,000 tons more than the increase of London, and 1,800,000 more than the increase of Hull. Nor does this show the full extent of the increase of the tonnage of Liverpool, for the steamers which trade from Liverpool for Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, Cork, and Limerick, are excluded from the above returns, whilst those which sailed from London and Hull for Ostend, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bologne, and all the ports between Havre and Hamburg, are included, as well as those which sailed for more distant ports. The following account of the amount of tonnage on which dock dues have been paid in Liverpool during the last four years includes the larger class of steamers employed in the trade with Ireland, but excludes the smaller class of coasters, properly so called :

SHIPS AND TONNAGE OF LIVERPOOL (EXCLUSIVE OF THE SMALLER COASTERS) FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

Year.	January to June.		July to December.		Total.	
	<small>Ships.</small>	<small>Tonnage.</small>	<small>Ships.</small>	<small>Tonnage.</small>	<small>Ships.</small>	<small>Tonnage.</small>
1848.....	10,449	1,748,984	10,091	1,825,989	20,510	3,584,973
1849.....	10,642	1,802,159	10,241	1,841,918	20,813	3,644,377
1850.....	10,253	1,691,726	10,543	1,913,970	21,986	3,611,698
1851.....	10,592	1,842,543	10,316	2,012,424	20,939	3,854,967

The application of steam to the purposes of navigation has done much during the last thirty years for the prosperity of commerce at all the seaports of the kingdom, but nowhere else so much as at Liverpool. It appears, from an official return, that the portion of the commerce of Liverpool carried on by means of steam navigation in 1850 was 989,150 tons, and that of the commerce of London, 706,194. There is probably no one circumstance which will have so much influence on the future prosperity of these and other ports as the amount of spirit and enterprise which they may show in the application of steam to the purposes of navigation.

Up to the present time steam has been applied chiefly to three purposes: first to the trade of the narrow seas, including the coasts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and the part of the continent which lies between Havre and Hamburg: second, to general commerce to more distant countries, by means of screw propellers: and third, to the carrying of the mails, of first-class passengers, and of light and costly goods, to North America, the East and West Indies, Brazil, and along the west coast of America, by means of the royal mail steamers. The first and second of these branches of steam navigation are dependent on private enterprise: the third depends partly on that, and partly on grants from the Government, for the carrying of the mails. All these three branches of steam navigation are conducted with great spirit in Liverpool.

With regard to the steam trade of Liverpool in the narrow seas, including the trade with Ireland, it amounted, in 1850, to 896,168 tons, and is increasing yearly. In a few years steamers will supersede all other vessels in the coasting trade. At the present time iron steamers are building in Liverpool, intended to carry coal coastwise; and if this experiment should be successful, it will more than double the steam-power of England, the quantity of coal carried coastwise being upwards of nine millions of tons a-year.

The trade from Liverpool to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is carried on almost entirely by means of iron screw steamers, of which there are several lines plying from Liverpool to every considerable port from Gibraltar to Trebizonde, Alexandretta, and Alexandria. The *Great Britain*, the noblest of screw steamers, and the *Sarah Sands*, also a powerful screw steamer, now ply between Liverpool and New York, to which port the *Great Britain* has made the quickest passage ever made across the Atlantic by a screw steamer. A line of screw steamers also carries on an extensive trade, and keeps up a regular intercourse, between Liverpool and Philadelphia. Several new lines of screw steamers are projected, and are expected to come into working in the course of the year 1852, including a line to Antwerp, a line to Brazil, and a line to the West Indies. The increase of iron screw steamers on the river Mersey is one of the most remarkable and gratifying events of the last three years.

With regard to mail steamers to distant parts of the world, Liverpool has the good fortune to possess two lines, the British and North American and the United States mail steamers, which have never been equalled

in speed and regularity. By means of these lines Liverpool communicates with Halifax, Boston, New York, and the whole of North America, with greater rapidity than any other port in Europe. From ten to twelve days is now the ordinary length of the voyage between Liverpool and New York.

Nor is the application of steam to purposes of external communication more complete than to those of internal. There is not a single city, town, or district of Great Britain with which Liverpool does not communicate regularly by the power of steam.

The origin of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway has been fully traced in a previous chapter of this work ; and notices have been given of the formation and opening of all the principal lines of railway, directly or indirectly, connected with Liverpool. There is now no town of any consequence in Great Britain with which the port of Liverpool has not constant communication by means of railway, and scarcely one which does not add something to the commercial prosperity of the port, either by taking more or less of the produce imported there, or by supplying a certain amount of exports, or by doing both. Liverpool has also derived its full share of advantage from the wonderful facilities for personal communication created by the railway system. The general results of the introduction of that admirable mode of communication, so far as passengers are concerned, has been to diminish the cost of travelling to about one-third the rate paid in the days of stage and mail coaches, when the average charge was fivepence a mile for inside passengers and threepence for outside ; and as relates to goods and merchandise, to diminish the charge one-half. The result of these reductions of cost, joined to the saving of time, is, that nearly eighty millions of persons travelled by railway in the year 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, which would itself have been impossible without railways. According to the calculations of a most competent judge, it would have cost ten millions a-year more than it does to have conveyed the goods now conveyed by railway, by the means of conveyance formerly in existence ; and seventeen millions more to have conveyed the passengers, parcels, and letters ; making a total saving, in the internal traffic of the country, of twenty-seven millions a-year resulting from the introduction of railways.*

The following tables, with which I have been favoured by Mr. Braithwaite Poole, show the amount of goods and merchandise sent from

* Paper by Mr. Braithwaite Poole, read before the Institute of Civil Engineers, April, 1852.

Liverpool to various towns in the interior, or brought from those towns to Liverpool, in the year 1851, by the London and Northwestern Railway; and also show the nature of the goods so conveyed :

ANALYSIS OF GOODS TRAFFIC IN AND OUT OF LIVERPOOL, BY THE LONDON AND NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY, IN THE YEAR 1851.

Stations.	1851	Stations.	1851
	Tons.		Tons.
Manchester	124,175	Bristol	4,850
Bolton	32,603	Darlaston	4,622
Scotland	45,029	Willenhall.....	4,333
Sheffield	29,012	Coventry and Warwick	4,292
London	27,012	Ashton and Staleybridge	4,129
East Lancashire	26,240	Leeds	4,072
Birmingham	25,711	Crewe	3,461
Stockport and Macclesfield	23,109	Wellington	3,401
North Union and Fleetwood.....	22,632	Eastern Counties.....	3,165
North Stafford.....	16,436	Walsall	2,824
South Stafford.....	15,886	Dewesbury	2,618
Midland	15,031	Stafford.....	2,473
Wolverhampton	13,892	Whitmore.....	1,810
Huddersfield	13,864	York and Newcastle	1,784
Lancaster and Carlisle	13,749	Lichfield and Tamworth	1,481
St Helens	13,240	Acton.....	1,351
Road between Liverpool and Man- } chester	6,814	Hartford	612
Warrington	6,626	Total.....	522,339

ANALYSIS OF GOODS TRAFFIC IN AND OUT OF LIVERPOOL, BY THE LONDON AND NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY, IN THE YEAR 1851.

Goods.	1851	Goods.	1851
	Tons.		Tons.
Produce packed	96,188	Butter, &c.	13,875
Cotton	88,554	Ale and Porter.....	9,317
Bales and Cases	73,296	Wines and Spirits	4,169
Raw Materials	45,465	Earthenware	3,279
Timber	39,153	Light Drugs.....	2,481
Grain	41,417	Tea	1,700
Iron	32,090	Furniture.....	1,202
Raw Produce	21,947	Fruit, ripe	633
Hardware	17,786	Meat, fresh	388
Sugar, &c.....	15,045	Total.....	522,339
Light Goods.....	14,354		

This account of the commerce and navigation of Liverpool would be altogether incomplete, if I did not add to it a description of the present state of those magnificent docks, now thirty in number, which have been formed in Liverpool during the last hundred and forty years, at a cost of about twelve millions sterling, and which form the most perfect artificial harbour ever made by the skill of man. The following is a sketch of the present state of each dock, beginning at the north end.

The magnificent group of docks, now called the northern docks, were

formed under the Dock Act of 1844, the 7th and 8th of Victoria. They consist of eight docks for sailing vessels, one splendid steam dock, and six graving docks. The following is an account of this great range of docks, beginning with the great steam dock, named in honour of the distinguished statesman who formerly represented Liverpool in parliament:

The Huskisson Dock, the largest dock in the port of Liverpool, was formed to accommodate the largest class of paddle-wheeled steamers. No sooner was it intimated to the dock committee of Liverpool that a line of mail steamers was about to be established between New York and Liverpool, which would require a dock with an entrance of at least 80 feet wide, than that spirited body offered to construct both a wet dock and a graving dock, (the south lock to which communicates with both,) capable, in every respect, of accommodating steamers of that immense size. The Huskisson Dock, which is at present the most northerly of all the docks, is the result of this determination. The depth of water in this stupendous dock is, in a 20 feet tide, 27 feet; the area of its water space is 15 acres 993 square yards; and the length of its quay frontage is 1,122 yards. When finished, it will have two entrances; one at the south, from the Sandon Basin, 80 feet wide, and the other at the north, from the Huskisson Basin, also 80 feet wide. These are the widest dock-gates in the world. The entrances to the Huskisson Dock are 10 feet wider than the entrance to the widest dock at Portsmouth. These gates are also 10 feet wider than the entrances to the Sandon, the Wellington, and the Coburg Docks, in this port, all of which docks are entered by gates 70 feet wide; and the gates of the Huskisson Dock are 35 feet wider than the entrances into the Prince's Dock, which were formerly considered wide enough to admit vessels of the largest class employed in commerce. The Huskisson Dock, joined to the other steam docks, will render Liverpool the most commodious seaport in the empire for ocean steamers; and we have the pleasure of knowing, that the dock committee are determined to retain that position, by adopting any additional improvements which may be rendered necessary or desirable, either by a further increase in the size of ocean steamers, or by any change in their construction. The Huskisson Dock was planned and built by Mr. Jesse Hartley, who has now wholly constructed twenty-one docks, and reconstructed six, in the port of Liverpool; and who has also laid out the plans, and formed the outline, of other great works connected with the commerce of Liverpool. The docks formed by Mr. Hartley will bear a comparison with the greatest works of the most

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L I V E R P O O L D O C K S

DETACH POINT

Line of Steamers 200 Yards from the Wall and 150 Yards apart

Line of Steamers 200 Yards from the Wall and 150 Yards apart

Outer Line of Steamers &c.

M E R S E Y R I V E R



New Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

Rock Ferry

THE DOCKS OF LIVERPOOL AND BIRKENHEAD.

The Dotted Line shows the Course taken by Her Majesty Queen Victoria on her first Voyage October 9th 1831

J. Wilson, Surveyor & Arrangement

SCALE



Charles Smith
Master

distinguished engineers of the present age, fertile as it is in engineering wonders.

The Sandon Graving Docks, six in number, lie south-east of the Huskisson and north of the Sandon Docks. They are each of them 25 feet in depth, 550 feet in length, and 80 feet in breadth. Those who have seen that immense vessel, the *Great Britain*, lying in one of these graving docks, and have observed how easily another large ship might be accommodated in the same dock, will be able to form some adequate idea of their magnitude. Each of the six graving docks is furnished with a furnace, and all other conveniences for repairing ships. Like all the northern dock-works, the Sandon Graving Docks are faced with granite, which gives them a massy and most durable appearance.

Between the Huskisson Dock and the Sandon Basin lies the Huskisson Graving Dock, which can be used either as a wet or a dry dock, and which is large enough, and possesses an entrance wide enough, to admit the largest paddle-wheeled steamers now afloat on the ocean. Steamers of the first class, like the *Atlantic* and the *Baltic*, require a width of 75 feet to clear the paddle-boxes, leaving only 5 feet to spare in a dock-gate 80 feet wide.

The Sandon Basin, through which vessels enter the Sandon Dock, and which forms one of the passages into the Huskisson Dock, the Wellington Half-tide, the Wellington, and the Bramley-Moore Docks, communicate with the river by an open passage 200 feet wide. This basin covers an area of 6 acres 904 yards.

The Sandon Dock is the second of nine wet docks, (including the Huskisson Steam Dock,) which are generally known as the North Docks, but which may, perhaps, lose that title before many years are gone, as the Prince's Dock and the group composed of the Waterloo, the Victoria, the Trafalgar, and the Clarence Docks have lost it during the present generation. The gate which gives entrance to the Sandon Dock, from the basin of the same name, is 70 feet wide; the water space of this dock covers an area of 10 acres and 100 square yards; and the dock furnishes 867 lineal yards of quay space for the landing of goods. This dock was named in honour of Dudley Ryder Viscount Sandon, now Earl of Harrowby, who represented the borough of Liverpool in the House of Commons from the year 1833 to 1849, and who, during that period, proved himself to be one of the most accessible, intelligent, and useful members that ever had charge of its interests.

The Wellington Half-tide Dock, through which vessels enter the Wel-

lington Dock, is connected with the Sandon Basin by a double entrance 70 and 50 feet wide. The area of the Wellington Half-tide Dock is 3 acres 813 square yards; its quay frontage is 400 yards. The area of the Wellington Dock is 7 acres 4,120 square yards; its quay frontage 820 yards. It is almost superfluous to state that this dock and the half-tide Wellington Dock were named after the deliverer of the Peninsula, the overthrower of military despotism, and not less the consistent advocate of internal and external peace.

The fourth of the northern docks is the Bramley-Moore Dock. This dock communicates both with the Wellington Half-tide Dock and with the Nelson Dock. Its gates are 60 feet wide; its area is 9 acres and 3,106 square yards; its quay frontage is 935 yards. This dock was named in honour of Mr. John Bramley-Moore, who was chairman of the Liverpool Dock Trust, at the time when the magnificent series of docks which I am now describing was planned, and, to a great extent, executed.

The fifth, or Nelson Dock, communicates both with the Bramley-Moore Dock and the Salisbury Dock. Its gates, which unite it to the latter, are 60 feet wide; it contains 7 acres and 4,786 square yards of water space, and its quay frontage is 803 yards. It is scarcely necessary to mention that this dock is named after that great naval hero, whose victories secured the independence of England, and kept open the ocean to British merchants and shipowners, when it was closed to those of almost every other nation.

The Salisbury is the first of three docks which extend inland. It is entered from the river by a double passage 60 and 50 feet wide, contains an area of 3 acres and 2,146 square yards, and supplies 406 yards of quay space. It is named after the Marquis of Salisbury, who is connected with Liverpool, by his descent from the Gascoynes, of Childwall.

The Collingwood Dock lies to the east of the Salisbury Dock, and is approached through it, by gates 60 feet wide. It contains an area of 5 acres and 244 square yards, and 533 yards of quay frontage.

The Stanley Dock, the last of the "northern" docks, lies to the east of the Collingwood Dock; the Waterloo, or Regent's-road, being carried across the cut, which unites the two docks, by a drawbridge. The Stanley Dock contains 7 acres and 120 square yards of water space, and supplies 753 yards of quay frontage. It is named in honour of the present Earl of Derby, whose family has been connected with Liverpool by the possession of property in and around the borough, and by other ties, personal and historical, for upwards of 450 years.

These docks form what are called the "north" docks. It will be seen, from a table of the dock dues of the port of Liverpool, given in the appendix, that the amount of tonnage of the vessels which entered them, in the year between the 25th June, 1850, and the 24th June, 1851, was 578,600 tons; and that the revenue which they produced to the dock estate, the same year, was £43,363. 8s. 9d.

The cluster of wet and dry docks and basins, of which the Clarence, the Trafalgar, the Victoria, and the Waterloo Docks are the chief, were formed under the Dock Act of 1825, the 6th of King George the Fourth.

The Clarence Graving Docks, with the basin, which connects them with the Clarence Dock to the south and the Salisbury Dock to the north, come first. Though less stupendous than the Sandon Graving Docks, they are large and commodious. There are two of them with the following dimensions :—Length, 730 yards and breadth 70 yards; depth, 25 feet. The Clarence Graving Dock Basin contains an area, or water space, of 1 acre 556 square yards.

The Clarence Half-tide Basin, through which vessels approach the Clarence and the Trafalgar Docks, contains 3 acres 4,500 yards.

The Clarence Dock and the Trafalgar Dock are approached by gates 47 and 45 feet wide. The Clarence Dock contains 5 acres 3,713 square yards of water space and 740 yards of quay space; the Trafalgar Dock 5 acres 4,280 yards of water space and 727 yards of quay space.

These two docks are entirely set apart for steamers. Last year the tonnage of the steam vessels which entered them was 759,749 tons, producing a revenue to the dock estate, for the same period, of £13,847 1s. 5d.

The Victoria and Waterloo Docks come next. The Victoria Dock contains a water space of 5 acres 3,559 square yards, and a quay frontage of 755 yards; the Waterloo Dock contains 6 acres 1,153 square yards of water space, and 993 yards of quay frontage.

The tonnage of the vessels which entered the Victoria and the Waterloo Docks in the last year was 329,282 tons; the revenue which they produced to the dock estate was not less than £36,850 10s. 6d.

"The Dock," as it was originally called, or the Old Dock, as it was afterwards named, was formed under the powers of an act passed in the year 1710, the eighth of Queen Anne. It was dug in the bed of the pool, which formerly ran half-round the ancient town of Liverpool, and was situated about the middle of the present long line of docks, but a little further inland than any of them. The Custom-house marks the site of

this cradle of the commerce of Liverpool, having been built on the ground formed by filling it up. The Old Dock was formed on a piece of land, or rather of water, of the size of four acres, given by the corporation for the purpose. It was made large enough to contain 100 vessels of the size in use in the reign of Queen Anne, few of which were of greater burthen than 150 tons. The yearly income which it was expected to yield, calculated according to the average number of vessels which had entered the port in the three years before it was formed, was £600. It was opened in the reign of King George the First, about the year 1720; and was filled up in the reign of King George the Fourth, in the year 1826. Mr. Thomas Steers was the engineer who constructed the Old Dock, which was the first dock of the kind ever formed in England for commercial purposes.

A graving dock, for repairing vessels, was formed about the same time, adjoining the Old Dock. It was let on lease to Mr. Alderman William Swire, whose family held it for many years, but was filled up long ago. When the graving dock was formed, there was no other nearer to Liverpool than the royal dock-yard at Plymouth.

The Salthouse Dock, so named from a large salt manufactory formerly carried on on the adjoining land, was formed under the powers of an act passed twenty years later, in the year 1737, the 11th of King George the Second. It is the oldest of the existing docks, although it did not take its present form until very recently, when it was re-constructed, under the powers of the Dock Act of the 4th of Queen Victoria. It at present contains 4 acres and 3,493 square yards of water space, and 730 yards of quay frontage, for loading and discharging goods. The amount of shipping which entered the Salthouse Dock in the financial year ending the 24th June, 1851, was 10,368 tons: the income which the dock yielded to the dock estate, from duties on tonnage and on goods entered inwards and outwards, during the same year, was £3,684 16s. 4d. The Salthouse Dock was made by Mr. Thomas Steers, and re-constructed by Mr. Jesse Hartley, the present surveyor of the dock estate.

The George's Dock was formed twenty-four years later than the Salthouse Dock, under the powers of an act passed in the year 1762, the 2d King George the Third. It was constructed on a piece of strand containing 14 acres, given by the corporation, and extending from the bottom of Chapel-street to the bottom of James-street. Previous to the forming of the George's Dock the tide came in, in high tides and stormy weather, as far as the wall of St. Nicholas's Church, which wall was thrown down by

the waves in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as far as to the Tower of the Stanleys at the foot of Water-street, and up to the houses at the foot of James-street, into a window of one of which the bowsprit of a vessel was once driven in a great storm. This was part of the townside, the original place for loading and unloading vessels, the memory of which was preserved to our days in the old electioneering cry of "Townside for ever." On this part of the townside the George's Dock was constructed, at the beginning of the reign of George the Third. It has been greatly enlarged and improved at various times. It is now entered, through a basin containing 3 acres 1,852 square yards of water space, by dock gates 42 feet 11 inches wide. The George's Dock itself contains 5 acres 2,593 square yards of water space, and 1,001 yards of quay frontage. The amount of shipping which entered the George's Dock in the year ending the 24th June, 1851, was 107,942 tons; the revenue which this dock produced to the dock estate that year was £9,741 8s. 8d.

The King's and Queen's Docks were commenced about twenty-five years later than the George's Dock, under the provisions of the dock act passed in the year 1785, the 25th of King George the Third. These docks have also been greatly enlarged and improved under more recent dock acts. The following is an account of these two docks as they are in the year 1852:

The King's Dock is entered by gates 42 feet wide. It contains 7 acres 3,896 square yards of water space, and 875 lineal yards of quay space. The amount of shipping which entered it in the year ending June 24th, 1851, was 163,198 tons; the amount of income which it produced to the dock estate was £14,245 10s. 10d.

The Queen's Dock, lying to the south of the King's, contains 10 acres 3,101 square yards of water space, and 1,255 yards of quay frontage. The amount of shipping which entered it in 1851 was 132,203 tons; the amount which it produced to the dock estate was £15,388 6s. 8d. The dry dock, afterwards the Canning Dock, was formed under the act of 1737. It was made a wet dock, and the name changed to Canning Dock under the act of 1825.

The Canning Dock was formed under an act passed in the year 1825, under which act the King's Dock was greatly enlarged, and other improvements were made. The approach to the Canning Dock is through a half-tide basin, containing 2 acres 2,688 square yards of water space, and 429 lineal yards of quay frontage. The Canning Dock itself contains 4 acres and 376 square yards of water space, and 585 yards of quay space. Its gate is 45 feet wide. The shipping which entered the dock

in the year ending June 24th, 1851, was 126,752 tons; the income which it produced to the dock estate was £4,366 12s. 5d.

The Prince's Dock was formed under the authority of the Dock Act of 1799, the 39th of George the Third, and was opened in the year 1822. This handsome dock is approached at the north end through a basin, containing 4 acres 1,549 yards of water space, and through George's Basin at the south end. The gates of the Prince's Dock are 45 feet wide. The dock contains 11 acres 3,889 square yards of water space, and 1,613 lineal yards of quay space. The amount of the shipping which entered the Prince's Dock in the year ending June, 1851, was 247,916 tons; the revenue which it yielded to the dock estate was £33,243 13s. 8d.

The Brunswick Dock, the great timber dock of the port, was formed under the Dock Act of 1825, the 6th of George the Fourth, and two graving docks for the repairing of ships at the same time. It contains 12 acres 2,744 square yards of water space, and 1,092 lineal yards of quay space. The gates of the Brunswick Dock are 42 feet wide. The quantity of shipping which entered the Brunswick Dock in the year ending June 24th, 1851, was 318,464 tons; the amount of dock revenue which it produced was £34,564 4s. 7d.

The Albert Dock, surrounded by an immense pile of warehouses for the discharging of goods, is one of the most perfect docks in the world. It was opened by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, in the year 1846. The amount of shipping which entered the Albert Dock in 1851 was 194,991; the amount of revenue which it produced to the dock estate was £24,918 7s. 3d. This is independent of the income derived from the Albert Dock Warehouses, which pay a handsome per centage.

The Coburg Dock, the first dock built in Liverpool for the accommodation of steamers of the largest class, is entered by gates 70 feet 1 inch wide. It contains 4 acres 2,198 square yards of water space, and 747 yards of quay frontage. The amount of shipping which entered the dock in the year ending June 24th, 1851, was 85,145 tons; the amount which it contributed to the income of the dock estate was £6,987 3s. 8d.

The Union Dock is one of the smallest in the port. It contains 2 acres 3,505 square yards of water space, and 497 yards of quay frontage. The amount of shipping which entered this dock in the year ending June 24th, 1851, was 11,706 tons; and the amount of revenue derived from it was £843 15s. 1d.

The Toxteth Dock contains 1 acre 469 yards. Income, £1,813 15s. 3d.

Such are the Liverpool docks in the year 1852. Another great dock

is also in course of construction at Wapping, in the centre of the town, near the Albert Dock. Plans have also been prepared for constructing a great timber float at the north end of the town, beyond the Huskisson Dock. The Harrington Dock also belongs to the dock estate.

The water space of the docks above described covers 179 acres 126 square yards; the area of the dry docks is 20 acres 4,809 square yards; the total area of the docks, wet and dry, is 200 acres 95 square yards. The length of the quay frontage for discharging and loading goods in the Liverpool docks is 14 miles 1,355 yards. The river wall, which guards the docks from the storms and tides, is five miles in length and from thirty to fifty feet in height.

In addition to the great works already constructed by the Liverpool dock trust, they have obtained powers to construct another dock, in the central part of the present line, of 11 acres, and to form a vast timber float, of 206 acres, at the northern end of the docks. The progress of part of these new works is at present checked, but there is no doubt that they will be carried out, and that they will prove of great value to the commerce of the port.

The following memorandum, relating to the formation of the Liverpool docks, contains information which will prove of general and lasting interest :

The group of docks, situate between the Prince's Dock Basin and the north boundary wall of the Clarence Graving Docks, are principally formed upon rock of various qualities of red sandstone, but some portions are on quick sand.

The cost of the whole, comprising the Waterloo Half-tide Dock and Waterloo Dock, Victoria Dock, Trafalgar Dock and Lock, Clarence Half-tide Dock, Clarence Dock, and two graving docks of the same name, together with the sea or river walls, with stairs and slips therein, in front of them, amounted to £684,669 10s. 2d.

George's Dock and Basin : A portion of this work was executed prior to 1824. The dock walls are founded partly on rock and partly on marl. The piers at the entrance of the basin from the river being on quick sand, are built upon piles, and the cost of the portions executed by Mr. Hartley has been £79,986 4s. 1d.

Canning Dock (formerly Dry Dock) : This dock has been entirely rebuilt and deepened, together with the two graving docks; the latter are mainly on quick sand: the east wall of the dock is chiefly founded upon rock. The cost of the above was £65,183 18s. 9d.

Salthouse Dock : This dock has been entirely rebuilt and deepened, and is founded on rock ; the cost of it was £45,838 19s. 10d.

The Albert Dock and Warehouses, and the Canning Half-tide Dock, are founded partly on rock and partly on marl ; but all the west and north sides of the Albert Dock, the south side of the Half-tide Basin, and the whole of the river wall in front thereof, and the piers in the double entrance from the river into the Half-tide Basin, are on quick sand, and have been built upon 13,792 piles of beech timber, the aggregate length of which would amount to over forty-eight miles. The quay walls of the dock are 40 feet deep below the coping. The warehouses are 66 feet in height above the coping, and cover a surface of 21,390 square yards, and are wholly constructed of stone, brick, and iron, and perfectly fireproof, no timber whatever being used in them. The total cost of these works, complete, amounted to £514,475 8s. 1d.

The King's Dock has been deepened considerably, and nearly rebuilt ; is founded on rock, and has cost £25,734 4s. 10d.

The Coburg Dock (formerly a dry basin, called the Brunswick Basin,) has been chiefly rebuilt, and deepened, and converted into a wet dock for large class steamers. The entrance gates from the river are 70 feet wide. The cost of this alteration was £55,524 6s. 11d.

The Brunswick Dock, its Half-tide Dock, and the two graving docks connected with the dock, are formed partly on rock. The west side of the dock, and that of the Half-tide Dock, are on a soft running sand. The cost of these works amounted together to £341,799 18s. 4d.

The Toxteth Dock is founded on rock, except its piers and entrance, which are on quick sand, and stand upon piles. The cost of this dock has been £39,717 9s.

Of the new North Docks, extending from the Clarence Half-tide Basin and Clarence Graving Docks to the north boundary wall of the Sandon Graving Docks, the southern portion is on rock. The Wellington Dock and Half-tide Dock, the Sandon Dock and Basin, and the six graving docks connected therewith, are founded on marl, interspersed with deep and extensive spaces of sand ; but the entrances are built upon long piles of beech timber, driven in a very deep peat bog, in which, below low water level, were found forest trees, buffalo and deer's horns, &c., &c. : the ground altogether various, and exceedingly loose and uncertain in its quality. The cost of these works, with the river wall, ships, and stairs in front, amounted to £1,104,910 3s. 3d.

The Huskisson Dock, to the north of the Sandon Basin, is founded

upon strata of similar description to the Wellington and Sandon Docks. This dock has double entrances both at the north and at the south ends, the openings being one of eighty, and the other of forty-five feet in width at each end. The wide entrance at the south end can be run dry and used as a graving dock, when required, blocks being laid for that purpose. The total cost of these works, exclusive of land, amounted to the sum of £235,577 3s. 5d.

The whole of the Liverpool Docks, with the exception of the Prince's Dock and Basin, the Queen's Dock and Basin, and the Union Dock, have been designed and built, or re-built and deepened, by Mr. Hartley, the operative surveyor, and under his individual direction; and in the course of this seventy-six pairs of dock-gates, varying in their openings from thirty-six to eighty feet, have been constructed.

The whole expenditure on these works, under the present dock surveyor, from March, 1824, when his appointment took place, to the present time, 14th May, 1852, and including the open and transit sheds and warehouses, and all appertaining thereto, together with the annual cost of the wear and tear of the whole, and the cost of the Great Landing Stage, amounts to £4,684,111 11s. 6d.

In addition to the immense amount of accommodation furnished by the dock estate of Liverpool, another large set of docks has been projected at Birkenhead, and some progress has been made in constructing them. As it is still uncertain on what plan the works at Birkenhead will be completed, it would be useless to give any detailed account of them, in their present state; but there can be no doubt that Birkenhead possesses some great advantages of position, and that a set of docks, formed there in such a manner as to turn all those advantages to the best effect, will be a very valuable addition to the accommodations of the river Mersey. Birkenhead is the natural port of an extensive district, south of the Mersey, with which Liverpool has few facilities of communication. Its future progress depends on the more or less complete development of its natural advantages as a harbour, and on the adoption or rejection of various plans of railway improvement, now under consideration. The notion of making Birkenhead a rival port to Liverpool is altogether idle; but it is capable of being made a very useful auxiliary.

The Garston Dock, for shipping coals, will also prove a very valuable addition to the commerce of the Mersey, by bringing it into easy connexion with one of the richest coal-fields in Great Britain, and with the

district of St. Helens, which is increasing with extraordinary rapidity in population, trade, and wealth.

Should the commerce of Liverpool continue to increase as rapidly during the next thirty years as it has done during the last thirty, both banks of the Mersey will be lined with docks from the entrance to the river, to the point where the water becomes too shallow for the large and ever-increasing vessels which will crowd the waters of the port.

In bringing this account of the port of Liverpool to a close, it may enable us to judge of its future fortunes if we point out one or two circumstances peculiar to its present commercial position.

The first of these is, that the commerce of Liverpool extends to every port of any importance in every quarter of the globe. In this respect it far surpasses the commerce of any city of which we have a record from past times, as Tyre, Venice, Genoa, Amsterdam, or Antwerp, and fully equals, if it does not surpass, that of London and New York, the one the avowed capital of the first commercial state in the world, the other the real capital of the second. In the year 1851 upwards of twenty-one thousand vessels paid dock dues in Liverpool, which had arrived from or sailed to upwards of four hundred ports, scattered over the whole world, and serving as outlets for the commerce of every nation which possesses any thing to exchange in the way of commerce, and which does not exclude foreigners from its inhospitable shores.

Commencing with the continent of Europe, the commerce of Liverpool is found in every port from Archangel, on the frozen shores of the White Sea, to the sunny regions which encircle the Mediterranean, and from the mouth of the Tagus to the river of the Don Cossacks, which divides Europe from Asia.

In Asia it is found in every port open to European commerce, from Smyrna, in the Mediterranean, to Shanghae, in the Yellow Sea; and from Trebizonde, on the Euxine, to the island of Java.

In Africa it may be met with in every port from Alexandria, in Egypt, along the coast of Barbary, on the shores inhabited by the negroes, round the Cape, up the eastern coast of the continent, as far as the entrance to the Red Sea.

It is met with in all the ports of Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, in which the European race is settled.

In America it commences in the Hudson's Bay territory and extends to Patagonia, including every port on the eastern coast, from the St. Lawrence to the River Plate; and on the west, from San Francisco to Valparaiso.

Another circumstance, worthy of note, connected with the commerce of Liverpool is, that it consists chiefly of articles suited for the daily wants of the whole human race, such as food, clothing, and fuel ; the implements of industry and of domestic life ; metals for the useful arts ; and the materials for constructing ships and houses. Mere luxuries, or articles of taste, form a trifling portion of the whole, and would scarcely be missed if lost altogether. The clothing sent from this country, three-fourths of it from Liverpool, is not much less than two thousand millions of yards each year ; a quantity sufficient to clothe the third or fourth part of the human race. It is with British iron that the railways of America, India, and Egypt have been, or will be, constructed. The machinery of England, impelled by English coal, presses out the juice of the sugar-cane, and prepares the cotton of the east and west. The cutlery of Sheffield and the earthenware of Staffordshire are found in every house. The fire-arms of Birmingham decide the wars of Asia and Africa. The salt of Cheshire preserves the flesh of the millions of animals fatted in the forests or the corn-fields of America. And English coal furnishes the power by which the correspondence, and much of the personal communication, of the world is carried on.

A third circumstance worthy of note is, that the commerce of Liverpool, joined with that of London and other British ports, is the means by which the most distant nations are rendered useful, not only to us, but to each other. Not only are we clothed with the cotton grown on the banks of the Mississippi, the Amazons, the Indus, and the Nile ; with the fleeces of Australia, Spain, and Turkey ; with the flax of Russia ; and the silks of Italy, India, and China ; but it is by the capital and commerce of the United Kingdom that the planter of Louisiana supplies the wants of the sheep farmer of Australia : that the sheep farmer of Australia clothes the Canadian ; that the oak of England and Africa, and the timber of New Brunswick, furnish the ship, by which the sugar of Brazil and the coffee of Ceylon are conveyed to the shores of the Euxine and the Baltic.

The manufacturing superiority, which is the chief support of the commerce of Liverpool, depends on three things : first, the mechanical talent, the persevering industry, and the hereditary skill of the English artizans ; second, on the perfection of the machinery of England ; and, third, on the abundance and cheapness of capital.

The skill of our mechanics was never more conspicuous than it is at the present time ; our machines never so perfect ; our capital never so

abundant. The annual income of Lancashire alone is upwards of sixteen millions sterling, and money is attainable at from one-and-a-half to two per cent. Of all the means of promoting present industry, none is so great as cheap capital, the fruit of former industry, for it includes within itself every possible economy of production and every advantage of sale.

But England is not only the manufacturer, she is the banker of the world. A long series of payments and credits are required before the cotton of Louisiana finds its way, in the form of clothing, to India and China; or the wool of Australia, in the form of clothing, to Buenos Ayres and Chili. A voyage round the world, several payments, and a considerable rate of interest are requisite to accomplish all these operations, which are performed chiefly with the cheap capital of England.

Liverpool has a considerable advantage in the nature of its trade, as relates to the lightness of the duties imposed upon it. The raw materials of industry are almost free from taxation in this country, whilst a large number of articles of consumption are more or less heavily taxed. The trade of Liverpool consists chiefly of the former, that of London chiefly of the latter. Hence it is that the sum paid in the form of taxation on produce of the value of about thirty-seven millions, imported into Liverpool, is less than four millions; whilst that paid on forty-three millions of produce imported into London is almost twelve millions.

The energy of the British race, and of the races which originally sprang from the British Islands, is developing itself chiefly on four great theatres: first, within the British Islands themselves; second, on the North American continent; third, in British India; and, fourth, in Australia. Liverpool is the most frequented of all the outlets of British industry. One-half of the products which England forms, for the use of foreign nations and the inhabitants of the colonies, is sent forth through this port. Nearly a million tons of shipping clears out yearly from Liverpool to the United States and British America conjointly, and nearly as much returns, bringing the most valuable products of the most fertile and best cultivated countries of the new world. Yet the quantity of land reclaimed from the waste, in the United States, is not much more than equal to the surface of Great Britain; nor in British America to much more than that of Ireland. A population of twenty-five millions is scattered over a territory which would support two hundred millions, if peopled as the whole of Europe is peopled; and of four hundred millions, if peopled like England. Without attempting to dive too deep into futurity, it is not unreasonable to speculate on what may happen in the concluding half of the present

century. Before twenty-five years are passed, the American race, in the United States and the colonies, sprung chiefly from the people of the British Islands, and speaking the English language, will number fifty millions of souls; by the end of the century it will probably number a hundred millions. The countries of America in which the English language is already spoken consume twenty millions of the produce of Great Britain and Ireland yearly, and return an equivalent value of their own; and there is no reason why the commerce of the United Kingdom with America should not increase with the increase of its population, nor any why Liverpool should not retain the same proportion of that augmented commerce which it possesses of the present. British India already contains nearly a hundred millions of inhabitants, and the native states under British influence at least fifty millions more. Who can venture to assign limits to the trade which India will possess with Great Britain, when Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Agra are connected with each other, and with Madras and all Southern India, by the magnificent railways which are already in progress? With Australia, a country containing more than three million square miles of land, entirely belonging to England, and destined to be peopled by the British race, there already exists an extensive trade, increasing with wonderful rapidity, and capable of being increased to an amount which it would appear rash to predict. Every month the connexion of Liverpool with these rich and wide-spreading regions is becoming more extensive. Thus the rapid development of the energies, and increase of the numbers of the British races, in its four great centres of activity, in Europe, America, Asia, and Australia, is rapidly increasing the commerce of this port and that of the British empire generally, while even in Africa the same race is making its way, amidst many difficulties, into regions hitherto utterly barbarous, and will ultimately reach the Equator.

Another circumstance most favourable to the extension of commerce is the long continuance of peace. From 1815 to 1852 England has been at peace with all the great nations of Europe and America; and never were the people and statesmen of England less disposed to exchange peace for war than they are at the present time. England may be driven into a war, but will never seek one. She has now enjoyed a peace, at home and abroad, of about thirty-seven years' duration, which is a much longer exemption from the waste, the ruin, and the misery of war than had been known during any part of the preceding century. During that period

commerce has created innumerable ties of friendship and interest, amongst nations formerly hostile and rival, which will not be easily broken. Every year these connections of man with man, and nation with nation, become stronger, closer, and more numerous, and they have now acquired a strength which encourages us in the hope that the world, and this country especially, will long continue to enjoy an uninterrupted and free exchange of the innumerable products, which a bountiful Providence has scattered over the surface of the earth, and which the commerce of England and other civilized nations interchanges amongst the whole human race.

APPENDIX.

IMPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES INTO LIVERPOOL, IN THE YEARS 1847 TO 1851, INCLUSIVE.

Articles.	IMPORTS				
	From 1st January to 31st December.				
	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Ashes, American	7,100	8,650	16,750	20,850	17,850
Brimstone	8,300	10,200	11,200	10,650	10,900
Cassia Lignea	1,050	none	115	165	none
Cocoa	9,770	13,365	12,500	8,335	10,975
Coffee, B. P. West India	3,770	2,770	2,550	3,420	2,770
barrels and bags	1,455	1,055	1,820	1,815	1,115
Ceylon	none	60	500	1,570	435
bags	9,500	5,000	6,650	13,760	820
All Foreign	850	430	200	10	...
bags, &c.	62,515	29,000	40,770	20,235	34,350
Dyewoods, Logwood	9,200	13,650	14,350	23,550	15,700
Fustic	4,000	5,650	6,300	7,450	9,950
Nicaragua Wood	2,300	2,420	2,400	5,700	4,050
Ginger, West India...barrels and bags	440	70	70	235	565
East India	3,800	2,720	5,950	9,650	1,800
African	1,600	2,450	1,380	1,170	850
Gum, Arabic.....cases and barrels	1,350	1,100	2,550	970	2,500
Hides, Ox and Cow	367,100	333,800	397,100	266,200	287,600
East India.....ditto	445,400	191,500	205,000	286,400	218,700
Horse, South American	47,365	67,900	129,600	139,700	77,800
Indigo, East India	1,200	815	570	405	760
Spanish	1,300	5	110	200	2,000
Jute.....bales	42,000	56,000	63,000	83,500	95,000
Lac Dye	390	230	790	1,180	315
Shell	1,400	3,860	510	2,680	3,230
Madder	2,665	2,770	2,700	3,500	3,450
Madder-roots ... ..bales, &c.	12,600	16,350	15,600	19,900	22,550
Molasses, West India	11,480	7,650	13,300	8,865	12,500
East India.....ditto	1,000	2,000	1,200	745	590
Foreign	9,260	1,630	13,550	15,400	6,700
Olive Oil	4,200	4,300	7,300	10,000	5,100
Palm Oil	19,350	18,400	17,900	16,250	23,800
Pepper, East India...bags and pockets	19,500	17,800	7,550	8,760	3,500
Pimento	720	2,100	1,400	3,050	1,850
Rice, East India.....bags	378,000	351,000	297,900	314,100	184,700
American	26,300	9,100	11,000	10,650	2,750
Rum, West India.....puncheons	9,905	9,850	8,595	8,120	8,845
East India.....ditto	945	1,030	370	315	420
Foreign	1,930	540	235	260	310
Saltpetre, East India.....bags	34,600	66,100	48,800	42,850	44,500
Nitrate of Soda..... ditto	96,000	77,600	68,300	78,600	80,700
Sugar, B. Plantation...hds. and tees.	36,340	24,360	30,650	25,190	28,310
Bengal, &c. ....bags	279,600	330,900	301,400	334,250	350,950
Mauritius	89,006	16,420	88,600	76,500	72,000
Manilla, Java, &c.....bags, &c.	20,035	25,965	7,240	22,135	59,970
Havannah	39,180	8,790	1,110	8,620	10,000
Brazil	8,710	8,030	6,470	4,080	3,915
Ditto	84,800	77,960	95,650	54,965	78,200
Other Foreign.....hogsheds	9,100	4,800	6,280	5,560	12,050
barrels	7,955	7,680	11,300	6,060	4,900
Sumac .. ..bags	67,600	64,800	82,950	98,350	88,400
Tar .. ..barrels	36,000	31,000	56,850	39,575	43,000
Tallow, European.....casks	17,100	18,900	26,250	16,200	16,950
American, &c.....casks, &c.	9,300	16,750	24,100	22,700	15,100
Tinical and Borax...casks, boxes, &c.	515	1,100	700	2,510	2,675
Tobacco	10,365	10,200	13,200	12,550	10,050
Turpentine	44,900	52,200	51,300	61,600	54,500

DOCK DUES RECEIVED AT

FROM 25TH JUNE, 1850

	Names of Docks.	Amount of Tonnage.	Income from Tonnage.	Income from Goods Inwards.
		Tons.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	New North Docks.....	578,600	28,422 11 8	13,677 13 3
2	Clarence and Trafalgar Docks.....	759,749	13,257 10 10	243 12 5
3	Victoria and Waterloo Docks	329,282	18,675 13 4	13,230 11 10
4	Prince's Dock.....	247,916	13,765 9 6	14,314 18 9
5	George's Dock	107,942	4,041 1 6	4,108 15 3
6	Canning Dock	126,752	3,014 12 2	1,057 5 9
7	Salthouse Dock	10,368	392 5 1	753 8 10
8	Albert Dock ...	194,991	13,729 0 4	11,118 2 9
9	King's Dock	163,198	7,614 10 11	5,063 13 9
10	Queen's Dock.....	132,203	7,006 19 3	6,503 18 11
11	Coburg Dock	85,145	445 4 9	2,276 17 7
12	Union Dock	11,706	4,325 13 0	276 19 11
13	Brunswick Dock	318,464	20,623 5 0	12,551 8 10
14	Toxteth Dock.....	20,023	1,053 1 10	727 8 6
15	Harrington Dock	8,707	136 13 3	41 12 5
	From Docks in Liverpool.....	3,095,046	136,503 12 5	85,946 8 9
	From Steamers not coming into Dock.	235,741	6,401 8 7	.....
	From Vessels discharging at Runcorn 178,169	.....	790 8 10	.....
	Deduct, landed in Liverpool Docks afterwards..... 21,954	156,215	.....	.....
	From Vessels discharging in Prince's, George's, and King's Basins; Her- culaneum, Egerton, Duke's, and the Birkenhead Docks; Ellesmere Port and the Cheshire Shore	250,664	.....	.....
	From Duties on Goods landed on the Basins of the Docks .....	.....	.....	17 17 5
		3,737,666	143,695 9 10	85,964 6 2
	Duties on Tonnage .....	....	128,026 0 7	
	„ Lighthouses.....	....	10,909 11 9	
	„ Floating Lights .....	....	4,759 17 6	
		£ 143,695 9 10		

THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL,
TO 24TH JUNE, 1851.

Income from Goods Outw'ds.	Total Income from Goods Inwards and Outwards.	Grand Total Income.	Revenue from Trade of various Countries.		
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
1,263 3 5	14,940 16 8	43,363 8 4	East Indies and China	21,089	2 2
345 18 2	589 10 7	13,847 1 5	Australia & New Zealand	656	14 4
4,944 5 4	18,174 17 2	36,850 10 6	West Coast of South America }	8,206	14 1
5,163 5 5	19,478 4 2	33,243 13 8	Brazils	8,851	18 7
1,591 11 11	5,700 7 2	9,741 8 8	West Indies, Gulf of Mexico.... }	12,295	4 8
294 14 6	1,352 0 3	4,366 12 5	United States.....	93,498	9 8
2,539 2 5	3,292 11 3	3,684 16 4	British America, Newfoundland }	26,651	17 6
71 4 2	11,189 6 11	24,918 7 3	W. Coast of Africa.	5,035	12 10
1,567 6 2	6,630 19 11	14,245 10 10	Mediterranean ...	21,386	8 10
1,827 8 9	8,331 7 8	15,338 6 11	Ports in the Baltic	7,480	18 11
384 13 1	2,661 10 8	6,987 3 8	Other European Ports	14,891	12 3
121 10 5	398 10 4	843 15 1	Coasters	23,942	6 9
1,389 10 9	13,940 19 7	34,564 4 7		243,987	0 7
33 4 11	760 13 5	1,813 15 3	Steamers not coming into Dock	6,401	8 7
....	41 12 5	178 5 8	Vessels discharging at Runcorn }	790	8 10
21,536 19 5	107,483 8 2	243,987 0 7	Landed on the Basins of the Docks	17 17 5	
.....	.....	6,401 8 7			
.....	... ..	790 8 10			
.....			
.....			
.....			
.....	17 17 5	17 17 5			
21,536 19 5	107,501 5 7	251,196 15 5			

TABLE OF THE LIVERPOOL DOCKS.

Showing the Area of Water, Quay Space, Width of Entrance, and Depth of Sill for each Dock. The Old Dock (the Sill of which is the datum) contained an Area of 3 acres 1,890 yards, and 557 lineal yards of Quay Space; its Passage contained an Area of 675½ lineal yards of Quay Space.

Year.	Basins and Docks.	Width of Entrance.		Sill under Old Dock Datum.		Coping at Hollow Quoins above Sill.		Water Area.		Total Water Area.		Quay Space.		Total Quay Space.
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Acres.	Yds.	Lnl. Yds.	Miles. Yards.	
DRY BASINS.														
1753	The Old Dock Gut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2,897	...	...	...	...
1771	George's Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1,852	...	...	455	...
.....	George's Ferry Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1,344	...	...	160	...
1788	Queen's Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	191	...	...	601	...
1816	Brunswick Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4,262	...	...	...	...
1821	Prince's Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1,549	...	...	509	...
.....	Seacombe Ferry Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1,805	...	...	188	...
1823	South Ferry Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2,927	20	2,307	205	...
1840	Alteration of the Brunswick Basin to Coburg Dock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4,262	...	...	...	...
1845	Alteration of the Old Dock Gut to Canning Half-tide Dock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2,897	6	2,319	...	...
1845	Harrington Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3,917	13	4,828	308	...
1851	Sandon Basin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	904	...	4,821	720	1 1,368
Total Water Area and Quay Space of Dry Basins														
WET DOCKS.														
1715	The Old Dock opened, containing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	4,809	...	1 1,368
1753	Salthouse Dock, north and south gates	45	0	45	0	6	0	32	0	32	3	1,890	...	...
1771	George's Dock, north and south gates	42	0	40	1	4	6	29	0	28	4	3,665	...	...
1788	King's Dock	42	0	...	...	5	0	31	2	...	3	3,193	875	0 875
1796	Queen's Dock, north and south gates	42	0	42	0	1	9	26	2	31	7	3,896	...	...
1813	Canning Dock, west gates	45	0	...	...	6	3	32	3	...	6	2,511	...	...
1816	Queen's Dock (enlargement)	42	0	42	0	1	9	26	2	31	4	376	1,255	0 1,255
1821	Prince's Dock, north and south gates	45	0	45	0	5	11	34	1	34	11	5,889	1,613	0 1,613
1823	Union Dock, west gates	42	0	...	...	1	9	30	10	...	2	3,505	497	0 497
1825	Enlargement of the George's Dock	42	0	40	1	4	6	29	0	28	48	4,155	1,001	0 1,001
1826	Old Dock closed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	3,555	...	...
											3	1,890	...	...
											17	1,665	...	...

1850/	Clarence Dock, west gates	47	0	...	3	2	...	...	29	2	...	...	6	278	914
.....	Clarence Half-tide Dock, river entrance	50	0	...	5	6	...	...	34	0	...	...	3	4,509	535
1832	Brunswick Dock, north and east gates	42	0	42	0	4	6	5	6	31	6	31	6	12	2,744
.....	Brunswick Half-tide Dock, west gates	45	0	...	4	0	6	0	6	...	...	...	...	1	8,388
1834	Waterloo Dock, north gates	40	0	...	4	11	...	...	...	31	3	...	...	5	2,790
.....	" " Lock, north and south gates	45	0	45	0	6	5	6	8	33	0	33	3	0	8,203
1836	Victoria Dock, south gates	40	0	...	4	11	...	...	...	31	3	...	...	5	3,027
.....	Trafalgar Dock, south gates	45	0	...	4	11	...	...	...	31	4	...	...	5	4,980
.....	" " Lock, north and south gates	45	0	45	0	5	6	5	6	30	5	30	5	0	8,203
1840	Coburg Dock, river entrance	70	1	...	5	0	...	...	...	31	6	...	...	...	...
1842	Toxteth Dock	40	0	...	5	0	...	...	...	31	0	...	...	...	...
1845	Albert Dock, east and north gates	45	0	45	0	6	0	6	4	32	4	32	4	7	8,542
.....	Canning Half-tide Dock, west double and east gates	45	0	45	0	6	4	6	3	34	6	32	3	2	2,688
.....	Salthouse Dock, altered	45	0	45	0	6	0	6	0	32	0	32	0	Less	172
.....	Harrington Dock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5,740
1848	Salisbury Dock, north and south gates	60	0	50	0	6	11	6	11	32	11	32	11	3	2,146
.....	Collingwood Dock, west gates	60	0	...	6	9	...	...	...	32	9	...	...	5	244
.....	Stanley Dock, west gates	51	0	...	5	8	...	...	...	31	8	...	...	7	120
.....	Nelson Dock, south gates	60	0	...	6	6	...	...	...	32	6	...	...	7	4,786
.....	Bramley-Moore Dock, north and south gates	60	0	60	0	6	0	6	0	32	0	32	0	9	3,106
.....	Clarence Graving Dock Basin, enlarged	45	0	45	0	4	6	4	9	31	0	30	9	1	1,056
1851	Wellington Dock, west gates	70	0	...	6	0	...	...	...	32	0	...	...	7	4,120
.....	Wellington Half-tide Dock, east and west gates	70	0	50	0	6	9	6	6	34	9	32	6	3	813
.....	Sandon Dock, west gates	70	0	...	6	6	...	...	...	32	6	...	...	10	100
.....	Huskisson Dock, east and west locks	80	0	45	0	6	6	6	0	...	...	32	0	1	3,492
1852	Huskisson Dock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	3,685
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	993
	Total Water Area and Quay Space of Wet Docks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	179	126
	" " Dry Basins	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	4,809
	Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	95

The extreme length of the River Wall belonging to the Dock Estate is 5 miles 20 yards. The total Area of the Dock Estate of Liverpool is 712 acres.

1 1,181

315

406

553

553

753

803

935

291

820

400

867

672

1,122

1,122

12

1,727

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1,368

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1,335

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AMOUNT OF DOCK DUTIES AT THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL,

FROM THE TIME OF THE OPENING OF THE FIRST DOCK, IN THE YEAR 1720, (6TH GEORGE THE 1ST,) TO THE 25TH OF JUNE, 1851, (THE 14TH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.)

Year.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Amount on Tonnage.	Duties on Goods, Lights, &c.	Yearly Amount.	Amount of Ten Years.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1722 to 1732	The Average Amount for each Ten Years, from 1722 to 1752 is £14,880 10s 10d or £1,488 1s 10d per annum.
1732 to 1742	36,290	1,728,063	44,641 12 6	.....	.....
1742 to 1752	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1752	1,184	.....	1,776 8 2	.....	.....
1753	1,235	2,034 16 2	£ s. d. 17,624 19 5
1754	1,251	.....	2,095 11 0	.....	.....
1755	1,082	.....	2,417 13 11	.....	.....
1756	1,219	.....	2,187 16 9	.....	.....
1757	1,371	.....	2,336 15 0	.....	.....
1758	1,453	.....	2,403 6 3	.....	.....
1759	1,281	.....	2,372 12 2	.....	.....
1760	1,245	.....	2,330 6 7	.....	.....
1761	1,319	.....	2,382 0 2	.....	.....
1762	1,307	.....	2,526 19 6	.....	.....
1763	1,752	.....	3,141 1 5	.....	.....
1764	1,625	.....	2,780 3 4	.....	.....
1765	1,930	.....	3,455 8 4	.....	.....
1766	1,908	.....	3,653 19 2	.....	.....
1767	1,704	.....	3,615 9 2	.....	.....
1768	1,808	3,566 14 9	31,456 7 5
1769	2,054	.....	4,004 5 0	.....	.....
1770	2,073	.....	4,142 17 2	.....	.....
1771	2,087	.....	4,203 19 10	.....	.....
1772	2,259	.....	4,552 5 4	.....	.....
1773	2,214	.....	4,725 1 11	.....	.....
1774	2,258	.....	4,580 5 5	.....	.....
1775	2,291	.....	5,384 4 9	.....	.....
1776	2,216	.....	5,064 10 10	.....	.....
1777	2,361	.....	4,610 4 9	.....	.....
1778	2,292	.....	4,649 7 7	.....	.....
1779	2,374	4,957 17 10	46,870 15 5
1780	2,261	.....	3,528 7 9	.....	.....
1781	2,512	.....	3,915 4 11	.....	.....
1782	2,496	.....	4,249 6 3	.....	.....
1783	2,816	.....	4,840 8 3	.....	.....
1784	3,098	.....	6,597 11 1	.....	.....
1785	3,429	.....	8,411 5 3	.....	.....
1786	3,228	.....	7,508 0 1	.....	.....
1787	3,567	.....	9,199 18 8	.....	.....
1788	3,677	.....	9,206 13 10	.....	.....
1789	3,619	.....	8,901 10 10	.....	.....
1790	4,223	10,037 6 2½	66,358 6 11
1791	4,045	.....	11,645 6 6	.....	.....
1792	4,483	.....	13,243 17 8¼	.....	.....
1793	4,129	.....	12,480 5 5	.....	.....
1794	4,265	.....	10,678 7 0	.....	.....
1795	3,948	.....	9,368 16 4	.....	.....
1796	4,738	.....	12,377 7 7	.....	.....

Year.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Amount on Tonnage.			Duties on Goods, Lights, &c.			Yearly Amount.			Amount of Ten Years.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1797	4,528	13,319	12	8	119,258	12	8½
1798	4,478	....	12,057	18	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1799	4,518	....	14,049	15	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800	4,746	450,060	32,379	13	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1801	5,060	459,719	28,365	8	2½	363,098	1	9½
1802	4,781	510,691	28,192	9	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1803	4,791	494,521	28,027	13	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1804	4,291	448,761	26,157	0	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1805	4,618	463,482	33,364	13	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	4,676	507,825	44,560	7	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1807	5,791	662,309	62,831	5	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1808	5,225	516,836	40,638	10	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1809	6,023	594,601	47,580	19	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1810	6,729	734,391	65,782	1	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1811	5,616	611,190	54,752	18	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1812	4,599	446,788	20,260	3	5	24,143	4	6	44,403	7	11			
1813	5,341	547,426	24,134	18	8	26,042	14	6	50,177	13	2			
1814	5,706	548,957	28,630	11	3	31,110	11	1	59,741	2	4			
1815	6,440	709,849	36,310	1	9	40,605	6	11	76,915	8	8			
1816	6,888	774,243	43,765	6	3	48,881	4	6	92,646	10	9			
1817	6,079	653,425	35,186	8	0	40,703	8	4	75,889	16	4			
1818	6,779	754,690	43,842	16	6	54,695	11	9	98,538	8	3			
1819	7,849	867,318	50,042	7	8	60,084	14	0	110,127	1	8			
1820	7,276	805,033	44,717	17	10	49,694	14	0	94,412	11	10	1,220,930	4	8
1821	7,810	839,848	43,131	6	2	51,425	2	11	94,556	9	1			
1822	8,136	892,902	47,229	10	4	55,174	7	0	102,403	17	4			
1823	8,916	1,010,819	52,837	5	5	62,945	16	1	115,783	1	6			
1824	10,001	1,180,914	60,878	9	7	70,033	1	11	130,911	11	6			
1825	10,837	1,223,820	59,446	7	8	69,245	12	0	128,691	19	8			
1826	9,601	1,228,318	60,411	9	11	70,589	9	1	131,000	19	0			
1827	9,592	1,225,313	61,601	0	6	72,871	13	9	134,472	14	3			
1828	10,703	1,311,111	62,969	7	10	78,400	7	9	141,369	15	7			
1829	11,383	1,387,957	66,128	18	10	81,198	6	1	147,327	4	11			
1830	11,214	1,411,964	68,352	7	5	83,007	7	11	151,359	15	4	1,776,904	5	6
1831	12,537	1,592,436	81,039	11	11	102,415	12	4	183,455	4	3			
1832	12,928	1,540,057	74,530	4	11	95,517	2	0	170,047	6	11			
1833	12,964	1,590,461	79,558	3	11	103,422	12	5	182,980	16	4			
1834	13,444	1,692,870	84,061	15	11	107,668	1	9	191,729	17	8			
1835	13,941	1,768,426	87,644	15	5	110,993	4	4	198,637	18	9			
1836	14,959	1,947,613	97,847	10	10	124,146	19	11	221,994	10	9			
1837	15,038	1,958,984	84,596	11	1	89,256	19	0	173,853	10	1			
1838	14,820	2,026,206	76,324	11	1	69,965	12	10	146,290	3	11			
1839	15,445	2,158,091	81,680	8	5	74,874	13	1	156,555	1	6			
1840	15,998	2,445,708	92,221	2	3	85,975	11	9	178,196	14	0	2,067,632	19	2
1841	16,108	2,425,461	91,755	10	4	83,750	18	1	175,506	8	5			
1842	16,458	2,425,319	93,360	2	0	83,871	13	5	177,231	15	5			
1843	16,606	2,445,278	96,445	11	7	91,840	10	6	188,286	2	1			
1844	18,411	2,632,712	99,044	13	7	86,119	8	4	185,164	1	11			
1845	20,521	3,016,531	118,046	8	8	105,200	15	9	223,247	4	5			
1846	19,951	3,096,444	114,709	15	8	98,714	0	6	213,423	16	2			
1847	20,889	3,351,539	127,982	14	1	116,453	0	6	244,435	15	7			
1848	20,311	3,284,963	107,589	10	4	118,625	11	1	226,215	1	5			
1849	20,733	3,639,146	122,073	2	0	133,852	18	9	255,926	0	9			
1850	20,457	3,536,337	116,541	7	11	126,448	6	10	242,989	14	9	512,010	9	3•
1851	21,071	3,737,666	128,026	0	7	140,994	13	5	269,020	14	6			

* For two years, or £2,560,052 6s. 3d. in ten years.

ESTIMATED VALUE OF IMPORTS INTO LONDON, LIVERPOOL, AND HULL
IN 1850.

Articles.	London.		Liverpool.		Hull.	
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.
Ashes.....	880	£26,400	5,212	£156,360	...	...
Bacon	5,909	236,360	9,098	363,920	92	£3,680
Bark .....	...	...	7,690	56,450	2,200	11,000
Beef .....	...	...	...	...	85	2,550
Bones .....	...	...	...	...	15,000	30,000
Brimstone.....	5,000	40,000	10,850	86,850	620	4,960
Butter .....	...	...	...	...	350	28,000
Cardamoms	300	84,000	...	...	...	...
Coffee	18,460	1,846,000	3,700	370,000	...	...
Cocoanut oil.....	3,850	115,000	...	...	...	...
Cochineal	1,000	450,000	...	...	...	...
Cotton	11,300	678,000	262,180	15,730,800	4,000	240,000
Cocoa	1,570	57,090	396	14,652	...	...
Cheese	9,512	380,480	2,976	119,040	346	13,840
Cloverseed .....	...	...	...	...	2,200	110,000
Dyewoods .....	...	...	40,774	244,644	...	...
Flaxseed	24,000	240,000	7,350	73,500	...	...
Flax	4,500	225,000	2,250	112,500	27,000	1,350,000
Fruit .....	...	...	...	...	5,350	63,960
Grain.....	669,340	8,032,080	433,233	5,198,796	103,614	1,243,368
Guano	61,000	427,000	30,000	210,000	720	5,040
Gums.....	1,500	360,000	...	...	...	...
Hemp	2,000	80,000	19,316	772,640	500	20,000
Hides.....	23,500	1,316,000	6,900	386,400	600	33,600
Iudigo	3,000	1,350,000	100	45,000	...	...
Iron .....	...	...	...	...	17,400	87,000
Linseed.....	...	...	...	...	57,300	573,000
Mahogany.....	18,000	324,000	13,000	234,000	...	...
Madder .....	...	...	3,060	150,000	1,280	64,000
Madder roots .....	...	...	5,000	225,000	...	...
Molasses	10,400	135,200	14,220	184,860	...	...
Mustard seed .....	...	...	...	...	100	4,200
Oil cake.....	...	...	...	...	8,300	58,100
Olive oil .....	...	...	10,000	420,000	4,000	168,000
Oranges.....	...	...	...	...	2,600	31,200
Palm oil .....	...	...	16,250	455,000	...	...
Potatoes .....	...	...	...	...	1,250	5,000
Queroitron bark .....	...	...	3,000	33,000	...	...
Rapeseed .....	...	...	...	...	5,800	23,200
Rape cake.....	...	...	...	...	4,276	17,104
Rags .....	...	...	...	...	530	13,250
Rice	12,788	204,000	37,093	593,488	200	3,200
Rum	13,000	1,040,000	4,350	348,000	...	...
Sago	1,622	29,196	...	...	...	...
Saltpetre	12,724	318,600	12,000	300,000	...	...
Sago flour	200	4,000	...	...	...	...
Safflower	375	1,875	...	...	...	...
Sumac .....	...	...	9,850	147,750	1,000	10,000
Silk	1,580	1,580,000	...	...	...	...
Spices	5,000	560,000	750	84,000	...	...
Sugar.....	180,792	6,327,370	71,000	2,485,000	...	...
Tallow	9,065	344,470	19,250	731,500	1,000	38,000
Tar .....	...	...	5,714	45,712	3,500	28,000
Tea	16,800	7,560,000	4,070	1,831,000	...	...
Timber.....	215,000	537,500	290,000	725,000	90,000	225,000
Tobacco.....	8,000	3,600,000	7,530	3,388,500	...	...
Train oil .....	...	...	...	...	2,300	46,000
Turpentine .....	...	...	8,571	68,568	2,500	20,000
Turmeric	980	14,700	...	...	...	...
Valonia .....	...	...	4,680	65,520	140	1,960
Wool	22,000	5,060,000	6,000	1,380,000	3,000	690,000
Wines .....	...	...	...	...	620	62,000
Zaffre .....	...	...	...	...	50	3,750
	1,374,947	43,183,821	1,384,353	37,804,400	369,823	5,326,962

IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SHEEP'S, ALPACA, AND GOATS' WOOL, AT THE PORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1851.

From	London.		Liverpool.		Hull.		Southampton.	
	Bales.	lbs.	Bales.	lbs.	Bales.	lbs.	Bales.	lbs.
Germany	5,336	1,729,078	29	9,159	22,234	6,426,042	....	....
Spain	5,079	1,194,661	226	52,773	....	....	....	....
Russia, North.	180	114,345	86	70,958	645	398,764	....	....
" South.	13,481	4,999,233	740	297,512	10	3,962	95	40,421
C. G. Hope } Territories. }	19,656	5,813,549	11	3,042	....	....	....	....
N. S. Wales ..	48,260	14,866,240	349	86,986	....	....	....	....
Victoria	63,424	17,234,690	....	....	....	....	....	....
S. Australia ..	12,092	3,367,303	....	....	....	....	....	....
W. Australia..	1,036	368,570	2	25	....	....	....	....
V. D. Land ..	17,225	5,182,083	....	....	52	16,000	....	....
New Zealand ..	1,728	785,887	78	23,316	....	....	....	....
Portugal	320	83,323	11,887	2,272,776	....	....	1	523
Italy	606	268,740	1,901	324,451	....	....	....	....
Austrian Ter..	190	79,970	811	415,834	....	....	....	....
Denmark	25	5,620	....	....	4,565	1,229,814	....	....
East India ...	5,964	2,217,806	6,619	2,327,491	....	....	....	....
China	258	66,887	14	2,659	....	....	....	....
Turkey	337	126,837	681	257,579	....	....	1,604	485,525
Syria	34	11,220	193	45,714	....	....	....	....
Egypt	2,273	709,317	2,566	904,400	5	1,547	113	24,984
Barbary	3,327	811,572	2,806	780,865	....	....	....	....
Peru and Chili	4,952	468,334	15,412	1,292,292	....	....	....	....
Peru (Alpaca)	....	....	....	....	1	9	....	....
Alpac. & Llama	1,023	74,864	25,680	1,899,706	....	....	....	....
Argen. Repub.	230	107,992	1,998	745,272	....	....	....	....
B. N. America	97	21,198	....	....	....	....	....	....
U. S. America.	....	....	780	555,316	....	....	....	....
W. I. Islands.	61	3,859	7	676	....	....	....	....
Iceland ....	....	....	1,487	320,048	....	....	....	....
Brazils .....	....	....	291	33,230	....	....	....	....
Holland ....	....	....	....	....	431	109,964	....	....
Belgium ....	....	....	....	....	1,494	244,859	....	....
Sweden .....	....	....	....	....	7	2,400	....	....
Malta .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	319
France .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	1,427
Sundries	584	236,521	39	12,076	....	....	....	....
Total	207,778	60,949,629	74,693	12,734,156	29,444	8,433,361	1,820	553,199
Goats' Wool..	....	98,857	....	524,108	....	79,070	....	1,418,463

OTHER PORTS.

Imported into	Bales.	lbs.	Imported into	Bales.	lbs.
Leith	877	272,522	Bristol	167	64,530
Glasgow	145	28,345	Dover	139	59,492
Cork	111	51,520	Falmouth	40	11,704
Grimsby .....	....	5,095	Folkestone	9	1,279
Newcastle	35	9,531	" Goats' Wool }	....	4,102
Swansea	223	69,539	Gloucester	158	55,384
Grangemouth	12	3,360	Goole	65	10,999
Dundee	32	16,800	Hartlepool	32	5,091

TOTAL OF IMPORTS.

	lbs.
Foreign Sheep's Wool	33,549,333
Colonial	47,772,991
Alpaca and Llama	2,013,202
Goats'	2,124,600

Total lbs.... 85,460,126

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE OF RAW COTTON CONSUMED IN THE CHIEF
MANUFACTURING COUNTRIES, FROM 1843 TO 1851, INCLUSIVE, IN MIL-
LIONS OF POUNDS.

Countries.	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	Incr.	Decr.
Great Britain	531	543	597	604	425	591	627	584	648	117	..
Russia, Germany, Holland, & Belg.	82	86	96	97	105	112	160	133	118	36	..
France and adjoin- ing countries ..	152	146	158	159	126	127	186	142	149	..	3
Spain .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	34	5	..
Mediterranean ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	12	1	..
Countries on the Adriatic	44	26	38	39	31	29	47	45	45	1	..
United States....	131	143	158	175	175	209	205	188	158	27	..
Sundries .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	11	..
Total....	940	944	1047	1074	862	1068	1225	1132	1175	198	3*

* Messrs. Dufay and Co.'s Circular, Manchester, January 31, 1852.

LIST OF MAYORS OF LIVERPOOL, FROM 1715 TO 1851, AND OF BAILIFFS
FROM 1715 TO 1851.

Year.	MAYORS.	BAILIFFS.
1715	William Squire.	Edward Ratchdale, Samuel Richardson.
1716	Foster Cunliffe.	Richard Aspinall, William Marsden.
1717	Thomas Kelsall.	James Halsall, George Norton.
1718	Josia Poole.	Robert Armitage, John Goodwin.
1719	Thomas Fillingham.	John Scarisbrick, Thomas Steers.
1720	Henry Taylor.	Edward Beckwith, Henry Trafford.
1721	Bryan Blundell.	John Goodwin, George Taylor.
1722	Edward Ratchdale.	William Furnival, William Carr.
1723	Thomas Scarisbrick.	Robert Hornby, James Shaw.
1724	John Goodwin.	Charles Pole, Peter Rainford.
1725	William Marsden.	Robert Hornby, James Shaw.
1726	Thomas Booth and George Tyrer.	John Martindale, Robert Whitfield.
1727	John Hughes.	Josia Poole, Foster Cunliffe.
1728	Bryan Blundell.	George Tyrer, Thomas Blease.
1729	Foster Cunliffe.	Robert Whitfield, William Pole.
1730	George Tyrer.	John Martindale, Edward Litherland.
1731	Richard Gildart.	Thomas Steers, Philip Wilcock.
1732	Thomas Brereton.	Edward Trafford, Robert Dixon.
1733	William Pole.	John Brooks, Owen Pritchard.
1734	James, Earl of Derby.	George Tyrer, John Hughes.
1735	Foster Cunliffe.	John Scarisbrick, Bryan Blundell.
1736	Richard Gildart.	Johnson Gildart, James Brookfield.
1737	George Norton.	George Wilkinson, William Hornby.
1738	Robert Armitage.	James Bird, Thomas Shaw.
1739	Thomas Steers.	Joseph Clegg, Joseph Davies.
1740	Henry Trafford.	James Gildart, William Barlow.
1741	William Carr.	Edward Rigby, Henry Winstanley.
1742	Edward Trafford.	George Gildart, Thomas Ball.
1743	John Brooks.	Edward Forbes, Robert Mercer.
1744	Owen Pritchard.	James Kelsall, William Penketh.
1745	James Blomfield.	Spencer Steers, Robert Fillingham.
1746	Joseph Bird.	Lawrence Spencer, William Hornby.
1747	Thomas Shane.	Charles Gore, James Kelsall.
1748	Joshua Clegg.	James Crosbie, Richard Cribb.
1749	Joseph Davies.	John Ashton, William Hornby.
1750	James Gildart.	Ellis Cunliffe, Richard Blundell.
1751	Edward Rigby.	William Goodwin, Matthew Strong.
1752	Henry Winstanley.	Robert Cunliffe, Richard Hughes.
1753	James Crosbie.	Scrope Colquitt, Oliver Castland.
1754	Charles Coore.	William Armitage, Lawrence Carr.
1755	Spencer Steers.	Richard Trafford, John Blackburne.
1756	Richard Hughes.	George Campbell, James Jackson.
1757	William Goodwin.	Joseph Manesty, John Parr.
1758	Robert Cunliffe.	Thomas Johnson, Ralph Peters.
1759	Lawrence Spencer.	Josh. Jackson, John Williamson.
1760	John Blackburne.	Robert Armitage, William Gregson.
1761	William Williamson.	Roger Parr, Ralph Earle.
1762	William Gregson.	John Crosbie, William Pownall.
1763	George Campbell.	Peter Rigby, William Boates.
1764	John Tarleton.	Jonathan Blundell, Edward Parr.
1765	John Crosbie.	James Bridge, Thomas Wilson.
1766	Thomas Johnson.	William Crosbie, Henry Trafford.
1767	William Pownall, died March 12, 1768; Chas. Coore elected for remainder of the year.	William Pickering, John Hughes.
1768	Matthew Strange.	Richard Powell, John Sparling.
1769	Ralph Earle.	William Pole, John Parr.
1770	John Sparling.	John Brown, Thomas Golightly.
1771	Thomas Wilson.	Thomas Birch, Thomas Earle.
1772	Thomas Golightly.	Thomas Rumbold, Richard Statham.
1773	John Parr.	James Clemens, Richard Gerard.
1774	Peter Rigby.	John Colquitt, James Gildart.
1775	James Clemens.	William Crosbie, George Case.
1776	William Crosbie.	Johnson Gildart, Hindley Leigh.
1777	Thomas Birch.	Charles Pole, John Gregson.
1778	William Pole.	Thomas Earle, John Hughes.
1779	William Crosbie, Jun.	William Hesketh, John Blackburne, Jun.
1780	Richard Gerard.	Henry Hardman, M. Pole.

Year.

MAYORS.

1781	George Case.
1782	John Brown.
1783	W. Hesketh
1784	John Gregson,
1785	Charles Pole.
1786	James Gildart.
1787	Thomas Earle.
1788	John Blackburne, Jun.
1789	Thomas Smyth.
1790	John Sparling.
1791	Henry Blundell.
1792	Clayton Tarleton.
1793	Henry Blundell.
1794	John Shaw.
1795	{ Peter Baker, died Feb. 7, 1796; Thos. Naylor elected for remainder of term.
1796	George Dunbar.
1797	Thomas Staniforth.
1798	James Leyland.
1799	Pudsey Dawson.
1800	John Shaw.
1801	Peter Whitfield Brancker.
1802	James Bold.
1803	{ William Harper elected, but election set aside as invalid; John Bridge Aspinall elected 21st May, 1804.
1804	William Harper.
1805	Henry Clay.
1806	Thomas Molyneux.
1807	H. B. Hollinshead. —
1808	James Gerard.
1809	John Clarke.
1810	James Drinkwater.
1811	John Browne.
1812	Samuel Staniforth.
1813	William Nicholson.
1814	Thomas Leyland.
1815	Sir William Barton, Knt.
1816	{ John Wright.
1817	Thomas Case.
1818	Jon. B. Hollinshead.
1819	Sir John Tobin, Knt.
1820	Thomas Leyland.
1821	Richard Bullin.
1822	William Molyneux.
1823	Charles Lawrence.
1824	Jon. B. Hollinshead.
1825	Peter Bourne.
1826	Thomas Littledale.
1827	Thomas Colley Porter.
1828	Nicholas Robinson.
1829	Sir George Drinkwater, Knt.
1830	Sir Thomas Brancker, Knt.
1831	Samuel Sandbach.
1832	Charles Horsfall.
1833	J. Wright.
1834	{ J. Aspinall.
1835	

BAILIFFS.

Joseph Birch, Thomas Hutton.
Thomas Smith, Thomas Earle.
C. Pole, E. Rigby.
John Greenwood, James Brooks, Jun.
Peter Baker, Thomas Clements.
Robert Moss, William Roe.
Thomas Staniforth, Clayton Tarleton.
Richard Statham, Spencer Steers.
Henry Blundell, John Shaw.
Robert Moss, Clayton Tarleton.
John Brown, Thomas Earle.
John Greenwood, John Shaw.
Thomas Naylor, Henry Clay.
John Parke, George Dunbar.

Peter Whitfield Brancker, Spencer Steers.

Jonas Bold, Thomas Leyland.
Pudsey Dawson, Thomas Hinde.
James Gerard, Thomas Molyneux.
W. C. Lake, John Weston.
Henry Brown, Henry Clay.
Thomas Hinde, John Bridge Aspinall.
William Harper, Joseph Brooks.

James Gerard, Thomas Molyneux.

William Ewart, Samuel Staniforth.
Spencer Steers, John Weston.
William Rigg, John Clarke.
James Drinkwater, Thomas Hinde.
John Weston, Samuel Staniforth.
Henry Midgley, John Bower.
William Nicholson, Thomas Case.
Edward Pearson, Thomas Corrie.
Thomas Hinde, Thomas Case.
James Gregson, John Wright.
Charles Lawrence, Thomas Corrie.
Richard Bullen, Jon. Blundell Hollinshead.
George Drinkwater, John Deane Case.
Richard Golightly, William Wallace Currie.
William Molyneux, Nicholas Robinson.
Thomas Corrie, William Earle, Jun.
Richard Golightly, Thomas Littledale.
Peter Bourne, Charles Pole.
John Shaw Leigh, Richard Dawson.
William Earle, William Wallace Currie.
Thomas Brancker, William Ripley.
Henry Moss, George Rowe.
Thomas Brancker, John Ewart.
Isaac O. Bold, Samuel Thompson.
Samuel Sandbach, R. B. Blundell Hollinshead.
Charles Horsfall, Richard Houghton.
Anthony Molyneux, Thomas Foster.
Thomas Shaw, Henry Ashton.
James Aspinall, Robertson Gladstone.
J. Crosbie, J. Cockshott.
A. Lace, J. Higginson died, J. Pownall succeeded.

LIST OF MAYORS UNDER THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

1836	William Wallace Currie, Esq. (Jan.)	1844	James Lawrence, Esq.
1836	William Earle, Jun., Esq. (Nov.)	1845	David Hodgson, Esq.
1837	William Rathbone, Esq.	1846	George Hall Lawrence, Esq.
1838	Hugh Hornby, Esq.	1847	Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq.
1839	Sir Joshua Walmesley, Knt.	1848	John Bramley-Moore, Esq.
1840	Thomas Bolton, Esq.	1849	John Holmes, Esq.
1841	John Shaw Leigh, Esq.	1850	Sir John Bent, Knt.
1842	Robertson Gladstone, Esq.	1851	Thomas Littledale, Esq.
1843	Thomas Sands, Esq.		

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

TO

BAINES'S HISTORY OF LIVERPOOL.

A

Ashton, Rev. Ellis, Huyton
 Ashton, Frank, Mayor of Salford
 Atkinson H. T., barrister, London
 Ackers, James, Vauxhall-road
 Ackerley, R. Y., Prince Edwin-street
 Adams, R., North John-street
 Addison, T., Royal Bank-buildings
 Ahlborn, Louis, Whitechapel
 Aikin, James, Gorcee-piazzas
 Aikin, John, Prince's-park
 Aled, Robert, Rumford-place
 Alison, James, Carus-lodge, Lancaster
 Allcard, William, Warrington
 Allen, William, St. Helens
 Allinson, John, St. James'-street
 Alltree, John, Basnett-street
 Aman and Kroeber, Sweeting-street
 Anderson, T. D., India-buildings
 Anderson, James, Tower-buildings
 Anderson, J. F., Cable-street
 Anderson, John, Canning-street East
 Andersson, Ulric John, 10, Chapel-street
 Andrews, James, Cooper's-row
 Angell, Samuel, London
 Ansdell, John, St. Helens
 Antwis, John, Castle-street
 Appleton, J., St. Anne-street
 Arrowsmith, J. H., Westmoreland-place
 Arrowsmith, J. L., Alliance M. A. Co.
 Armstrong, George, Cook-street
 Armitage, W. H., Talbot-chambers
 Arnott, J. R., North John-street
 Arnold, Samuel James, Sweeting-street
 Arnold, James, Rose-place
 Arnaud, Elias, Custom-house
 Ashton, A., Royal Bank-buildings
 Aspinall, Joseph, Oldhall-street
 Aspinall, H. K., Birkenhead
 Astley, Edward, Tower-chambers
 Astley, John, Rock Ferry
 Athenæum Newsroom, Church-street
 Atherton, Thos., Falkland-street
 Atkinson, Jonathan, Edgar-street
 Atkinson, J., Great Howard-street
 Atkinson, John, Harrington-street
 Atkinson, Thomas, Scotland-road
 Avison, Thomas, Cook-street

B

Bulkeley, Sir R. B. W., Bart., M.P., Baron-
 hill, Beaumaris
 Birch, Sir T. B., Bart., M.P.
 Baines, Right Hon. M. T., M.P., London
 Booker, Thomas W., Esq., M.P., Cardiff
 Brown, W., Esq., M.P., Richmond-hill
 Bright, J., Esq., M.P., Rochdale [2 copies]

B

Brooks, Venerable Archdeacon, Everton
 Barker, John, Esq., High Sheriff of Staf-
 fordshire
 Brunner, Rev. John, Everton
 Bonney, Rev. T., Seel-street
 Brown, Rev. H. S., Chatham-street
 Blair, J. K., Judge of Salford Court of
 Record
 Bent, Sir John, Knt., Rake-lane, Edge-hill
 Bancroft, Alderman Joseph, Manchester
 Badenach, George, North John-street
 Bainbridge, W. H., Islington
 Baines, James, 6, Cook-street
 Baines, Edward, Leeds
 Baines, Frederick, Leeds
 Baines, Mrs., Upper Duke-street
 Bailey Brothers, Water-street (2 copies)
 Bailey, William Latham, 26, Water-street
 Baker, Thomas W., Roe-street
 Bald, John, Brunswick-buildings
 Balderston, James, Grenville-street
 Ball, S., Eagle-lodge, Wallasey
 Balmer, Mrs., Islington
 Banks, T. M., New-quay
 Banks, Henry, Seymour-street
 Banner, Harmood, North John-street
 Banner, Edward, North John-street
 Banning, C. B., Postmaster
 Band, William, Duke-street
 Banks, Samuel, Castle-street
 Barclay, T. B., Jubilee-buildings
 Barber, J. M., Islington
 Barber, Charles, Royal Institution
 Barbour, John, Water-street
 Barry, William, Exchange-buildings
 Barker, George, Mulberry-street
 Barker, George J., Cook-street
 Barlow, Robert, 44, Phythian-street
 Barlow, John, Marybone
 Barnes, Edward, Peter-lane
 Barton, James, Windsor
 Barton, Thomas, Castle-street
 Barton, Thomas, Manchester
 Barton, Miles, New Brighton
 Baruchson, Makin, and Co., Union-court
 Bates, William, North John-street
 Bates, Edward, Bellfield-house, West Derby
 Bate, William, Drury-lane
 Bateson, James, Oldhall-street
 Bateson, John, Oldhall-street
 Bateson, Richard, jun., Water-street
 Baugh, Daniel, Wolstenholme-square
 Baxter, Archibald, North John-street
 Beaver, J. F., Manchester
 Beazley, James, Rumford-place

B

Beetham, Thos., 97, Farringdon-st., London
 Bellamy, Thomas, 8, Charlotte-st., London
 Beley, George, Redcross-street
 Bell, Daniel, South Castle-street
 Bell, J. W., Bootle-lane
 Bell, John, Barton-moss
 Belcher, Michael, Exchange-buildings
 Bellhouse, D., Exchange-street West
 Beloe, Henry C., Brunswick-street
 Bent, Rowland, Bootle
 Bennett, T. F., Lower Castle-street
 Bennett, G. and Sons, Fenwick-street
 Bennett, William, Sir Thomas-buildings
 Bennett, Henry, London-road
 Berger, J. C., India-buildings
 Bentley, Blain, and Co., Exchange-bldgs.
 Berry, Joseph, St. John's-lane
 Betteley, Joseph, Nile-street
 Beynon, John, Ranelagh-street
 Bibby, John, Tower-chambers
 Bickersteth, Robert, Rodney-street
 Bickersteth, Edmund, Park-lane
 Bigland, J., Exchange-buildings
 Birchenough, S., Lime-street
 Bird, G. H., Upper Hill-street
 Bischoff, Wm. Geo., Distributor of Stamps
 Blackburne, T. B., Virginia-buildings
 Black, John A., South Castle-street
 Black, James, Fraser-street
 Blacky, Wm., Bell-street, Toxteth-park
 Blundell, T., Wallasey
 Blundell, Bryan, Temple-court
 Blyth, Thomas, Custom-house
 Boardman, P., Queen-square
 Bold, Thomas, Water-street
 Bold, James, Water-street
 Bold, John, St. Anne-street
 Bold, Isaac Oldham, Edge lane
 Bold, N. D., Exchange-street West
 Bolton, Thomas, Brunswick-street
 Bolton, R. L., Brunswick-street
 Bolton, John, Rathbone-street
 Booker, Josias, Postoffice-place
 Booker, George, Rumford-place
 Booker, Septimus, Castle-street
 Booth, Chas., Croxteth-road, Prince's-park
 Booth, Thomas, 29, Hopestreet
 Booth, Henry, Railway, Lime-street
 Bottomley, D. H., New Duke's Dock
 Boulton, Francis, Rumford-place
 Boulton, Swinton, Water-street
 Boulton, Peter S., Exchange-alley North
 Bouch, Thomas, Oldhall-street
 Bourne, Timothy, Liver-chambers
 Bower, William, Exchange-buildings
 Bowman, W., Fenwick-chambers
 Bowden, Henry, Brunswick-street
 Boyd, James C., York-buildings, Dale-st.
 Boyer, George, North John-street
 Brabner, Samuel, North John-street
 Bradshaw, James, Bootle-lane
 Bradley, William, Cable-street
 Bragge, William, C.E., Birkenhead
 Bramley, John, Dryden-street

B

Branch, Thomas, Hanover-street
 Brancker, J. H., Exchange-street East
 Brancker, J. B., Exchange-alley North
 Brancker, William, Oldhall-street
 Brazier, John, Kent-square
 Brebner, J. R., Water-street
 Breerton, Joseph, Speke-hall
 Bright, Samuel, North John-street
 Brocklebank, Thomas, Rumford-street
 Brocklebank, Ralph, Rumford street
 Brodribb, E., North John-street
 Brown, A. C., Lord-street
 Brown, William, Lydia Ann-street
 Brown, George, Vernon-street
 Browne, James, Tower-buildings
 Browne, John, The Priory, Bridgewater
 Browne, Chas., Bridgewater
 Bromley, John, Fleet-street
 Bromilow, H. G., St. Helens
 Brownell, George, Bank-bldgs., Cook-st.
 Brownell, Charles, Bank-bldgs., Cook-st.
 Bryning, Wm., Scotland-road
 Buchanan, C. B., Rumford-place
 Bulley, S. M., South Chapel-street
 Bulley, Thomas, Catherine-street
 Bulteel, T., Lancashire and Yorkshire
 Railway Company, Manchester
 Bunbury, John, Oldhall-street
 Burley, Samuel, Fleet-street
 Burley, Thomas, Fleet-street
 Burroughs, James, Leicester-street
 Burchardt, O., Bank-buildings, Cook-st.
 Bushby, T. A., Dale-street
 Bushell, Christopher, North John-street
 Butler, J. H., Fenwick-chambers
 Butler, John, Scotland-road
 Buxton, Henry, Vauxhall-road
 Buxton, C., Mill-street
 Byrne, A. E., Rumford-place
 Byrom, Thomas, Wigan
 Byron, Bernard, 3, Union-court

C

Crawford and Balcarras, the Earl of,
 Haigh-hall
 Chester, Right Rev. Bishop of
 Crompton, Mr. Justice, London
 Cardwell, E., Esq., M.P., London
 Copeland, Ald., M.P., London
 Campbell, Rev. Rector, Duke-street
 Crook, Richard S., barrister, Rodney-street
 Caine, Nathaniel, Dutton-street
 Callan, G., Park-lane
 Calvert, John, Bootle
 Campbell, G. W., 15, Water-street
 Campbell, John, King-street
 Campbell, J. P., Exchange-street East
 Campbell, C., and Son, Exchange-court
 Cameron, C. F., Druid-court, Dale-street
 Cannon, John M., South Castle-street
 Cannon, David, South Castle-street
 Carlisle, Thomas, Tower-buildings
 Carr, R. L., Clifton-park, Birkenhead
 Carne, C. F., Water-street
 Carne, William Byrom, 2, Chapel-street

C

Carson, P. M., Tower-chambers
 Carson, William, York-buildings, Dale-st.
 Carson, Thomas, Fenwick-street
 Carswell, J., Scotland-road
 Carter, Richard, Redcross-street
 Carter, Stephen, Waterloo-road
 Carter, William, Water-street
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 Castellain, Alfred, Barned-buildings
 Castle, Thomas, Dale-street
 Catcheside, Matthew, Clayton-square
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 Chaffer, T. and B., Great Homer-street
 Charles, William, Vine-street
 Chadwick, William, Walton-road
 Chadwick, Robert, Manchester
 Chadwick, David, Salford
 Chadwick, John, Eccles
 Challinor, Edward, Queen's Dock
 Chapman, H. C., Fenwick-chambers
 Chalker, George, Harford-street
 Cherry, Samuel, Fenwick-chambers
 Chesney, James, Commutation-row
 Cheshire, T., Paradise-street
 Chidson, W. D., Bold-street
 Chilton, T., Northumberland-terrace
 Chillcot, Richard, Basnett-street
 Chinn, F. F., Lower Castle-street
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 Christian, Henry, Harrington-street
 Church of England Institution, Bold-street
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 Claypole, H. K., Tower-buildings
 Claxton, William, South-hill Grove
 Clare, W. L., Exchange-buildings
 Clarke, William, Lower Castle-street
 Clarke, Andrew, Cornwallis-street
 Clarkson, Thomas, William Henry-street
 Clarkson, William, Great Howard-street
 Clarke, Thomas, Cable-street
 Clare, Joseph, Bath-street
 Clayton, J. S., Royal Bank-buildings
 Clements, J. J., Fairfield
 Clewley, T., London-road
 Clint, John, South John-street
 Clint, Francis A., Beech-terrace
 Clint, T. T., Burncoose-buildings
 Clunie, R. A., Glasgow
 Clow, John, Redcross-street
 Coalbrookdale Co., James-street
 Coates, William, Industrial Schools
 Cochrane, William, Wapping
 Cockshott, James, India-buildings
 Cocker, J., St. James'-terrace
 Coglean, Edward, Exchange-street East
 Coglean, John, Exchange-street East
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 Collins, John, Richmond-row
 Colley, F. P., Rumford-place
 Collegiate Institution Library

5 T

C

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 Cowell, Simeon, Kirkdale
 Cowie, C. G., Tower-buildings
 Cox, Edward, Chapel-street
 Cox, James, Oldhall-street
 Cox, Henry, Oldhall-street
 Crabtree, Abraham, Falkner-square
 Crabtree, Joseph, Wavertree
 Cram, Henry, South John-street
 Crellin, James, Lime-street
 Crellin, James, Soho-street
 Critchley, W. R., Blackstock-street
 Croft, Thomas, Comus-street
 Crosfield, Henry, Temple-court
 Crosfield, Simon, Temple-place
 Crosfield, William, Temple-place
 Cropper, John, Dingle
 Cropper, Edward, Dingle
 Cropper, John, Everton
 Cropper, James
 Crook, J. T., Tower-chambers
 Cross, John, Rainhill
 Crosse, W., St. John's-lane
 Cross, Thomas, Berry-street
 Crye, Robert, Lower Arcade.
 Cummins, C., Crown-street
 Cunningham, John, Seel-street
 Cunliffe, George, Drury-lane
 Cunningham, J., Oldhall-street
 Cunningham, George E., Old Churchyard
 Curtis, T. A., Shaw-street
 Curtis, W. M., Dale-street
 Cusack, Charles, Brunswick-street
 Cuthbert, James, Clayton-square
 Cuthbertson, William, Glasgow

D

Derby, Earl of, Knowsley-hall
 Driffield, Rev. G. T., Middlesex
 Dalglish, James, Harrington-street
 Daly, Thomas, Compton-chambers
 Daly, Dennis, Brunswick-street
 Dalby, J. B., Great Howard-street
 Dalglish, Robert, jun., St. Helens (2 copies)
 Dalton, Maurice, Waterloo-road
 Danson, H., Cook-street
 Danson, Wm. and Joseph, 6, Shaw-street
 Danson, Hector, Circus-street
 Darby and Sim, Sweeting-street

D

Darbyshire, B., Goree
 Davies, Thomas, Scotland-road
 Davis, Henry, Tower-buildings
 Davies and Stainton, Bold-street
 Davies, Robert, Stanhope-street
 Darwell, Thomas, Manchester
 Dawson, William, Rock Ferry
 De la Rue, J. C., Orange-court
 Derbyshire, Richard N., John-street
 Derbyshire, Thomas, Gloucester-street
 Desilva, Joseph, Bath-street
 Devine, M., Scotland-road
 Dickinson, Dr., Nelson-street
 Dickinson, John, Hackins-hey
 Dignan, John, Chronicle-office
 Dismore, Thomas, Bold-street
 Distill, N. W., Parliament-street
 Dixon, William, Rumford-place
 Dixon, William, Williamson-square
 Dobson, Arthur, Peter's-place
 Dod, William, Cheapside
 Dod, Edward, Cheapside
 Donnison, Thomas, Rumford-street
 Doodson, T., Russell-street
 Dove, Percy M., Royal Insurance-office
 Dover, Thomas, Water-street
 Dowie, James, Tower-buildings
 Dowling, M. M. G., Bootle
 Downing, John, Bootle
 Dowie, Kenneth, South John-street
 Driffield, W. W., York-buildings
 Drinkwater, P. B., Rodney-street
 Dry, William, Virginia-street
 Duarte, R. T., Exchange-buildings
 Duckworth, R., Cook-street
 Duckworth, J., Prince Edwin-street
 Duckworth, R., Prince Edwin-street
 Duckworth, James Joseph, Gt. Homer-st.
 Dudley, George, Cook-street
 Duguid, Thomas, Canning-place
 Duke, C., Great Howard-street
 Duncan, William, Rumford-street
 Duncan, W. H., Cornwallis-street
 Duncan, G. J., Exchange-street West
 Duncan, Thomas, Hotham-street
 Duncan, James, Southport Railway
 Dunbibbin, William E., Scotland-road
 Dunlevie, C. T., Brunswick-buildings
 Dunstan, J., jun., Lancashire and York-
 shire Railway Company, Manchester
 Durning, William, Fenwick-street
 Dutton, John A., College-lane
 Dutton, Samuel, Water-street
 Dutton, John, Exchange-buildings
 Dymock, Edward, Wolverhampton

E

Ellesmere, Earl of, Worsley-hall
 Ewart, Wm., Esq., M.P., London
 Ewbank, Rev. W. W., Everton
 Evans, Captain, 5, New-street, Spring
 gardens, London
 Earle, Hardman, Exchange-buildings
 Earle, William, Fenwick-street
 Eaton, Hugh, Drury-lane
 Eaton, Messrs., Berry-street

E

Eaton, John, 13, Ellison-street, Everton
 Eccles, Edward, Rumford-place
 Eccles, J., Exchange-alley North
 Eccles, Joseph, Darwen
 Eddowes, T. S., Waterloo-place
 Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan
 Ede, George, North John-street
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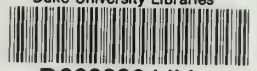
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